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IAD ORIENTAL SERIES No. 19

MUNTA**KH**ABU-T-TAWĀRĪ**KH**

BY

'ABDU-L-QĀDIR IBN-I-MULŪK SHĀH

KNOWN AS

AL-BADĀONĪ

VOLUME I.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN,

AND EDITED BY

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

In presenting this translation of the first volume of Badāonī's *Muntakhab'u-t-tawārīkh* (Selections from Histories) I cannot but be conscious of its many defects.

No one who has not attempted to translate from Persian into English can form the slightest idea of the special difficulties of the task.

The inherent differences of idiom in the two languages, the rich expansiveness of the one, and the rigid inflexibility of the other, render the attempt to fitly represent the glowing colours of Persian in the dull monotone of modern English, all but hopeless. It has been said that the test of a translation is not its literalness but its truth: that is to say, not its fidelity to the author's expression, but its response to his inspiration. It must not merely reproduce the letter, it must embody the spirit of the original composition.

How great is the demand thus made upon the translator must be evident to anyone who is acquainted with both Persian and English and the difficulties which appear so formidable in prose translation, become insurmountable in the case of poetry.

The various metres of Persian poetry are so entirely characteristic and essential in their nature, that it has appeared to me futile, if not impertinent, to attempt similar metrical renderings in English.

Even where it is possible to reproduce by conjunction of English words, the rhythm and accent of any Persian metre, such a composition no more recalls the original, than does the skeleton of the anatomical museum summon up the living and breathing animal.

For this reason, the poetical portions of Badāonī's work have, in the present translation, almost without exception

been rendered, not in verse but in prose, thus preserving the substance while sacrificing the form, as the transparent cube of salt may be crushed so as to be unrecognisable by its crystalline form, but still retains its chemical composition. To render poetry satisfactorily a translator must be both linguist and poet, if he be only a linguist he should not tamper with the finished work of the poet; he can, at best, only hope to outline the subject, leaving the colour scheme untouched.

I am aware that a high authority* has expressed himself in favour of the translation of Persian poetry into English verse, but the qualifications which shall render a translator competent to undertake such a task must fall to the lot of very few.

With this full knowledge of the difficulties to be encountered, the present translation was undertaken, and it is presented in the confidence that those who are the best judges of the nature of the task will be the first to make allowances for defects in its performance

قدر زر زرگر شناسد قدر جوهر جوهری

CALCUTTA
July 18*th*, 1898 } GEORGE RANKING.

For a life of Badāonī reference should be made to page 117 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No III, 1869, where an excellent biography will be found written by the late Professor Blochmann

The sources from which this translation has been made are the following —

1. The "Muntakhab Al-Tawārikh," edited by Maulavi Aḥmad Ali, printed at the College Press, Calcutta, 1868, and published in the Bibliotheca Indica of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. I, referred to in the translation as the Text.

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* Major-General Sir F J. Goldsmid, C B, K C S I., "on Translations from and into Persian." Transactions of Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, 1892.

2. Manuscript No 1592 of the Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh of 'Abdu-l-Qādir Mulūk Shāh Badaonī, in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Written by one Muḥammad Saiyyid (?), in the year 1255 H. (1839 A D.) This is referred to in the translation as MS. (A)

3. Manuscript No. A. 44, also from the above library This is referred to in the translation as MS. (B). The transcriber of this Manuscript is one Muḥammad Nāẓim. It bears no date.

The printed text has been carefully collated with these two manuscripts, and all variant readings noted.

TRANSLATION

OF THE منتخب التواريخ OF AL-BADAONI[1]

IN THE NAME OF GOD THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

Oh thou[2] from whose name spring all other names,
Kings at thy door are suppliant as I at theirs—
When once the impulse of zeal for thee was felt,
No foot remained shod, no head remained crowned.

Emperor of the world! with this unprofitable soul of mine which has become the abode of demons and wild beasts,[3] in what way can I conceive thy praises, and with this worn and foolish tongue of mine, which has become as it were food for cats and dogs, how can I chant thy eulogy.

How can the miserable dust proclaim the Unity of God.
How in this state of defilement praise the Divine Being.

Moreover, the foot of search limps feebly in this unknown road, because of my constant anxiety and habitual fear, while in this limitless desert, my stammering tongue finds the sphere of speech always contracted.

That which my soul knows is but secondary,[4] what my tongue speaks are but particles—(and therefore unintelligible)
How can I know thee in my soul or express thee with my tongue

1 *Al-Badaoni* *Vide* Preface

2 This invocation is to the Almighty in whose name all literary works are commenced

3 مَنزِل دیو ودَد شده

4 حدُوث That which is dependent for its existence upon some pre-existing state or object, opposed to حُروف—قدَم Particles, which alone convey no intelligible meaning—حرف also signifies a letter which is also *per se* meaningless.

This seems best, that I should restrain my pen from travel
2. in this valley, and having hidden the head of bewilderment in
cloke[1] of meditation on merit and regions[2] should open the
of my understanding to the knowledge of Thy all-perfect w
and unfading kingdom, and proceeding, through the vicissit
of affairs of created beings, to the Unity of thy exalted personal
should end with the world of proclaiming and confessing
Unity of God,[3] so that I may see with the eye of certainty—
more that I may recognize that

> In thy excellence there is no room for duality,[4]
> Thou and thy majesty make up the universe.

and I have moistened my lips with the pure water of the prais
that chieftain whose name is "praised"[5] whose end is land

---

1 حدوث is of two kinds حدوث زماني which is A thing's being precede
non-existence, and حدوث ذاتي which is A thing's being dependent u
another for its existence *Vide* Lane, art حدث 1.

گريبان *Lit* *Collar or hood*

2 انفسي و آفاقي Cf Qurán xli. 53 سنريهم آياتنا في الآفاق وفي انفسهم
we will show them our signs in the regions and in themselves

3 The Unity of God is the fundamental proposition of the faith of Isl
سورة الإخلاص - قل هو الله أحد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا أحد Say He is God alone God the eternal He begetteth not nor
is begotten—and there is none like unto him Qurán – Sura al-Ikhlas

4 That is to say no one can stand beside him in this position of excellen
Cf Qurán xxvii 61

أَإِلَٰهٌ مَعَ اللَّهِ بَلْ هُمْ قَوْمٌ يَعْدِلُونَ Is there a God with God? Nay but th
are a people who make peers with him

See also Sura xvi 3 Also the Sura quoted in note 3

5 محمد Muhammad—the literal meaning of which is "Praised" He w
thus named [illegible] Abdul Muttalib, who when desired [illegible]
[illegible] of Quraish [illegible]
[illegible] ated the [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

Lord of the promised fountain,[1] and of the praise which is on every tongue[2] (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him and his family) because the mantle of the honour of eternal and everlasting empire lies gracefully upon his noble figure, and the proclamation[3] and stamp of undiminishing power and glorious sovereignty of right belongs to his exalted name.

> The monarch of Arabia of whom the world is a manifestation,
> The Lord of the earth, whose servant he is, swears by his name.
> He was the near neighbour of the Truth for this reason had no shadow[4]
> To the end that no one should place a foot on (the shadow of) his head—

Countless[5] praises and eulogies on the elect family and the truth-perceiving companions of the Prophet, especially upon the rightly-guided Khalífahs[6] (may the favour of God be on them all) who, for the elevation of the standard of religion and the promulgation of the word of evident truth[7] risked their lives and laid down their heads as a ransom, and thus cleared the thorns

[1] M S (A) has, &c صلی مورد و ورد کوثر حوض—a river in Paradise. إِنَّا أَعْطَيْنَاكَ الْكَوْثَرَ Verily we have given thee al-Kausar Qurán cviii 1. کوثر literally means "abundance."

[2] مورود

[3] خطبه و سکّه.

The coronation ceremony of Muhammadan monarchs consist chiefly in the recital of the khutba and issuing coin (sikka) stamped with his name.

[4] Muhammad was said to have no shadow.

[5] Thousands upon thousands

[6] خلفای راشدین The four immediate successors of Muhammad, Abú Bakr, A H. 11. 'Umar, A H 13 'Usmán, A H 23 'Alí, A H 35, acknowledged by the Sunnis. The first three of these are rejected by the Shi'as who hold that 'Alí was the first legitimate Khalífah

[7] حق مبین Cf Quran xxvii-81 فَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللَّهِ إِنَّكَ عَلَى الْحَقِّ الْمُبِينِ

Rely then upon God. Verily thou art standing on obvious truth

of infidelity and the undergrowth of heresy from the plain of the kingdom of the sacred law.[1]

After the praise of God and of the Lord the protector of the divine missive (may the blessing of God be upon him, his family and his companions, a blessing safe from all termination), we have to declare that the science of History is essentially a
3. lofty science and an elegant branch of learning, because it is the fountain-head of the learning of the experienced, and the source of the experience of the learned and discriminating, and the writers of stories and biographies from the time of Adam to this present time in which we live, have completed reliable compositions and comprehensive works, and have proved the excellence thereof by proofs and demonstrations, but it must not be supposed that the reading and study of this science—as certain lukewarm religionists, and the party of doubt and dissent, shortsighted as they are, are wont to affirm—has been or will be a cause of wandering from the straight path of the illustrious law of Muhammad (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him and his family), or become the entry into and way of ascent to the fountainheads of scepticism, and drinking places of defilement of the licentious and heretical, and those who have gone astray; because for a body of men who in the very essence of their constitution are devoid of any share in religious principle, the reading of the eternal word which is the key of evident happiness and "*a healing and a mercy for the worlds*,"[2] becomes a cause of misery

[1] الشرع The sacred law Cf Qurán v 52 لِكُلٍّ جَعَلْنَا مِنكُم شِرْعَةً وَمِنهاجاً For each one of you have we made a law and a pathway The Mosaic law is always called التَّوراة At-Taurát (Hebrew תורה)

The word in the text is always used for the sacred canon of the Qurán الشرع is divisible into five sections إعتقادات beliefs—اداب moralities—عبادات devotions معاملات transactions—عُقوبات punishments. Cf Kashsháf Istiláhát-ul-Funún, art شرع.—

[2] Qurán xvii 84 وَنُنَزِّلُ مِنَ الْقُرآنِ مَاهُوَ شِفَاءٌ وَرَحْمَةٌ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ and we will send down of the Qurán that which is a healing and a mercy to the believers *Vide* also Qurán xli 44.

and everlasting loss "*and if they are not guided by it they say—*" "*this is an antiquated lie.*"[1]

If this is the case with the Qurán[2] what chance has History?

"When any man has lost his hearing through melancholia,[3]
He cannot participate in the music of David and its harmony."

But I address my words to those who are endowed with the qualities of sound intellect and brilliancy of genius, and natural equity—not to those who are not led by the sacred law and who deny all principle, fundamental or derivative,[4] because such men are not worthy of this discourse, nor are they within the pale of the wise, and discreet, and understanding, and how can one absolutely refuse to admit a science which is one-seventh of the 4.

[1] Qurán xlvi. 10. In the original we read—فسيقولون In both this and the former quotation there are verbal errors which lead to the conclusion that the author was not thoroughly at home in the Qurán

[2] I have inserted those words as the only means of giving an adequate rendering of the phrase تابد'ريخ چه رسد

[3] ماليخوليا μελαγχολία. The orthography of this word is ماخوليا Sadídi (الشرح فى الموجز) gives the etymology خلط الاسود ı *the black humour*, but gives no hint of deafness as one of the symptoms of the disease Deafness is not a concomitant of melancholia as known to modern medicine, but the cases of so called hysterical deafness with mental depression are not uncommon. The *Bahr ul-Jawáhir* says انما يقال ماليخوليا لما كان حدوثه عن السوداء غير محترقة وهو تغير الظنون والفكر عن المجري الطبيعي الى الفساد والخوف لمزاج سوداوي يوحش الروح It is only called "málíkhúliá" where it is the result of (the humour called) "Saudá" (black bile) which is not inflammatory It takes the ideas and thoughts out of their proper channel and tends to despondency and fear because of a melancholic temperament which depresses the mind.

[4] اصل و فرع The two chief divisions of علم الفقه *Jurisprudence.* According to the Iṣṭiláḥát-ul-Funún علم الفقه treats of the soul and of all that appertains thereto, thus including all theological science, (Kashshaf Iṣṭiláḥát-ul-Funún art فقه) cf الاشباه و النظائر *al Ashbáh wal Nazáir* by Zainul Abidín bin Najím, (H. K. 774) الفقهُ اشرفُ العلومِ قدراً ... .. واصوله ثابتة وفروعه ثابتة

i e. Its fundamentals are firmly established and its derivatives evident.

seven sections [1] upon which the foundation of the establishment of Faith and Certainty is laid.

"*And all that we relate to thee of the tidings of the prophets with which we have established your hearts*"[2] tells us of this, and a large body of the learned expositors of the traditions and commentators on the Qurán, as for example Imám Bukhári [3] and Qazí Baizáwí [4] up to our own times have occupied themselves in writing about this heart-enthralling science, and their words and practice have become an authority for the nations both East and West, in spite of the diversity of their origins and the distinction of their various degrees While on the other hand an insignificant band of innovators and inventors who with the disgraceful partisanship of greedy mindedness and importunate desires, and shortsightedness as regards both outward and inward qualities, have placed their feet in the valley of audacity, and have introduced interpolations and errors into true and memorable histories, and having abandoned

1 سبع المثاني The first chapter of the Qurán which contains seven verses; so called in Súra xv 87 ولقد اتيناک سبعا من المثاني و القران العظيم مثاني being plural of مثنى *repeating* or *reiterating* The number seven relates to the *manzils* or divisions of the Qurán each one of which is to be read so that the whole is completed in a week. See also Tafsir ul Baizáwi الم

2 Qurán xi 121 This quotation is correctly given.

3 Hafiz Abú'Abdullah Muhammad ibn Abil Hasan Isma'il ibn Ibráhím ibn-al-Mughair ibn-al Ahnaf Yezdibah, or Yezdezbah according to Ibn Makúla a Maula of the tribe of Jafi (Slane Ibn Khallicán, ii. 595) The last named was a Magian and died in that religion, his son Al Mughairat embraced Islám. He was the author of صحيح البخاري Sahih-ul-Bukhári, a collection of authentic traditions—in which an account of Imám Bukhári is given He was born A H 194 and died A.H 256, and was buried at the village of Khartang near Samarqand leaving no male issue The صحيح البخاري is held in great esteem by Muslims.

4 Qázi Násir ud-Dín Abul Khair Abdullah Baizáwí, ibn Umar ibn Muhammad, was born at Baizá, a village of Shíráz, and was appointed Chief Qázi. He was the author of many works, among others *Alghayatu fil fiqh. Sharh ul-Masabih wal manahij* His most celebrated work was a commentary on the Qurán called *Anwáru-t-tanzíl*. He died A H 685 and was buried in Shíráz See also De Sacy Anth Gram. Arab notes on Baizáwi, p. 37. See also Elliott and Dowson, Vol II, 252 and *note*.

recognised constructions[1] and explanations, and interpretations of obvious nature, and estimating the conflicts and discussions of the noble companions and mighty followers (of the Prophet) by their own condition, attributed them to mutual contradiction and hatred, and to rivalry in the splendour and amount of their property and family, and having seduced simple minded people of elementary belief, have led them, by their own error and by attributing error to others, to Gehenna, the house of perdition.

"When the crow[2] becomes leader of a tribe, he will surely lead them along the path of destruction."

And if the eye of a man be instilled with the collyrium of the Divine guidance, and illuminated by the light of truth, and guarded from every calamity which happens in the world of existence and evil, he passes to the Unity of the Creator, the Ancient of days, the Glorious, freed from the stain of innovation, and purified from the blemish of change and alteration. And when I look carefully, I see that the world is itself an ancient archetype which has neither head nor root, its pages are a confused record, and in each page there is a list of the affairs of a section of mankind who have had the reins of the management of affairs entrusted to their hands.

> This ancient Sháhnáma relates the affairs of the kings of the world.
> Do thou always look and read therein with circumspection.

1 مَحامِل is the plural from مَحمِل an inf. e.g. حَمَلَهُ أحسَنَ مَحمَلٍ. He put the best construction upon it, namely saying (Lane, s v حمل.)

2 غُرابٌ The Arab proverb runs thus:

مَنْ يكونِ الغُرابُ لَهُ دَليلًا يَمُرُّ بِهِ عَلَى جِيَفِ الكِلابِ

"He who has the crow for a guide will be led by it to the carcasses of dogs." The crow was considered as the most inauspicious thing on earth, thus the Arabs say أَشأَمُ مِنَ الغُرابِ More ill-omened than a crow

Its appearance is thought to be ominous of separation, therefore they say also غُرابُ البَينِ The raven (or crow) of separation.

The spell of this narrative brings sweet sleep to him
Who is in delirium, and has become distracted with madness of the brain.
But it also wakens him who on account of pride, has fallen into the slumber of carelessness and whom the devil has deceived

And inasmuch as the invoker of blessing upon all mankind, 'Abdul Qádir ibn Malúk Sháh Badáoni (may God erase his name from the book of sins) in the beginning of the year 999 [1] in accordance with the fateful order of his excellency the Khalífah of the time, the shadow of the Deity, Akbar Sháhí [2] when he had finished his selection from the History of Kashmír [3] which, by the soul-inspiring order of that world-conquering Emperor whose throne is the heaven, one of the incomparable doctors of India had translated from the Hindí into Persian, yielded to a liking which he had for this science from youth to maturity, and as it was seldom that he had not been occupied in reading and writing it, either of his own free will and accord or in obedience to orders, it used often to occur to him to write as well an epitome of the affairs of the Emperors of the metropolis of Dehli, from the time of the commencement of Islám to the time of writing, in a concise manner,——

All the world is but a village that (city of Mecca) is the central point [4] (of Islám)

that it might be a memorandum comprising a portion of the events of each reign in brief form, and a memorial for my friends, and a conspectus for the intellectual, and although it

1 999 of the Hijra (1590 A D)

2 The Emperor Akbar, who about this time employed Badáoni "to make translations from the Arabic and Sanskrit as in the case of the Mu'jamu-l-Buldan, Jámiu-r-Rashídi, and the Rámáyana," (Elliott and Dowson, v 478)

3 Said to have been translated from the original Hindí by Mullá Shah Muhammad Sháhábádi—but not apparently the Rájá-tarangini, for the translation of that work is usually attributed to Mauláná Imád-ud-din Cf. Ain-i-Akbarí, Blochmann, I pages 105-106—*footnote* 1.

4 Mecca, as being the central meeting place of all Muslims. The Arabic phrase is السَّوادُ الأعظمُ مِنَ المسلمين The collective body of the Muslims. *Vide* Lane *Art* سواد.

might not be a book to be relied upon, or a notable composition, still in accordance with the saying ——

> "These ancient pages of the sky whose beauty the stars are, 6.
> Are an ancient history of many Emperors whose armies excel the stars in number,"

it may be that from the perusal of this book a messenger from the world of spirits and invisible mysteries may cast a ray of light upon the receptive mind, and thus being a cause of abstraction and seclusion, may wean the soul from the love of this transitory world, and may aid the compiler of these pages in the prosecution of his task, and his hopes may not be blighted; and inasmuch as each day some new grief used to appear, and some vexatious annoyance used to shew itself, helps being few and hindrances many, moreover by reason of fresh toils and temporal changes it was difficult to remain in one place

> "Each day would bring a different place, each night a different roof."

And besides all this, my sustenance was by no means assured, hanging as it were between heaven and earth, and my heart utterly distracted by separation from kindred and friends; accordingly that commission was only accomplished by fits and starts,[1] until a kind and complaisant man of wealth, orthodox and religiously disposed, and happily furnished with this world's goods, who was very devoted to me, and for whom I too entertained an indescribable affection, having completed the writing of the *Táríkh i Nizámí*[2] which is a bulky volume, and which is here being completed by me—removed the furniture of life to the sublime abode of Paradise.

1 در حیّز تعویق و تسویق می اُفتاد. *Lit.* used to fall into the region of holding back and pushing on.

2 Khwajá Nizámu-d-dín Ahmad, son of Khwájá Muqím Haráwí díwán of the household of Bábar, is said in the *Zakhírátu-l-Qawánín* (E.D. v. 178) to have been appointed díwán of Akbar's household. He was subsequently appointed *bakhshí* of the province of Gujrát.

The history referred to in the text is one of great repute and authority, it was called by the author Tabaqát-i-Akbar-sháhí by which title Badáoni himself also styles the work. Its name is also known as Tabaqát-

"He has departed—I too follow him.
Each one at last must go the self same way."

At this juncture, when Time departing from its usual custom, has treated me in the matter of leisure with some sort of liberality, it has come about that I have been able to steal a morsel of
7. the chequered [1] hours of my life from his grasp, so that I renewed my intention and confirmed my purpose, and on this ground that there is not bygone event which has not left something for the present,

"If the peasant thoroughly clears under the sheaves of wheat
He leaves the sparrow's portion on the ground,"

I have selected and transcribed accurately a portion of the circumstances of some of the autocrat Emperors of Hindustan from the *Táríkh i Mubárak Sháhí* [2] and the *Nizámu-t-Tawáríkh* of Nizámí [3] which is as it were a drop in the ocean and a bubble of the turbulent floods, and have also added somewhat of my own, and have kept before me the desirability of conciseness and have

i-Akbari. Firishta states that of all the histories he consulted this is the only one he found complete (Elliot and Dowson, v 177-178)

Nizámu-d-dín died in 1003 A H, 1594 A D From the author's preface in the text above it would appear that he had had the work in hand some considerable time, but had not been able to give his undivided attention to it until after the death of Nizámu-d-dín. In the space of a year from that event he had completed his abridgment so that, it must have been fairly far advanced at the time of Nizámu-d-dín's decease.

[1] معوج see Lane, *Art* عوج. The days are apt to decline from the right course apt to return الأيام عوج رواجع and العوج The days.

[2] This work was written by Yahyá ibn-Ahmad ibn-'Abdullah Sirhindi according to Firishta with the express purpose of recording the reign of *Mubárak Sháh* It commences with the reign of Muḥammad Sám, founder of the Ghori dynasty, the only known MS. terminates abruptly in the middle of the reign of Sultán Sayyid Muhammad, 852 A. H — (1448 A D).

[3] This must be the work already referred *to, i e*, the Tabaqát-i-Akbarí although the name Nizámu-t-Tawáríkh does not appear to be given to it elsewhere.

The name Nizámu-t-Tawáríkh is generally restricted to the work by Baizáwi (*vide* Elliott and Dowson II. pp. 252-253) Its date is about 674 H. (1275 A D)

imposed upon myself the necessity of avoidance of all affectation of style and metaphor, and have named this model composition *Muntakhabu-t-Tawárikh*.[1] I hope that this imperfect collation and composition, whose object is the perpetuation of the auspicious names of the Emperors of Islám, and the transmission of a memorial thereof in this changing world until the final consummation, may lead to the pardon of the author in the world to come, and not be an augmentation of the crimes laid to his charge.

"And do thou, O Nightingale, as thou roamest through this garden,
With all thy sweetness, abstain from blaming the defects of the crow."

Since the object of my ambition is to write correctly, if I should by accident let fall from my pen the instrument of my thoughts, or commit in my thoughts, which are the motive agent of my 8.
pen, any slip or error, I hope that He (may He be glorified and exalted) in accordance with his universal mercy which is of old, will overlook and pardon it.

By speaking evil do not change my tongue,
And do not make this tongue of mine my wrong.[2]

And since the first of the Emperors of Islám who were the cause of the conquest of Hindustan—(after Mahomed Qásim,[3]

[1] This title is common to works by many other authors (Elliott and Dowson, v. 477) specially given to a history by Hasan ibn-Muhammad al-Khákí ash-Shírází, completed A. H. 1019 (1610 A. D). The work of Badáoní is known better as Táríkh-i-Badáoní.

[2] There is a play on the words زيان *wrong* and زبان *tongue* which cannot be preserved in translation.

[3] The incidents of Muhammad Qásim's engagements and victories are related in the Chach Náma, extracts from which will be found in Elliott and Dowson (Vol. i. pp. 131–211). See also Futúḥu-l-Buldán of Al-Biláẕurí (E. and D. i. 113). His full name was Muhammad ibn-Qásim ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Hakim ibn-Abi 'Uqail, and he was sent during the Khalífati of Walíd-ibn-Abdul Malik 705–715 A.D., to command on the frontiers of Sind (E. and D. Al-Biláẕurí Vol. i. p. 119.)

See also E. and D. Vol. i, Appendix 432 &c.

cousin and son-in-law of Hajjáj-ibn-Yúsuf Ṣaqfí,[1] who in the year, 93 A.H., (711 A.D), conquered the countries of Sind, Multán and Gujrát, and, by the order of Walíd ibn-'Abdul Malik Marwání[2] who on an important occasion wrote to him from Damascus and summoned him to his presence, starting from Oodypur in India, and wrapping himself in a raw hide, while on his journey yielded up his life to God, and after him the affairs of Islám in that

1 Abú Muhammad al-Hajjáj was son of Yúsuf-ibn al Ḥakam ibn-'Uqail ibn-Masúd ibn Aumir ibn Miattib ibn Málik ibn Ka'b, ibn Amr ibn Sa'd ibn 'Auf ibn Qassi (called also Saqif) He was governor of Irak and Khorásán for 'Abdul Malik ibn Marwán (692-705 A D) and was confirmed in that office by Walid ibn Abdul Malik (705–715 A D) For an account of him see I K (Slane) I 356 and seqq) He founded the city of Wásit between Basra and Kufa (75 A H) He died on 21st Ramazán A H. 95, at the age of fifty-four and was buried at Wásit. Ibn Khalliqán states, "His malady was a cancer in the stomach for which he called in a physician, who, having examined into his case, tied a piece of meat to a string and passed it down his throat, after a lapse of some time he drew it out, and found a swarm of worms adhering to it God gave also a cold ague power over him and although vases filled with lighted coals were placed around him so close as to scorch his skin he felt them not (I K. Slane *loc cit.*).

He was a brutal ruler, and at his death it was said in thanksgiving "O my God! thou hast caused him to die let his example also die from among us"

"The tribe of Saqif was a great and well-known tribe dwelling at Ṭáif, who before their conversion to Islam were devoted to the special worship of the idol Lat, the founder of the tribe was Qássí (called also Saqif) whose descent from Ma'dd is supported by two different genealogies" (Caussin de Perceval, Hist des Arabes, i 272) After refusing to hear the prophet in a personal appeal made to them, they made war against him, but eventually embraced Islám in 630 A H, shortly after the return of Muhammad to Medina

2 Walid ibn-Abdul Malik Marwání, became Khalífah in the year 86 A H and died in the year 96 A H His father was his predecessor in the Khalifate, his name was 'Abdul Malik ibn Marwán whence Walid is called Marwání. It was during the Khalifate of Abdul Malik that al-Hajjáj pulled down the Ka'bah and restored it to the condition in which it was in the time of As Suyúti. Walíd was ignorant, despotic and tyrannical, but withal discharged the duties of Khalif well, he built the mosque of Damascus and during his Khalifate many foreign conquests were achieved. (See Jarrett's translation of As Suyuti's Taríkhu-l-Khulafá, pp 227–230)

The incident in the text relates to the vengeance taken for their father's death by the two virgin daughters of Raja Dáhir, who were taken captive when he was killed at the siege of the fort of Ráwar, 93 A. H. Muhammad Qásim had sent them to Baghdád under the charge of his negro slaves,

country lost all order) were *Násiru-d-dín Subuktigín*[1] whose son was *Sultán Mahmúd Ghaznaví* who every year used to make incursions into India with the object of plundering and engaging in religious warfare, and in the reign of whose sons Lahore be-

When they were summoned before the Khalífah Walíd ibn-Abdul Malik, he became enamoured of them and desired to retain them They however assured him that Muhammad Qásim had kept them with himself for three days before sending them to the Khalífah and that consequently they were not worthy to become his concubines. Walíd being very indignant wrote a letter commanding Muhammad Qásim at whatever place he might have arrived when he received the mandate, to suffer himself to be sewn up in a raw hide and sent to the Capital Muhammad Qásim received the letter at "Udháfar" (Oodypúr) obeyed its orders and was brought before the Khalífah dead

The Khalífah taking a bunch of green myrtle in his hand, shewed the corpse to Dahir's two daughters, who thereupon told him that they had falsely represented the facts in order to be revenged on the slayer of their father. They were accordingly by his order "enclosed between walls" (Elliott and Dowson, Vol I, pp 210,-211, Appendix 437, Aín-i-Akbari, Vol II 345, and footnote) Muhammad Qásim was succeeded in the sovereignty of Sind by the descendants of the Banú Tamím Ansári from whom it passed to the Sumra Rajputs

[1] "In A H. 107 (A. D 725 26) under the Khalifate of Hishám b-Abdul Malik Amin b-Abdullah Kashari, governor of Khurásán, conquered Ghor Gharjistán, the territory of Nimroz and Kábul, and made the latter his capital. From that time continuously under the dynasties of Umayyah and Abbas it was held by the governor of Khurásan until under the Samanis Alptigín, a slave of that house, withdrew from their obedience took possession of Ghazni and Kabul and asserted his independence On his death Subuktigín, father of the great Mahmud, succeeded to the kingdom and it continued under the house of Ghazni"

I have quoted this *verbatim* from Jarrett's translation of the Ain-i-Akbari Vol II p 414, because it shews in a few words the changes which occurred during the period intervening between Muhammad Qasim and Subuktigin

Náṣiru-d-din Subuktigin is affirmed by historians to have been a Turk by descent who was brought by a merchant as a boy to Bukhára where he was sold to Alptigín, who from being governor of Khurasan had by revolt against Manṣúr (A H 351) established his sovereignty over Ghazni

Subuktigin some fifteen years later married the daughter of Alptigín and was acknowledged king by the chief of Ghazní, Alptigin having died two years previously, during which period his son Abú Isháq was governor till his death. He then became founder of the Ghaznivide Dynasty or the Kings of Lahore (See Briggs *Ferishta, Vol. I pp.* 11-96,) also (Elliott and Dowson, *Vol II*, 207-221) See also *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* (Raverty) page 70 and *footnote.*

came the seat of Government, so that Islám never again lost its hold on that country—accordingly I deemed it right to commence this history with an account of that monarch whose end was glorious, so that it may be fortunate from the first, and lauded at the last—and God is the best of helpers and defenders.

The Ghaznivide Dynasty.

From Sultan Náṣiru-d-dín Subuktigín to Khusrau Malik, who, prior to the conquest of Dehli, proclaimed Islám in Hindustán, from the year 367 A.H. (977 A.D.), to the year 582 A.H. (1186 A.D.) Their sovereignty thus lasted two hundred and fifteen years under the sway of fifteen monarchs

Sultán Násiru-d-dín Subuktigín

Was of Turkí origin, the slave of Alptigín who was a servant of Amír Mansúr-ibn-Núḥ Sámání[1] In the year 367 H. after the death of Abú Ishaq, the son of Alptigín, by common consent of the soldiery and populace he succeeded[2] to the imperial throne in the city of Bust[3] and raised the standard of conquest, and

[1] The eighth prince of the Samání dynasty who reigned 22 years (D'Herbelot).

The Sámání dynasty was founded by Asad bin-Sámán. It held sway over Khurásan and Transoxiana, holding its court at Bukhárá—from 279 A H to 395 A H See *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, Raverty pp. 26, 27 and 53. Amír Abul Haris Mansúr died at Bukhárá 366 A H. and was succeeded by his son Abul Qásim-i-Núh (*Tabaqat-i-Násiri*, Raverty 44.) For an account of the Sámání dynasty, see D'Herbelot III 193 Abú Isháq was appointed by Mansur as governor of Ghaznin upon the death of his father Alptigin in the year 365 A H, and died in 367 A H

According to the *Tabaqat-i Násiri*, Alptigin died in 352 A. H. and Isháq in 355 A H upon the death of Isháq Balkátigín, the slave of Alptigín succeeded him dying in 362 A H. after him again Pirey obtained the government, but was deposed in 367 A H when the Government passed to Subuktigín (See Raverty *Tabaqat-i-Násiri*, pp 71-73)

[2] The *Tabaqat-i-Násiri* states that Subuktigin succeeded Alaptagín in Ghaznin (Raverty pp 46-74.)

[3] *Bust*, the capital of Zábulistán (*vide Abul Feda* II, ii 201) which includes Kabul and its adjacent territory as far as Ghazna and even beyond. Derived by Yakút from Zabul, grandfather of Rustam (*Áin-i-Akbarí* Jarrett) Vol II p 115, and p 408, ' According to the Qánún Bust is situated in 91°35' long and 32°15' lat according to the Atwál in 90° long. and 33 lat. Third climate [*see Áin-i-Akbari*. Vol. II 115, *footnote* 4] Chief

**girding up the loins of energy and effort for foray and religious war, he invaded Hindustán on the frontiers of the country of Koh-i-Júd [1] and having fought a severe battle with Jaipál who was the 9.
ruler of Hindustán, concluded peace with him. Jaipál, however, broke the treaty. Accordingly Náṣiru-d-din Subuktigín equipped an army composed of 10,000 cavalry and numberless elephants huge as mountains, and engaged in conflict with him a second time, fought a great battle with him in the neighbourhood of Lamghánát,[2] the breeze of victory stirred the banners of Amír Náṣiru-d-dín, the army of Jaipál suffered defeat, and he himself took to flight and sought refuge in Hindustán. Thus Lamghánát came into the possession of Amír Náṣiru-d-dín, the Khutbah was read and the coin struck in his name.[3] Then he proceeded to the assistance of Amír Núḥ-ibn-Manṣúr Sámání [4] and was the means of procuring notable victories in Khurásán and the regions beyond the river.[5] Finally in the month of Sha'bán [6] of the year 387 A.H. (997 A D.,) he obediently submitted to the summons of the Almighty, having reigned for twenty years.**

YAMÍNU-D-DAULAT SULṬÁN MAḤMÚD IBN NÁṢIRU-D-DÍN GHAZNAVÍ.

When Subuktigín, in the month of Sha'ban 387 H., while on the road to Ghaznín, receiving the summons of the Almighty

place of the district of Bost Bost is situated on the banks of the Hendmand and is part of Sijistán. From Bost to Ghazna one reckons about 14 marches (*Abul Feda* II, ii 108) Abul Feda further states that at Bost on the Hendmand (Helmund) there is a bridge of boats similar to those of the rivers of Iráq (II 76)

[1] *The Koh-i-Jud* includes the mountainous region between Ghaznah and Lahore.

[2] *Lamghán*. See Abul Feda II ii 201. According to the Lobáb this is the general name of a collection of places in the mountains of Ghaznah (See Abul Feda I cccxlvi) *Lamghan* Long 104 30′ Lat 34°3 Ain i-Akbari iii 89

[3] The reading of the خطبة (Khutba) and striking the سكّة (sikka) that is stamping the currency, were the usual accompaniments of the accession of the sovereigns of Islám, and constituted a proclamation of their authority.

[4] See History of the Caliphs As Suyuti (Jarrett) pp 432-433.

[5] ماوراء النهر Mawará-un-nahr Transoxiana.

According to Yaqút in his Mushtarik, Túrán is the name given to the collection of countries situated beyond the Oxus See [illegible] for a full account of the countries included under this name.

[6] The eighth month of the Muhammadan year

responded "Here am I," he appointed his young son Isma'íl as his successor.[1] When this news reached Maḥmúd who was the elder son of Subuktigín, he wrote a letter of condolence to his brother and sought a peaceful solution of the difficulty on the following terms. That Isma'íl should give up Ghaznín to Maḥmúd, receiving in its stead the governorship of Balkh. Isma'íl refused these terms, and eventually war was declared between the brothers. Mahmúd was victorious, and after defeating Isma'íl, kept him closely besieged in Ghaznín for a space of six months, at the expiration of which time certain of their friends intervened and made peace between them. Isma'íl then came and had an interview with Mahmúd, and the sovereignty devolved upon Yamínu-d-Daulat Mahmúd. After this a quarrel arose between Maḥmúd and Manṣúr ibn-Núh Sámání and also his brother 'Abdu-l-Malik ibn-Núh.[2] Eventually Maḥmúd got the upper hand. The Amírs of 'Abdu-l-Malik also, Fáiq and Baktúzún, who engaged in contest with Maḥmúd, were defeated by him, and the sovereignty of the whole of Khurásán, of Ghaznín, and the frontiers of Hindustan came into the hands of Maḥmúd.

Mahmúd's mother was the daughter of the ruler of Zábul[3]

[1] The question of the right of succession of the two brothers admits of some doubt From the text it would appear that it was the intention of Subuktigin to nominate his younger son Isma'íl. The author of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* ignores Isma'íl's succession (see Raverty, note 6, page 75, and Briggs, note on Fer..., page 29) Subuktigín died in 387, and Maḥmúd succeeded according to Fanákati in 388 It appears uncertain how long Isma'íl held the Government but probably the six months during which he was besieged by Mahmud in Ghazní, represents his whole reign

[2] The origin of this quarrel is stated by Ferishta to have been a protest lodged by Mahmud against the nomination of Bak-Túzun to the governorship of Khurásán (see Briggs, p 84, see also Raverty, *Tabaqát-i-Násirí*, pp 49, 50).

Mansúr was deprived of his sight after dethronement by Fáiq and Baktúzun who then by agreement with Maḥmúd were to hold Merv and Níshápúr.

Shortly after this (in 388 A H), the Sámání dynasty came to an end after the defeat of Abd-ul-Malik by Ilák i-Nasr It had lasted one hundred and eight years. See Raverty, pp 53, 54 (see also D Herbelot iii 194).

Mahmud is related to have assumed the title of Sultán and to have been the first Oriental potentate who appropriated this term (Thomas, Coins of Kings of Ghazní, J R A. S IX 270 see also Elliott II 480-481.

[3] She was the daughter of Alptagín, governor of Ghaznín, which is here meant by Zábul, the words 'that is Qandahár" only occur in one copy and are probably interpolated.

[that is to say Qandahár *] accordingly, he is called Mahmúd Zábulí—as Firdausí [1] says:

> The auspicious court of Maḥmúd Zábulí is an ocean,
> An ocean such that no shore can be found for it·
> I went to the ocean—I dived but found no pearl
> The fault is my fortune's—not that of the ocean.

In the early part of his reign he had some unpleasant correspondence with the Khalífah of Baghdád Al-Qádir billáhi 'Abbási [2] Eventually the Khalif despatched a magnificent robe of honour, and many presents of precious things and gems, and conferred on him the title of Amíru-l-Millat Yamínu-d-Daulat.

Leaving Ghaznín he went to Balkh and Herát, and in 387 A H., (997 A.D.) he returned to Ghaznín after having settled those provinces, and thence made repeated incursions and forays into Hindustán, and took several fortresses. 'Asjadí [3] composed the following *qaṣída* in honour of this expedition:

> When the king of kings marched to Somnát [4]
> He made his own deeds the standard of miracles.

In the month of Shawwál, 391 A H., (1000 A.D.) Maḥmúd re- 11.
turned to Hindustán from Ghaznín with ten thousand cavalry,

* Not in MSS (A) or (B)

[1] Firdausí For an account of this famous poet see this volume page 32 Note 1, and Majma'ul Fuṣahá I 382

[2] Al-Qádir billáhi Abul 'Abbás Ahmad ibn-Isḥák ibn il Muqtadir was born in 336 A H. His Khalifate lasted from 381 A H to 422, the year of his death, a period of forty-one years As Suyúti quoting from Al Khatíb says that he was distinguished for his rectitude and nobility of character. (History of Caliphs (Jarrett p 431)

[3] Hakím Abú Nazar 'Abdul 'Azíz ibn-Mansúr contemporary of Hakím Ansuri, Hakím Farrukhí, and Hakim Firdúsi He died in 432 A H (Majma'ul Fusahá, Vol I p. 340) The qasida in which the lines quoted occur is given at length in the Majma ul Fusaha, *loc cit* MS (A) quotes them wrongly, MS. (B) is the same as the text which reads چون for تا. 'Asjadi was a celebrated poet of Merv The *Tabaqát-i-Nasiri* gives another couplet in addition to the above and attributes the poem to 'Ansuri (p 82, note 1)

[4] Somnát Situated according to the Qánún in 97° 10′ long and 22° 15′ lat. Somnát is on the shore, in the land of pirates which is part of India. Ibn-Said says that travellers often speak of it, and it forms part of Guzerát or the country of Lar (See Bayley, History of Gujerat, p. 18, etc, *Aín-i-Akbari* Vol. II (Jarrett) 246, etc Abul Feda II ii 116)

See also Albirúní India (Sachau) I. 205, and Index *Somanatha*.

See also p 27 of this volume, &c.

and reduced Pesháwar. He also again drew up his forces on these frontiers for battle with Jaipál who confronted him with large forces of cavalry and infantry and three hundred elephants. Sulṭán Maḥmúd gained the day and Jaipál was taken prisoner together with fifteen of his relatives, his brothers and his sons; and five thousand infidels fell by the sword. Great spoils fell into the hands of the Gházis, among them a pearl necklet which was on the neck of Jaipál, which was worth some hundred and eighty thousand *dínárs*,[1] and the necklets of the others too, on the same

[1] Note 1. *Dínár*

There is some uncertainty as to the actual value of the *Dínár*, as there were different coins, one of silver and the other of gold bearing this name.—

It was during the Khalifate of Abdul Malik ibn Marwán (A.H. 73 to A.H. 86, A.D. 692 A.D. 705) that a separate coinage was introduced. Thus As Suyúṭí gives the following account "Yahyá-b-Bukayr narrates — 'I heard Málik say that the first who coined dínárs was Abdul Malik and he inscribed on them a verse of the Qurán. Musa'b states that Abdul Malik inscribed on the dínár "Say, God is One" (Qur. cxii) and on the reverse "there is no God but God," and its circumference was a rim of silver and he inscribed outside the rim, "Muhammad is the Apostle of God, whom he hath sent as a guide unto Salvation and the true faith'" (Jarrett, History of the Caliphs p. 222.)

Abdul Malik had introduced the custom of writing at the head of letters the formula, "say there is one God" This was a cause of offence to the Grecian Emperor who wrote saying that unless Abdul Malik abandoned this habit "there will reach you on our dínárs the mention of what you will not like" Abdul Malik consequently decided upon coining his own dinárs which he did in the year 75 A.H. (A.D. 694.)

The origin of the word *dínár* is attributed to the Latin *denarius* the words فلس *fals* and درهم *dirham* being in the same way derived from *follis* and *drachma* (Prinsep I 19–246.)

The *denarius*, a silver coin was worth approximately 8½*d* its average weight being according to the authorities 60 grains. It was first coined B.C. 269.

Its relation to the *drachma* was at first as 8.5 to 9.75, but owing to a falling off in weight of the *drachma* they at one time were practically equal in value. The *drachma* was a silver coin and occupied among the Greeks the place of the *denarius* among the Romans. Both these coins then, the *dínár* and the *dirham*, were silver originally, and were in all probability of equal values, but there is another *dínár* mentioned in the Rajá Tarangini and elsewhere which was a gold coin—this answers almost exactly to the Roman *denarius aureus* of which Pliny speaks, the average weight of which was 120 grains. The gold coins of Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanchí inscription weigh from 120 to 130 grains and are indubitably copied from Greek originals in device as well as in weight. Prinsep I. 246.

scale. This victory was won on Saturday,[1] the 8th of Muḥarrám, 392 H., (1001 A.D.) Leaving this place Maḥmúd proceeded to the fortress of Ṭabarhindah[2] which was the residence[3] of Jaipál, and conquered that country.

After this in the month of Muḥarram 393 A.H. he left Ghaznín and proceeded to Hindustán by way of Seistán and assaulted Bhátia[4] which is in the vicinity of Multán. The Rájá of that place, Beji Rái, fearing the punishment of the Sulṭán killed himself with a dagger, and they brought his head to the Sulṭán. Many Hindús, more than one can number, were hurried along the road to non-existence by the pitiless sword, and Maḥmúd took as spoil two-hundred and seventy elephants while Dá'úd ibn-Naṣr[5] the renegade ruler of Multán, being reduced to submission by the Sulṭán, agreed to pay twenty times twenty thousand *dirhams*[6] annual tribute.

We may thus take it that the golden *dínár* was double the weight of the silver *dínár* and taking the ratio of gold to silver as 10 to 1 this would give us the relative values of the gold and silver *dínár* in terms of *dínárs* of silver as 20 to 1.

This relative value is rendered more probable still by a comparison of our author's statement of the tribute paid by Dáud ibn Naṣr (page 11, line 18 of the Text) with that of Firishta (see note 6 below).

Against this however is the statement in the *Áín-i-Akbarí* (Blochmann I p. 36) that "the Dínár is a gold coin weighing *one misqál*, i. e., 1⅜ dirhams" but as both the *dirham* and the *misqál* were variable the accuracy of this statement is open to question.

See Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities (Art.) *Denarius*.

[1] Firishta says Monday, the 8th of Muharram.

[2] *Tabarhindah*. Firishta calls this Batindah which is also the name given to Jaipál's capital in a history of the Rájás of Jamú. As to the identity of this with Waihind, see Raverty's *Tabaqát-i-Akbarí*, pp. 76-80 *footnote*, see Tieffenthaler's map, Vol. III. See also E. and D. II 438.

[3] MS. (A) has جای بودن Text has مقر which is evidently an "improvement" on the author.

[4] MS. (A) has بہاتہ Bháta. MS. (B) has بہاتہ Bháṭa. The real name of this place is according to Elliott *Bhera*, which lies on the left bank of the Jhelum under the Salt Range—see E and D., Vol. II, Appendix, pp. 439-440.

[5] Grandson of Shaikh Hamíd Lodi, first ruler of Multán (Briggs, p. 40.)

[6] Firishta says 20,000 golden dirams. According to the *Áín-i-Akbarí*, Vol. I 35, the dirham is a silver coin, and no mention is made of a golden dirham. Taking the value of the golden dirham at twenty times that of the silver dirham the text would give the same amount as that given by Firishta (see note 1 p. 18).

As he was advancing to Multán, Anandpál, son of Jaipál, rose up against him to oppose the advance of the Sultán, but fled after the battle to the mountains of Kashmir, and the Sultán reached
12 Multán by way of Hindustán.[1] Those events occurred in 396 A.H. (1005 A.D.) In the following year 397 A.H. (1006 A.D.) a battle was fought at Balkh between Mahmúd and Ilak Khán[2] king of Máwará an-Nahr.[3] Sultán Mahmúd was victorious; Ilak Khán finally died in the year 403 H. (1012 A.D.)

In the year 398 H. (1007 A.D.) Mahmúd entered Turkistán, and having settled the affairs of the Turkís, pursued Súkhpál[4] Nabsa, Rájá of Sind (who having embraced Islám had been released from his captivity to Abú 'Alí Sinjúrí but had again joined the idolators and apostates) overcame him and threw him into prison where he died.

In the year 399 A.H. (1008 A.D.) Mahmúd a second time entered Hindustán and engaging in battle with the aforesaid Anand Pál defeated him, and betaking himself with his vast spoil to the fortress of Bhímnagar[5]—which nowadays is known

1 Firishta says by way of Batindah. In the text we find by way of Hindustán and MSS (A) and (B) have the same. According to Elliott (II. 438) we should here read Bihand or Waihind, a place of considerable importance on the western bank of the Indus about fifteen miles above Attock.

2 See Raverty Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p 52 and note. Ilak son of Bughrá Khán took Bukhárá 10th Zí Qa'dah, 389 H. See also pages 84-85, *footnote* 9.

See also Briggs' Firishta, pp 42–44.

3 Transoxiána

4 Firishta calls him Sukhpál, a son of one of the Rájás of India. MS. (A) and (B) have Súkpál Naba سوکپال نبه According to Elliott his name was Sukhpal-Nawása Sháh, the name Nawása denoting his relationship to Jaipál whose grandson he in all probability was (see E and D, II, App 444) He is called Rájá inasmuch as Mahmúd when leaving Multán to fight Ilak Khán had (according to Firishta) left his Indian possessions in his charge. See also Elphinstone, Hist of India, p 280

5 This fortress is situated about a mile from the town of Bhím. The fort itself was called Nagarkot (Firishta) and is the same as Kot Kangra. In Tieffenthaler's map Nagarkote is placed some 25 miles N. W. of Kot Kangra, but at page 107, Vol I, he says, "Côtgangra nommée aussi Nagar cott est une ville munie d'une forteresse et située dans les montagnes" See E and D, Vol II 34 and App 445.

"The Town of Bhím which is about a mile from the fort, is now on a spot called Bhawan which means a temple raised to a Saktí or female deity, and Bhím is probably a mistake arising from its presumed foundation by the heroic Bhím."

as the Thána of Bhím—reduced it by promising quarter to the garrison, and gained possession of the treasure and valuables which had been buried and stored there since the time of Bhím, and in the early part of the year 400 H. he caused several golden and silver thrones to be placed in his court, and ordered that all that boundless and incomputable wealth should be scattered at the foot of his own throne that the people might gaze on it. In the year 401 H. (1010 A.D) he left Ghaznín and again marched towards Multán, and took possession of the remainder of the country and put to death the greater part of the Karmatians[1] and heretics of that region, and sent the remainder whom he did not put to death to the fort,[2] where they died. He took Dáúd ibn Nasr, the heretic ruler of Multán, to Ghaznín and kept him a prisoner in the fortress of Ghorí,[3] where he died

In the year 402 H (1011 A D), he set out for Thánesar[4] and Jaipál, the son of the former Jaipál, offered him a present of fifty elephants and much treasure. The Sultán, however, was not to be deterred from his purpose; so refused to accept his present, and seeing Thánesar empty he sacked it and destroyed its idol temples, and took away to Ghaznín, the idol known as Chakar- 13.

1 A heretical sect of Muslims, so called from the founder Karmat, who rose about the year 278 H They sought to attain their ends by violence and in the year 319 H under Abu Táhir, took the city of Mecca with fearful slaughter, plundered the temple and took away the black stone which they retained for twenty years

(Elliott and Dowson II. 573). (See also Sale's Qurán, Prel. Discourse, pp. 130-131) D. Herbelot (*Carmate*).

2 MS. (A) درقلاع

3 Firishta غورک MS (A) عوری

4 Thánesar. 76 62 E 29·30 N *vide* Map, Tieffenthaler, Vol. III.

Tieffenthaler describes it as a large and populous town one mile in length, having a pond surrounded by buildings towards the east The Hindus he states, claim that when gold is thrown into this lake it increases in weight. He naively, goes on to say, however, " Mais c'est un fable ridicule car celui qui y jette son or n'en recouvre rien." The water is accounted holy.

He places Thánesar at a distance of 66 miles from Dehli giving the stages.—Narela 12 miles, Sonpat 6, Gonor 6, Panipat 12, Carnal 14, Asamabad 7, Thanessor 9. It lies N.-W of Dehli and is now called Thaneswar See Cunningham, Anc. Geog. of India, pp 330–332. See Alberuni, I 199.

sûm,[1] on account of which the Hindús had been ruined; and having placed it in his court, caused it to be trampled under foot by the people In the year 403 H. (1012 A.D.), he conquered Gharjistán,[2] and in the selfsame year an ambassador arrived from the ruler of Egypt, and when the Sultán heard that he was of the Bátiní sect,[3] he exposed him to public ridicule[4] and expelled him

In the year 404 H (1013 A D.), he prepared an expeditionary force to attack Nandana,[5] a city situated on the mountains of Bálnáth. Jaipál II[6] left a force to defend that fortress, and himself proceeded to the Kashmír pass. The Sultán gained possession of that fortress with promise of quarter, and left Sárégh Kotwál to defend it, while he pursued Jaipál He took the vast spoils of that mountainous region and put many infidels to death by the sword of holy war, and honoured the rest by admitting them to Islam—a certain number he led captive to Ghaznín.

In the year 406 H. (1015 A D), he contemplated the conquest of Kashmír, and besieged the fortress of Lohar Kot,[7] which was a very high fort, but was forced to abandon the siege on account of the severity of the cold and rain, and the constant reinforcements available to the Kashmírís, and returned to Ghaznín. In that year he entered into a contract for the marriage of his sister

1 Chakrasvámin or the lord of the Chakra. For an account of this idol see Alberuni, I. 117.

"The city of Taneshar is highly venerated by the Hindus The idol of that place is called Cakra svámin, i e, the owner of the *Cakra*"

2 Gharjistan, or Gharshistán, the country bounded on the west by Herát, east by Ghor, north by Merv, and south by Ghazní *See Jácut in voc. Gharshistán*

3 Esoterics, a sect of the Shí'a Muslims For an account of them see Cureton's كتاب الملل والنحل page 147 —They were variously called القرامطة لباطنية الملحدة - التعليمية - المزدكية

4 تشهير كردن Exposing to ridicule by seating on a donkey with the face to the tail, and thus leading him through the city

5 Nandana, a fortress of brick situated on a mountain Tieffenthaler I 105, in lat. 32° (Alberúní Sachau trans, 317) In Rennell's map (1782) the Belnát mountains are placed in long 72° E., lat 32° N For a full description of this mountain, see Cunningham, Anc Geog of India, pages 164, 165.

6 Son of Anandpál, grandson of Jaipal I

7 Called also Lohkot by Firishta MSS (A) (B) have لوهركوت.

with Abul Abbás ibn Mámún Khwárazm Sháh,[1] and sent her to Khwárazm.

In the year 407 H. (1016 A.D.), a band of ruffians murdered 14
Khwárazm Sháh, and Mahmúd leaving Ghaznín, proceeded first to Balkh and thence to Khwárazm, where a furious battle took place between his forces and those of Khamártásh, the commander-in-chief of Khwárazm. The Sultán's forces gained the day and Mahmúd appointed Altún Tásh governor of that country, investing him with the title of Khwárazm Sháh, he also took vengeance on the murderers of Khwárazm Sháh, and returned (to Ghaznín) after having arranged those important affairs.

In the year 409 H., he marched with the object of subduing Qanauj,[2] and having crossed the seven[3] dangerous rivers of Hindustán, upon his arrival in the neighbourhood of Qanauj, Kúrah,[4] the ruler of Qanauj, offered his submission, and sued for quarter, offering presents. Leaving that place he arrived at the

[1] For a full account of this dynasty, see Raverty's *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, pp 231 &c, (*note* 2) Khwárazm is a country on both banks of the Oxus of which the capital is Gorgang (Jurján) see Abul Feda II ii 209 Chorasmii of Strabo, Herodotus, &c The Chorasmii are coupled by ancient authors with the Dacæ, Massagetæ and Soghdi. (Smith's Dict of Geog.)

[2] Qanauj or Qanaj, was for a long time the Hindú capital of Northern India Firishta states that when Mahmúd approached Qanauj, "he saw there a city which raised its head to the skies and which in strength and beauty might boast of being unrivalled" (Briggs I 57). See also Alberúni (Sachau tr I 199). (For a full account of this city consult Cunningham, op cit, 376, &c).

Tieffenthaler states that in ancient monuments Qanauj is called "Cannia coubadj" ce qui signifie *la vierge bossue*. Vol I pp 193, 194

[3] These in the order Mahmúd met with them were the—

Indus *Skst* Sindhu Gr. Ινδος "Indus incolis Sindus appellatus" (Pliny)
Jhelam Hydaspes or Bidaspes *Skst* Vitastá (Vihut) or Viyatta.
Chenáb Acesines called in Sanskrit Chandrabhaga
Raví Hydraotes (Arrian) *Skst* Iravati. Hyarotis (Strabo).
Biáh Hyphasis or Hypanis *Skst* Vipása.
Sutlej Zaradrus. Hesydrus (Pliny) *Skst* Shatladar
Jámuna Jaun or Yamuná.
(See also *Aín-i-Akbarí* (Jarrett), ii 310) Alberuni, Chaps xxiv, xxv.

[4] MSS. (A) (B) كورة Kúrah According to Firishta the name of the prince of Qanauj was Kúnwar Rái, see Elliott, Vol ii p. 161.

fortress of Barnah[1] whose governor Barwat, having entrusted the defence of the fortress to his kinsfolk, retired into seclusion.

The garrison of the fort not being able to withstand Maḥmúd's assault sent a present of a lakh and fifty thousand[2] rupees, with thirty elephants, and thus obtained quarter. From thence Maḥmúd proceeded to the fortress of Mahâwun[3] on the banks of the river Jon,[4] where the governor of the fort named Kal Chandar[5] attempted to escape by crossing the river riding on an elephant, but in the meantime the troops of the Sultán arrived, and he destroyed himself by stabbing himself with a dagger—

> By that same watery path he went to Hell.
> When to live is to fulfil the desires of one's enemies
> Death is infinitely preferable to life

At the taking of the fortress of Qanauj eighty-five elephants and a boundless amount of spoil fell into the hands of the troops. From thence he went to Mathra[6] which is a place of worship of the infidels, and the birth place of Kishan, the son of Basudev,
15. whom the Hindus worship as a divinity—where there are idol temples without number, and took it without any contest, and rased it to the ground Great wealth and booty fell into the hands of the Muslims, among the rest they broke up by the orders of the Sultán, a golden idol, the weight of which was

[1] Barnah Firishta gives Hardat as the name of the governor and calls the place Mírath *Baran* See Elliott II 458, on the reading برنه MS (A.) has برته Bartah and gives بردت Bardat as the name of its ruler

[2] According to Firishta 250,000 silver dinars This gives the value of the silver dinar as $\frac{3}{5}$ of a rupee In the *Ain-i-Akbari* we find no mention of a silver dínár, but the dirham is stated to be $\frac{7}{10}$ of a dinár, as the dirham varied in weight it seems almost certain from the above that the dirham and silver dinár were identical (see note 1 p 18)

[3] *Vide* Tieff 16[illegible] Mahâban avec une forteresse en brique.

[4] The river Jumna *Alberuni* "the river Jaun (Yamuna) p 199

[5] Kul Chand (Firishta) Elliott I 462 MS (A) كلچند Kulchand

[6] *Vide* Tieffenthaler I 201 et seq

Muthra or Mathura, celebrated as a holy place, the birthplace of Vasudeva,—see Alberuni, p 147 p 199, famous also in the history of Krishna as the stronghold of his enemy Rájá Kansa Arrian calls it *Methoras* while Pliny states that the river *Jomanes* (Jumna) passed between the towns of Methora and Chsobora (Kalikavartta or Vrindávana) Cunningham *op cit* pp 374-375

ninety-eight thousand three hundred *misqáls*[1] of refined gold and a piece of sapphire[2] whose weight was four hundred and fifty *misqáls*: besides a celebrated elephant of huge size, like a mountain, belonging to Rájá Gobind Chand, one of the Rájás of Hindustán, which the Sultán had long earnestly sought to buy, but which was not to be had. By chance one night, when they were returning, this elephant broke loose and came into the Sultán's camp without a keeper. The Sultán was greatly pleased with its capture, and gave it the name of Khudádád[3] When the spoil reached Ghaznín it was found to amount to over twenty million and fifty-three thousand dirams, and three hundred and fifty odd elephants.[4]

In the year 410 H. (1019 A.D.), Maḥmúd again turned his footsteps towards Hindustán and encountered and fought on the banks of the river Jon with Nandá the Rája of Kálinjar,[5] who

[1] The Misqál = 1⅜ dirhams = 6 dangs = 96 barley grains in weight. It is a weight used in weighing gold and is also the name of the coin. (*Aín-i-Akbari*, I. 36) Cf. Hebrew *shekel* שֶׁקֶל see also Alberuni I. 160–164.

[2] ياقوت كحلي Firishta says ياقوت ازرق a blue gem. The stone was in all probability a sapphire. There are four kinds of ياقوت — احمر ازرق ابيض and آسمانجوني i.e. red, blue, white, and coerulean.

[3] The gift of God.

[4] From collating the MSS. A. and B, I think the reading here is quite plain. It is

و چون بغزنين رسيد شمار آن غنايم بيست و اند بار هزار هزار درم و پنجاه و سه هزار بردة و سيصد و پنجاه و اند فيل بود .

Both MSS. have بودة but we must read بردة as in Firishta, Vol. I p 51, line 9, *et seq.* we read thus —

و چون بغزنين رسيد غنائم سفر قنوج را شمار كردند بيست هزار دينار و هزاران هزار درم بشمار درآمد و پنجاه هزار بردة و سيصد و پنجاه فيل و ديگر نفائس خارج اين بود .

and when he reached Ghaznín they counted the spoils of the expedition to Qanauj, twenty thousand dinárs and thousands of thousands of dirams, and fifty thousand slaves and 350 elephants, besides other booty in addition to these (Firishta, Vol. I p 51, l. 9 *et seq*)

[5] *Kálinjar* in Dangaya, Bundelkhand A description of this fortress with two plates will be found in Tieffenthaler, Vol I p. 244 He states that the fort was taken by Sher Sháh and passed into the possession of the Rajah of Dangaya (Bundelkhand) from the time of Muḥammad, king of Dehli. (1718 to 1748) Lat. 25 N, Long 85 5 E (See *Aín-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) II. 158-159).

had with him 36,000 cavalry and 45,000[1] infantry and 640 elephants, and who had put to death the Rájá of Qanauj on the occasion of his submission to the Sultán, and who had also come to the help of Jaipál, who had several times fled from before the Sultán. The servants of the Sultán who had gone forward to
16. the attack, found the city deserted, and sacked it. A terrible dread overwhelmed the heart of Jaipál, so that leaving all his property and material of war just as they stood, he took to flight with some selected companies. Five hundred and eighty elephants during the pursuit, emerging from a forest, fell into the hands of the Sultán's troops. He then returned to Ghaznín.—Many regions passed from the possession of the infidels to the Muslims, moreover the people of that country, either willingly or perforce, made profession of Islám.

In the year 412 H. (1021 A.D.), Máhmud proceeded to Kashmír and laid siege to the fort of Loharkot for a month, but it held out being exceedingly well fortified. Leaving Loharkot he went to Lahore, and in the beginning of spring returned to Ghaznín.

In the year 413 H. (1022 A.D.), he again made an attempt on the country of Nandá, and when he arrived at the fortress of Gwáliár, having reduced it peaceably and accepted presents from its governor, confirmed him in his governorship. As part of that present there were thirty-five elephants. Leaving that place he went to the fort of Kálinjar, the commander of which first made an offering of three hundred elephants and sought his protection.[2]

He also composed a poem in Hindí in praise of the Sultán, and sent it to him, whereupon the Sultán read the poem in the presence of the eloquent men of Hindustán and the poets of his own country. They were all loud in their praises of the poem, and the Sultán was so proud of it, that he wrote a patent conferring upon him the governorship of fifteen forts as a reward for the poem. Nandá also sent large quantities of property and jewels.

Firishta gives the date of this expedition as 412 A.H. See Elliot, Vol I. 462, for an account of the various statements.

[1] The text has صد و چهل و پنجهزار Firishta says 45,000. MS. (A) likewise says 45,000. MS (B) is same as the text, which says 145,000, but 45,000 is no doubt correct.

[2] Abul Fazl (*Áín-i-Akbarí*, Text I 423) says this was in 416 A.H.

and countless articles of value as an offering to Maḥmúd. The Sulṭán victorious and triumphant returned to Ghaznín.

In the year 414 H. (1024 A.D.), Mahmúd went to Balkh, and passed the river Jaihún.[1] The chiefs of the regions beyond the river,[2] hastened to meet him, and Yúsuf Qadr Khán king of the whole of Turkistán, came out to receive him, and visited the Sulṭán. They held great banquets and gave presents to each other, and 'Alí Tagín, of whose oppression the people of the regions beyond the river had complained, learning what was happening took to flight. The Sulṭán pursued him and having captured him sent him a prisoner to one of the fortresses of Hindustán, then he returned and spent the winter in Ghaznín. 17.

Once more[3] he led his army against Somnát, which is a large city on the coasts of the ocean,[4] a place of worship of the Brah-

1 The Amú Daryá or Oxus *Jaihún* is the name of the great river which separates Khwárazm and Khurásán from Bokhárá, Samarqand and that country. all the region on the Bokhárá side of the river is called the country beyond the river (má wará annahr) I K in 229 According to Abul Faẓl Balkh is situated in Long 101 40 Lat 36·41 The Jaihún, is also called "the river of Balkh" See also Abul Feda (Reinaud) II. ii. 198-199.

2 ماورا النهر - Transoxiana. The country lying between Khwárazm on the west and the Oxus on the south from Badakhshán to the frontiers of Khwárazm See Abul Feda (Reinaud) II ii 212 and seq

3 The accounts of this celebrated expedition are given in great detail by most authors. Those who follow (Ibn Asír and) Mirkhond make it commence with 416 H. Those who follow Firishta with 415 H (Elliott, II. 468).

4 Somnát, South-west of the peninsula of Guzerat, Long. 107 10, Lat 22·15, (*Aín-i-Akbarí* (J) ii 58,) on the sea shore At a distance of 50 farsakh from Bazána, (*Alb*) The river Sarsuti falls into the sea at the distance of a bowshot east of Somanath (*Alb* 261). It was here that the Yádavas killed each other (*Alb.* 405)

The idol of Somanáth is stated by Alberuni to have been the linga of Mahadeva erected to remove the leprosy of the moon The word Somanáth means master of the moon "The image was destroyed by the Prince Maḥmúd, may God be merciful to him!—A H 416." Alb II 103 Alberuni gives an account here of Somanáth, and states (p. 176) that the day of full moon in the month Srávana is a fast day holy to Somanáth.

See also Elliot, II 468–476, also Elphinstone 286, *note* 16-17, Briggs' Fir. I. 68, 73, 74. *Aín-i-Akbarí*, Vol II 246, and *note*

Qazwiní in his *Aṡár-ul-Bilad* gives an account of the idol of Somnát and states that it was suspended in mid-air without support of any kind, and

mans who worship a large idol. There are many golden idols there. Although certain historians have called this idol Manát, and say that it is the identical idol which the Arab idolators brought to the coasts of Hindustán in the time of the Lord of the Missive (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him), this story has no foundation, because the Brahmans of India firmly believe that this idol has been in that place since the time of Kishan, that is to say four thousand years and a fraction. Its name too, in the Hindi language, is really Sobha Náth, that is to say Lord of Beauty, and not Manát.[1] The reason for this mistake must surely be the resemblance in name, and nothing else. In this expedition, having taken the city of Patan[2] which is known as Naharwála, a city of Gujerát, and having obtained a great supply of provisions from thence, he arrived at Somnát where the garrison closed the gates of the fort against him, and reaped their reward in rapine and plunder. The fort was taken and Maḥmúd broke the idol in fragments and sent it to Ghaznín, where
18. it was placed at the door of the Jámi' Masjid and trodden under foot[3].

At the time of his return, not considering it expedient to fight with Bairám Dev,[4] one of the mighty Rájás of Hindustán who stood in his way, Maḥmúd turned towards Multán by way of

further states that it was supposed to be kept in this position by magnetic action Qazwíni died A H 682, (A. D 1284)

[1] Cf Qurán LIII 19 20 Zamakhshari in the *Kashsháf* states that Manat was an idol worshipped by the tribes of Huzail Khuzáa and Saqif, and that it was called Manat لان دماء النسائك كانت تمدي عنده (Calcutta Edn, Vol II, page 1422)

[2] Pattan. Tieffenthaler I 385, states that Pattan was a very ancient city founded even before Guzerát, 20 miles from Radhanpur, 40 miles north of Guzerát Its ancient name was Nehroála It was originally called Anhalpur See *Áín i Akbarí* (J) II 262, III. 59, 60. Compare Briggs' Firishta, I, 69, &c, Anhalwára (Elphinstone).

[3] Cf. Alberuni II 103

[4] Firishta calls this Rájá Brahma Dev, and states that having fled from Mahmúd he shut himself up in the fort of Gandaba (Kandama *Táríkh-i-Alfi*). Briggs states that the position of this place has not been ascertained, but it appears to me to be the place Canda mentioned by Tieffenthaler I 402. "Canda est une bonne forteresse à 40 milles de Somnath elle est entourée d'eau comme une île mais on peut y aborder à gué en quelques endroits" This description tallies so exactly with Firishta's that there can be little

Sindh.[1] His army suffered great hardships from scarcity of water and forage, until with great difficulty he reached Ghaznín in the year 417 H.

In that year Al Qádir billáhi[2] the Khalífah, despatched a flag with a letter appointing the Sultán[3] to the Governorship of Khurásán and Hindustán, Nímroz and Khwárazm, and conferred titles of honour upon his brothers and sons, and in the same way assigned the titles of Kahfu-d-Daulat wal Islám to the Sultán, and to his elder son Amír Mas'úd that of Shahábu-d-Daulat wa Jamálu-l-Millat, and to Amír Muḥammad his younger brother that of Jalálu-d-Daulat, and to Amír Yúsuf that of 'Aẓdu-d-Daulat—and so forth.

In this year by way of punishing the Jats[4] of the vicinity of Multán, who had committed many acts of disrespect, Maḥmúd brought an army to Multán—and four thousand (some say eight thousand) boats belonging to the Jats laden with their families and property, were sunk in the Multán river on the occasion of a victory obtained by the boats of the Sultán, on which they had arranged some especial contrivance,[5] and the Jats were drowned and sank in the whirlpool of destruction, and the rest became food for the sword, their families were taken captive, and the Sultán, victorious and triumphant, returned to Ghaznín.—

In the year 418 H. (1027 A.D.) marching towards Báward[6], he

doubt as to the identity of Gandaba with Canda. Cf. Elliott II 473, *note* 1 Elphinstone Hist. of India, 289

In the *Tabaqát-i-Akbari* this rájá is called Parama Dev.

[1] For particulars of this march see Briggs' Firishta I. 78 Elph. 290, and *note* *Tabaqát-i-Nāṣirí* (Raverty) p 83, cf Elliott II. p. 192 from *Jámi'u l-Ḥikáyát.*

[2] History of the Caliphs (Jarrett) p 431, Al Qádir billáhi Abul 'Abbás Aḥmad-b-Isḥaq b-il-Muqtadir. A. H. 381–422.

[3] See Elliott II pp 480-481 on the assumption by Maḥmûd of title of Sulṭan, see also p. 16 of this volume *note* 2.

[4] Cf Elliott II. p 477, and I p. 507. The Jats.

[5] Cf Elliott II. 477. Briggs' Firishta I 82.

The contrivance alluded to was fixing spikes on the prows and sides of the boats like the *rostrum* or *ἔμβολος* of ancient warships. This instrument the origin of the modern ram is said to have been invented by the Tyrrhenian Piseus. (Smith, Dict of Antiq). See also Elph. 291, and *note*.

[6] Báward MS (A) has بجانب ماورا ألنهر باورد رفته MS (B) is same as the text. Abîward ville du Khorásán est située selon l' *Atwál* par 84° de longi-

utterly destroyed the Turkomans of that country, and thence he hastened to Rai [1] and laid hands on the treasures and hidden valuables of that country which had been there for many years, and eradicated
19. the false religionists and Karamanians of that place, and bestowed Rai and Isfahán on Amír Mas'úd his elder son. He then returned to Ghaznín and shortly afterwards became attacked by consumption,[2] his weakness day by day increased. Nevertheless he used to take great pains to pretend that he was well and strong, and in that condition went to Balkh and in the spring came to Ghaznín, and died of that disease on Thursday, the 23rd of Rabi'ul Awwal,

tude et 37° 20′ de latitude On la nomme encore, dit le Lobâb, Abâward et Bâward (Abul Feda (Reinaud) II ii. 185-186). Firishta calls it Badward (see also Meynard (Dict de la Perse) p 13, Abiwerd).

1 A district of Persian 'Iráq, situated according to Abul Feda quoting from the *Atwál*, in long 76° 20′ and latitude 35° 35′. Its original name was he states, Rází

Ibn Ḥauqal in his article on Dailam, speaks of Reyy as a large city at a distance of eight marches from Azarbaiján It is the ancient Rhages or 'Ραγαί of Arrian, the capital of the province of Rhagiana, first known to us in history as the place to which the Jewish exiles were sent It was the birth place of the famous physician Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakaríya Ar Rází, familiar to the medical world as Rházes who lived in the tenth century His treatise on small-pox and measles (فی الجدری والحصبة) was published in a Greek translation περὶ λοιμικῆς in 1548, and an English translation from the Arabic by Dr Greenhill (Sydenham Society, 1847) It was ten days' march from Ecbatana (*Hamadan*) It was called at different periods Europus and Arsacia In modern times the ancient name has returned, and its ruins lie now to the south of Teherán and north of Ispahan The famous jurisconsult Muhammad ibn al-Ḥasan, and al-Kisayí the reader of the Quran, are buried there. Persian Iráq comprised the regions of Reyy, Qáshan, Ispahan and Hamadán. (Dict of Greek and Roman Geog, Vol II art Rhagae), (Abul Feda, (Reinaud) II ii 169, &c) also see I K (Slane), iii 311 *et seqq*

2 Briggs, Vol I. p. 83, states that Mahmúd died of stone, but a reference to Firishta in the original shews that this is not the case. The words are مرض سوالقنیة با سل بهم رسانیده &c

The disease سوالقنیة *Sú-ul qinya* which literally means an undesirable acquisition, is thus defined by Vuller *sub voce* قنیت "pravus habitus corporis, gr καχέξια, while the following translation from the MS copy of *Bahru-l-Jawáhir* in this Library will show how it is there defined

"The disease is so called because the skin which surrounds a man and changes with his changes (i e contracts and expands as necessity arises) is diseased, it is the beginning of dropsy, but inasmuch as the term dropsy is specifically

421 A.H.,[1] and was buried at Ghaznín. His age was sixty years, and he had reigned thirty-one years. They say that when he was

restricted to another disease, this term *Sú ul qinya* is made applicable to this condition "

In the *Istilâhâtu-l-Funún* we find the disease described as "the commencement of dropsy due to weakness of liver and derangement of that organ." The quotation however is an erroneous transcription from *Al Mújaz* of *Sadídí*, a translation from which follows,—he writes "the commencement of dropsy due to weakness and derangement of the liver, with resulting pallor and whiteness owing to defect in the formation of good blood from disorder and weakness of the liver, it also arises from disorder of the stomach and weakness of that organ.

The face and extremities, that is the hands and feet, and especially the eyelids, become swollen owing to the weakness of digestion and the rising of moist vapours, and their effect upon the eyelids and extremities, and at times it extends to the entire body, so that the body becomes like dough. One of its symptoms is flatulence and borborygmus, with irregularity of the bowels. All of these are due to indigestion. The gums also are affected with pustules from the evil vapours which arise.

Its cure is a gentle course of treatment for the dropsy. Means must be taken at first to secure a minimum of excrementitious products, and drinking much water must be forbidden, and the patient directed to bathe in borax and alum water, or in sea water, as bathing in fresh water is harmful. Drinking wormwood and *dinárí* and *wardí* is beneficial The food must be appetising and strengthening to the liver, as for instance partridges, Cantharides flavoured with cloves and cinnamon and mastic and saffron are beneficial The vomiting must be treated with aperients, when it will cease, but if more energetic treatment be required we may add agaricum and rhubarb which do no harm in this disease" (*Al Mughní fí Sharh Mújaz* by Sadídí).

It is evident from the above description that the disease from which Mahmúd died was not either hectic fever (*Badáuní*) or phthisis سل (Firishta), but an anæmia, very probably "idiopathic anæmia" or "progressive pernicious anæmia" The condition of the gums points to a possibly scorbutic taint, though it was probably ulcerous stomatitis so common at the close of wasting disease. Malaria may have shared in the causation of the illness There is just a possibility that the disease may have been myxœdema, the increase in bulk of the body with the alteration and sweating of the skin, the turgescence of the mucous membrane of the mouth—all point in this direction. Against this supposition however, is the sex and the age, both of which are in favour of pernicious anæmia His age was 61.

The question of stone nowhere appears in the original authorities, and it is difficult to see why Briggs should put forward such a statement. See also Elliott, IV 188, *note* 1.

[1] This date is the same as that given by Firishta.

Raverty in the *Tabaqát-i-Násirí*, p 87, note 9, gives Thursday, the 14th of

dying he ordered them to bring all his wealth and treasures and property before him, he lay looking at them from time to time regretfully sighing at having to part with them: He would not give the smallest trifle to any one.

He had made the journey to Hindustán and engaged in holy war, twelve times. Verily his reckoning is with his Lord; and the story in connection with him and Firdausi [1] the poet is well known, and the holy Jámí [2] says

It is well to recognize merits for when the arched sky
At last discharged the arrows of misfortune,
The glory of Mahmúd passed away, nothing remained in the world
Save only this saying "He recognized not the worth of Firdausí.

Rabí'u-s-saní, 421 H (A.D 1030) quoting the *Maqámát of Amíd Abú Nasr* by Al-Baihaqí as his authority.

The *Tabaqát-i-Nasirí* gives his age at the time of his death as 61, and states that he had reigned 33 years.

[1] Abul Qásim Firdausi the celebrated poet, author of the *Sháh Námah*, was a native of Tús in Khorásán where he was born about 339 A H. (950 A.D) He died in 411 A.H (1020 A D) or 416 A H (Guzída) He was appointed by Mahmúd to complete the *Sháh Namah* As a reward for this labour he was promised a thousand *misqáls* of gold for every thousand distichs However by the machinations of Aiyáz one of Mahmúd's favourites who bore Firdausi a grudge for a fancied slight, the poet was represented to Mahmúd as being a schismatic and heretic, and eventually was put off with 60,000 silver *dirhams* instead of the promised 60,000 *misqals*· This so enraged him that he divided the 60,000 dirhams among the attendants of the bath where he was at the time of receipt Finally he wrote a brilliant satire on the Sultan in the very copy of the *Sháhnamah* which he had presented to him on its completion, and fled from Mahmúd's court to Mázinderán and thence to Baghdád. Mahmúd at last relented, and sent Firdausi the 60,000 *dinárs* with a robe of state and apologies for his former harsh treatment, but when the presents arrived the body of Firdausi was being carried out for burial See *Atashkada 'Azur p* 92 *et seqq*, also Atkinson's *Sháhnamah, Preface*· also Elliott, IV 191. See also Hunter's *Indian Empire*, p 219. and Beale's Dict. of Oriental Biography.

[2] Mulla Núrud-Dín Abdur Rahmán (*Jámí*) author of "Yúsuf and Zulaikha" Behâristán, &c., was born at Jám in 817 *H* (?) He died in 898 H See *Atashkadu-i-Azur* p 78

He was called عارف *the holy* from his position as one of the greatest divines of his day. He was the spiritual guide of the Vazír Amír Alí Sher. He performed the Hajj in 877 A H, and died at Herát twenty years later.

And in the Tazkira of Muḥammad Ufí,[1] the following *Qiṭa'à* has been attributed to the Sulṭán Maḥmúd.

From the dread of the world-winning sword and the fear of the fort-crushing sceptre,
The world became subject to me as I am subjected to reason,
At one time there would I sit serene in my splendour and riches
At another time following Avarice roamed I from country to country; 2
Oft would I boastfully say Lo! I am a man of importance,
But now I clearly perceive that the King and the beggar are equals.
I, with one wave of my hand, have conquered a myriad of castles
With one firm plant of my foot I have broken lines without number
When Death made the final assault, naught then did my splendour avail me
Nothing continues but God, God's kingdom alone is a kingdom.

Sulṭán Muḥammad ibn Sulṭán Maḥmud Ghaznaví,

Who was styled Jalálu-d-Daulat, in the aforesaid year, by the provisions of his father's will, and with the acquiescence of Ibn Arsalán[2] a relative of Sulṭán Maḥmúd, succeeded to the royal throne in Ghaznín, and a month and a half after his accession Amír Aiyáz[3] came to terms with the servants, and having mounted horses from the royal stables, took the road to Bust with the object of entering the service of Shahábu-d-Daulah Mas'úd who was at

[1] Muḥammad Ufí, author of a biography or "Tazkira" *Lubábu-l-Albáb*, and of another work called *Jámiu-l-Ḥikáyát* The latter he compiled in 1228 A.D. (625 A H). He was a native of Merv which under the Saljúq princes was the capital of Persia He was also known as Núruddin Muḥammad Ufí. (Beale, O. B. D.) See also J R. A. S., Vol. IX. 113.

Hájí Khalfa calls him Jamálu-d-Dín Muḥammad al Ufí. See J. R. A. S., Vol. V., p. 111.

[2] Called in the *Tazkirat-ul-Mulúk*, 'Alí son of Iyal Arsalán a relative of the late Sulṭan Maḥmúd. (Raverty, *Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí* 89 *note* 8)

Firishta calls him Amír 'Alí, son Kisil Arsalán father-in-law of Maḥmúd. (Briggs, 93). See Elliott, IV. 193. Alí Kurbat (Raverty), or Alí Kuishávandí.

[3] Abul Najm Amír Aiyáz (Firishta).

Sipáhán.[1] Amír Muhammad despatched Súndhí[2] Rái the Hindú with a large army in pursuit of them, Amír Aiyáz was victorious in the fight, and put to death Súndhí Rái the Hindú with a large number of Hindús, and sent their heads to Amír Muhammad Amír Aiyáz joined Amír Mas'úd at Níshapúr,[3] and four months later Amír Muhammad moved his camp in the direction of Bust,[4] and came out in full force from Ghaznín with the intention of fighting with his brother, and when he reached Takínábád[5] all his Amírs having revolted against him, put out his eyes and threw him into the fort of Bajj[6] in Majbaristán[7] and having gone over to Amír Mas'úd with the whole army and treasures, went
21. to Herát and met him there. The blinded Amír Muhammad reigned five months, but according to Qázi Baizávi[8] it was fourteen years, and the period of his imprisonment was nine years. God knows the truth. The author of the[9] *Lubbu-t-Tawáríkh* writes that Muhammad ibn Mahmúd wielded sovereignty in Ghaznín for four years in the first instance, during the reign of his father, afterwards he was imprisoned for nine years by the command of his brother Mas'úd, and after the murder of Mas'úd he reigned for another year and then died.

An Amír in whose palace thou seest thousands of sentinels
Now on the vault of his tomb thou seest ravens keeping watch,

[1] Ispáhán, see Abul Feda II, ii 170. (Reinaud).

[2] Sewand Rai (Firishta).

[3] The finest city of Khorásán situated at an equal distance from Merv, Herát, Jurján and Damaghan. See Abul Feda II ii 189. (Reinaud).

[4] Fourteen marches from Ghazní in Sijistán, between Herát and Ghazní. Abul Feda II ii 108 (Reinaud)

[5] Takínábád, see Elliott ii pp 271, 293 iv p 193 note 1. Briggs places it 30 miles N of Ghazní, see *Aín-i-Akbarí* (J) III 68 Long 101° 5, Lat 33.°

[6] The reading ازمجبرستان in the text is absolutely without authority judging from the two MSS I have before me. These both read,

در قلعهٔ نج که از بحرستاب میل کشیدند I am unable to elucidate this, but it certainly gives no countenance to the reading in the text which, however I have translated, as it stands, *faute de mieux*

[7] Variously called Walaj (Firishta) Mangúál (*Nisámu-t-Tawáríkh*) See Elliott IV. 193 note 3.

[8] Abú Saíd Abdullah ibn Abúl Hasan Alí Baizáwí. See Elliott, II. 252.

[9] Yahyá ibn 'Abdul Latíf Qazwíní Dimishqí. Died 960 A. H. (18th December, 1552) (Hájí Khalfá).

Thou didst see the head of Alp Arslán[1] reach the sky in its grandeur,
Come to Marv that thou mayest see the body of Alp Arslán beneath the dust.

Shahábu-d-Daulat Sultán Mas'úd ibn Mahmúd.

By the consent of the Amírs and Vazírs of Mahmúd he ascended the imperial throne, and having come from Harí[2] to Balkh, spent the winter there, and summoning Ahmad ibn Hasan Maimandí whom Sultán Mahmúd kept a prisoner in the fort of Kálinjar, made him a Vazír. Then leaving Balkh he came to Ghaznín and thence started for Sipáhán and Rái, and arriving at Herát engaged in war with the Turkománs, and not overcoming them, but on the contrary suffering defeat at their hands, turned back. The Turkománs increased in power day by day owing to his weakness, till affairs assumed the aspect which they eventually did[3]

In the year 423 H Ahmad ibn Hasan Maimandí died, and in the year 424 Sultán Mas'úd having undertaken to conquer 22.

1 Abú Shujá' Muhammad, son of Chákirbeg Daúd, son of Mikáíl, son of Saljúq, son of Duqáq surnamed 'Azdu-d-Daulat Alp Arslán (arm of the Empire the hero lion) was the third monarch of the Saljúqiyah dynasty who ascended the throne of Khorásán in 451 A H (see Raverty 132, *note 2*) Born 424 A. H, murdered 465 A H The lines are attributed by the author of the *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* to Hakím Sanái a celebrated poet of Ghaznín His most celebrated work is the *Hadíqat-ul-Haqíqat wa Sharí'atu-t-Taríqat* otherwise known as *Fakhrínámah.* His full name was Abú Muhammad ibn Adam Sanái Al Hakím. He died in the year 525 H (4th December, 1130) (H K.).

See also *Majma'ul Fusahá* I 254 and *Átashkada-i-Ázur*, p 108. cf. I K. (Slane) iii 230.

2 Herát The well-known city in Khurásán, the ancient Aria ('Αρεια) (see D. G R. G $\frac{I}{210}$) (Abul Feda II ii 193,) founded by Alexander. Meynard *Dict de la Perse*, p. 592, note 1, says·

L' opinion generale des Persans est qu' Herat doit son nom et son origine à un des officiers de Nerimân le Pehlevân et qu'elle fut rebâtie par Alexandre ...

لهراسب نهاده است هر برا بدیاد گشتاسپ زنو بنای دیگر بنهاد بهمن پس
ازان عمارت دگر کرد اسکندر رومیش همه داد بباد

Le nom d'origine qui en derive est Harawi.

3 i.e. The establishment of the dynasty of the Saljúqiyah in 429 H by Tughril Beg

Hindustán marched towards the fortress of Sarsatí[1] which is situated in the way to Kashmír, laid siege to it and reduced it and made his way to Ghaznín with great booty. Then in 425 H. Sultan Mas'úd reduced Amal[2] and Sári[3] and sending legates to Kálinjar and Tabaristán established his authority there[4] and sent Tughdí Beg and[5] Husain ibn 'Alí ibn Maikál with a large army from Níshápúr against the Turkománs, and a severe battle ensued in which Husain was taken prisoner and Tughdí Beg fled and returned to the Amír Mas'úd.

Amír Ahmad Niyál Tigín[6] the treasurer of Sultán Mas'úd whom Mas'úd had fined and had sent to Hindústán,[7] on arriving in Hindústán revolted[8] and the Amír Mas'úd nominated a general of the Hindús named Náhir[9] to oppose him. Ahmad being overcome in battle fled to Mansúrah[10] in Sindh and was drowned—his head they sent to Ghaznín In the year 427 H (1035 A.D.) a new palace was completed in which they erected a throne inlaid with jewels, and suspended above it a jewelled crown. The

1 Sursatí. (Firishta) a fortress situated among the hills of Kashmír.

2 'Amol the capital of Tabaristán, birthplace of at-Tabari Abul Feda (R) *II* ii 177–179

3 Sári or Sáriyah in Tabaristán (according to *al-Lubáb* in Mázindarán.)

4 *Lit* had coins struck and the Khutbah read in his own name.

5 MSS (A) and (B) تغدي بيگ و.

6 Cf *Táríkhu-s-Subuktigín* Elliott II. 116 He was supposed to be a natural son of the Amír Mahmúd.

7 As governor, with kettle-drums and banners and all things usually given to generals of the army.

8 Elliott II. 125. Baihaqí says, In this interval letters were constantly arriving with the news of Ahmad Niyál Tigín having reached Lahore with the Turkománs, and that numerous turbulent fellows of Lahore had flocked to him.

9 Baihaqí says, Tilak the Hindu was sent · while Firishta states that Mas'úd sent Náth one of the Chiefs of Hind, and that upon his death in battle Túlak ibn Husain was sent who killed Ahmad

Briggs translates "Tilok the son of Jye Sein"—and remarks upon the fact that he was an unconverted Hindú

10 Al Mansúrah in Sindh the former city of Bahmanwá, conquered and renamed by Muhammad ibn ul Qásim ibn ul Munabbih. It is situated at a distance of 20 *farsakh* from Bhâti, situated between the arms of the Mihrân river (*Alberúni*) Almansûra. Tieffenthaler, Vol. III. Map. Known later, and up to the present time as Bukkur, see Impe. Gazetteer. Also Abul Feda. II. ii. 113 *Aín-i-Akbarí* (Jarrett) II. 327 and *note*. also III. 58, and *note*.

Sultán took his seat upon that throne and having placed the crown upon his head gave a public audience And in this self same year he bestowed upon Amír Maudúd ibn Mas'úd (his son) the drum and ensign,[1] and despatched him to Balkh while he himself proceeded with an army against Hindústán—captured the fort of Hánsí[2] and thence proceeded to the fortress of Sonpat[3] Deipál[4] the commander of that fortress fled to the forest and lay hid there. They reduced the fort and captured immense booty putting to the sword the greater part of Deipál's army, but he himself escaped alone. From thence Mas'úd turned his steps towards the valley of Rám[5] who sent a large offering accom- 23.
panied by a written apology for his non-appearance. Amír Mas'úd accepted his excuses and giving the Amír[6] Abúl-Mujáhid son of Mas'úd,[7] the drum and standard (of commission) sent him to Lahore and retraced his steps to Ghaznín

In the year 428 (1036 A D) he left Ghaznín for Balkh intending to crush the rebellion of the Turkománs who evacuated Balkh and retired into the surrounding country. The Sultán then

[1] As tokens of his commission as a general of the army.

[2] According to Baihaqí this fort had been hitherto known as "The Virgin" as no one had yet been able to take it It was taken ten days before the close of Rabí'-ul Awwal Hánsí, a city with a ruined castle 11 miles to the east of Hissár. Tieffenthaler I. 131.

[3] Sonpath, a city with a brick fortress Tieffenthaler I 133 It lies North of Delhi MSS (A and B). read قلعۀ سانپت

[4] MSS (A and B) دىىال

[5] Firishta's account is almost identical here

[6] Firishta writes فرزند خویش ابوالمجد ودرا His son Abúl Majdúd. See also Raverty p. 95, *note* 7. In the text we should read ابوالمجاهد بن مسعود

[7] Here I follow MS (B). The readings of the MSS vary here very considerably MS. (A) reads (agreeing with the text) سلطان ازاب جیحون گذشته تمام ماورا النهر را متصرف شد و داود ترکمان که تعدي بيگ و اميرحسن را قبل ازين شكست داده بود بجمعيت تمام قصد بلخ نمود ․

MS. (B) reads, و سلطان ازاب جیحون گذشته تمام قصد بلخ نمود

Preference must be given to MS. (A), the copyist evidently having mistaken his place after the first تمام and instead of continuing ماورا النهر را he has gone on قصد بلخ نمود that he was a careless and incompetent copyist is shewn by the next line where he writes و درين اثنا تعدي بنواحي كوركان درازكرد for و درين اثنا تعدى دست تعدى بنواحى كوركان دراز كرد

crossing the Jíḥún occupied the whole of Transoxiána. Dáúd the Turkomán, who had previously defeated Tughdí Beg and Amír Ḥusain, marched with a large force towards Balkh. Amír Mas'úd thereupon returned from Transoxiána to Balkh and Dáúd the Turkomán[1] leaving Balkh went to Merv. In the meantime Tughdí Beg[2] had been acting oppressively in the neighbourhood of Gurgán. When the Amír Mas'úd perceived the symptoms of his rebellion he ordered him to be impaled. The Amír Mas'úd then exacted a stipulation and promise from Béghú[3] the Turkomán who was the chief of that tribe, that henceforward they would never attempt any lawlessness, and having delimited their boundaries in a suitable way left for Herát. While on his way thither a body of the Turkománs fell upon the army of Mas'úd, killing some and plundering the baggage. The soldiers of the Sulṭán who were told off to attack them made the whole of that party food for the sword, and brought their wives and families together with the heads of the slain into the presence of Amír Mas'úd who sent asses laden with the heads to Béghú. Béghú apologized, and it so happens that this is the very same Béghú in praise of whom the poet Ẓiaí[4] of Persia has composed several odes from which the following verses are selected—

24. It is wrong for me to bewail the misfortunes of others than thee,
It is wrong not to weep with thy sorrow.
My occupation day and night is to lament and bewail thy sorrow.

[1] See Raverty, p 94, note 2.

[2] MS. (A) has تغدی not تغدي بگ.

[3] Israíl-i-Béghú. See Raverty (*Tubaqát-i-Náṣirí*) p. 94, *note* 2, page 116, *note* 3, for an account of the rise of the Saljuqíyah dynasty See also Ibn Khall (Slane) iii 225 and *seqq.*

[4] *Ẓiáu-d-Dín Khajandí Al Fársí*, a native of Shíráz who left Shíráz in his youth and took up his abode at Khajand. He was a contemporary and panegyrist of Sultán Malik Sháh Saljúqí, and died at Herát in the year 522 H. (In the *Majma'-ul Fuṣaḥá* from which these particulars are taken, the date of his death is 622 H, but this is an error as Malik Sháh died in 491 H.)

Beale (Oriental Biographical Dictionary) gives the date as 622 H., but this is in all probability copied from the above authority.

Thou did'st say, "Thou did'st weep for love of me," but verily there is a difference in shedding blood and shedding tears
At all hours I suffer a thousand pangs for the grief of the love of thee, nor do I weep alone
I cannot but melt with love of thee, nor is there any remedy for the pain I suffer for thee, save weeping.
Apart from thee Fate has nothing in store for me
Save vexation, one day, and weeping the next
From thy era discord springs, for if not how comes it to pass that the whole world should weep from my time to that of the king?
Bég̱há Malik Sháh, he who by his sword made the brave warriors to weep openly on the field of battle.
The King Nizám Din to whom at the time of his conflict
Came from the tombs of Rustum and Dárá the sound of weeping.
The gems in the depths of the sea or in the heart of the flinty rock were compelled to weep for shame at his eloquence,
The inhabitants of the world above were compelled to weep, cast down by the destroying arrow of his wrath.
From envy of his splendour, which surpasses the sun in its zenith,
The Gemini were forced to weep constantly in the heavens.
Oh! thou in presence of whose pearl-scattering hand the ocean weeps like a cloud from every pore!
Who in view of thy majesty would dare or desire to weep over the corpse of thy enemy?
Thy sword from very fineness of temper weeps tears of blood over thy enemies in the field of battle,
What is prepared for thine adversary in either world?
There is the torture of hell, here he must weep.
Lo! one who in the madness of his fear at thy displeasure
Seeks to hide himself in a corner and prepares to weep.
Thy enemies have many manifest and hidden projects
But the wound is hidden, the weeping is manifest.
I believe that this must have come into your exalted mind,
After all what use is praise to me with weeping
When I recite any poem in separation from thee

Both the first and last verses weep for anguish.
Till lovers pass from excess of grief to endurance and to weep like Wámiq and 'Azrá [1]
May it be thy lot to smile after a happy life,
May it be the fate of thy enemies perforce to weep.

26. The following is also by him :—

Oh thou whose lip distils sugar [2] at the opening of each smile!
Thy ruby lip when thou smilest, rebukes the soul.
In every movement thy curling locks ravish the heart
In every smile thy ruby lip scatters the life blood.
The trade of thy hyacinthine ringlets is to scatter perfume,
The habit of thy delicate lips is to smile sweetly.
Till thou seest not the cheek of gold thou smilest not,
Every flower smiles from the enjoyment of the gold.
When thou smilest a whole world smiles looking towards thee
For no one before this has seen the sun and moon to smile (at one time)
I have a great sorrow and lamentation, and endless grief and pain,
I have in separation from thee all of these, but no smile.
What could mankind have learned of the shape of thy mouth
Had'st thou not given them from thine own mouth the news of a smile
Because of thy cruelty I do not smile, for at the time of mourning
The wise and excellent do not approve of smiling.
All my disorder is due to grief on thy account,
Why then do you smile at me disordered as I am?
It may be that from the crown and canopy of kings thy locks and cheek have learned to smile both morning and evening.

27. King of the East Malik Sháh who in his feasting is careful always to smile from joy and pride.

[1] The loves of Wámiq and 'Azrá form the subject of two Turkish romances, one by Mahmúd bin Asman, Lamá'í, and the other by Mu'íd, a native of Tarkhán (D'Herbelot)

[2] ای لب شکرریز must be read here

Conqueror of infidelity, Nizámu-ud-Dín, whose friends are
always engaged in enjoyment, and only vary it by smiling.
If the seed could receive the good tidings of his approbation,
even from the loins of his father would one begin to smile.
A father to whom a son is essential to do him service, smiles
from the pleasure he experiences at the success of his son.
It is not strange that from the excess of his joy, the cloud of
weeping which shrouded his moist eyes gives place to smiling.
Oh ye obedient ones, since the beauty of the rose is added to
your own charms, ye are smiling in this garden[1] of two doors.
Thy charms have power to add sweetness to sugar
Thy words have power to add brilliance to the jewel.
Thy shaft when fitted to the bow has established the custom
In the array of battle to smile at the helmet and shield.
Following after victory when thy sword is furious
There comes to it from the sorceries of heaven, a smile.
Doubtless the enemy of thy grandeur, smiles sweetly
If scattering his heart's blood (in envy) be to smile.

In order that the saffron[2] may fulfil the promise of its properties, namely to bring smiles to the lips of all conditions of men; may the lips of thy enemies be saffron, that their lips may always from fear of thee smile from his want of success.

[1] *i.e.*, the world. Birth and death are the two doors.

[2] Saffron was held by the Greek physicians to cause smiling when taken internally.

It is its property of inciting to mirth and laughter which is here alluded to.

With regard to Saffron the مخزن الادويه says.

افعال و خواص آن مفرح و مقوي حواس رمغري و منضج و محلل و مصلح مفونت خلط بلغمي ومانع و حافظ آن از تغير و فساد و مدربول و باقوة قابضه و محرک باه و مقوي جوهر روح حيواني و جگر و احشا و الات تنفس و مورث نشاط و ضحک و منفي گرده و مثانه و نشره و رسانندهٔ قوت ادوده به قلب و ساير اعضا و مفتح شده دماغ و جگر و سپرز *

Actions and properties of Saffron. Exhilarating and tonic to the senses, excitant and digestive, laxative and corrective of the impure humours of the phlegm, and preventing and preserving them from alteration and badness It is diuretic and constipating, aphrodisiac and strengthening to the essence of the animal spirits, to the liver, and bowels and respiratory

28. Then Amír Mas'úd marched from Herát to Níshápur and thence to Tús[1] and a body of Turkománs giving him battle met their death, the people of Báward gave up that town to the Turkománs and the Sultán having overcome that fortress and having put them all to death spent the winter at Níshápur.[2]

Then in the year 430 H. having set out to attack Tughral[3] the

organs. It produces mirth and laughter, purifies the kidneys and bladder and skin. It carries the virtues of medicines to the heart and to all viscera—removes obstructions of the brain, liver and spleen

The following extract from the بحر الجواهر gives a further account of its properties.

يمنع سيلان الرطوبات الى العين نطوخا و اكتحالا [بلين المواة] حار فی الثالثة يابس فی الاولی مفتح محلل قابض منضج محسن اللون و يسكر مع الشراب جدا حتى يرمن و يصدع و ينوم و يجلو البصر و يسهل الولادة و النفس و يقوي القلب و يدر و يسقط الشهوة و ينفع من الاوجاع الباطنة و اوجاع الرحم و يذهب الخمار و يزيد في الباه و يوافق امراض الطحال —

It prevents the flow of moist humours to the eye when used either as an ointment or a collyrium It is hot in the third degree, dry in the first degree, laxative, or constipating, digestive, improving the complexion, and very intoxicating with wine causing heaviness, headache, and drowsiness, clears the sight and facilitates parturition, and respiration, is a cardiac tonic and is diuretic and controls the animal passions and cures internal diseases and uterine complaints, dispels the effects of debauch, and is a sexual tonic and cures diseases of the spleen.

Sadídí, p 143, says of Saffron. و له خاصية عجيبة في تقوية جواهر الروح و تفريحه لما يحدث فيه من نورانية و انبساطه مع متانة و يعينها العطرية الشديدة —

It has a wonderful power as an exhilarant increasing the brilliance and strength of the mental powers. It is assisted by strong perfumes.

[1] Tús, a district and city of Khorásán, one of the dependencies of Níshápúr, distant from the city of Níshápúr about 10 farsakhs

See Abul Feda II ii. 190 Dict de la Perse, p 396. According to Ibn Khallíqán the Saljúqs gained possession of Tús in 429 A. H. and in the month Ramazán of the same year they took Níshápúr. I. K. (Slane) iii 226.

[2] MS (B) has گذرانیدند shewing clearly that the copyist was a native of Hindustán A line or two lower he writes قرار نمود for قرار نمود This MS is quite worthless for purposes of comparison. It abounds in errors and is plainly the work of an inferior copyist.

[3] Tughral Beg Abú Tálib Muhammad Ibn Mikáil Ibn Saljúq Ibn Dukák Ruknu-d-Dín Tughral Beg was the founder of the dynasty of Saljúqs (cf. Raverty, pp. 94 and 122, and also I K. (Slane) iii 224.

Turkomán who had raised a rebellion in Báward, when Tughral took to flight Amír Mas'úd turned back and came to Sarakhs[1] by way of Mahnah[2] and gave orders to rase the fortress of Mahnah. Then he put to death some of the inhabitants of Mahnah, and cut off the hands and feet of many more and thence went in the direction of Zírqán[3] in which place the Turkománs brought together a large army and fought a severe battle with the Sultán. In this battle the majority of the generals of the army of Ghaznín mutinied and went over to the enemy The Sultán remaining all alone on the field, felled several of the Turkomán leaders with sword, spear and mace, and eventually came out of that engagement safely. This event took place on the 8th of Ramazán, 431 H. (1039 A. D.). From thence Amír Mas'úd came to Merv, and several of the soldiery from the neighbouring country having come in at last sided with him. He went to Ghaznín by way of Ghaur,[4] and having fined these chiefs who had not fought and had fled, sent some of them, as for instance 'Alí Dáya and Ḥájib-i-Buzurg,[5] and Beg Tughdi to Hindustán and imprisoned[6] them in fortresses. All of them died in imprisonment. Amír Mas'úd now desired to go to India and collect some forces there, and to come from there with a large army against the Turkománs to punish them. With this intention he made Amír Maudúd[7] Amír of

1 Sarakhs or Sarkhas (Meynard, Dict. de la Perse, 307) said by the Persians to have been founded by Kaikaús, a city situated between Níshápúr and Merv, in a plain. Abul Feda II. ii. 193.

2 Mahnah. Firishta says مهتكه Mahtaks but مهنه is undoubtedly the right reading. In Persian this name is spelt ميهنه Maihana, a small town of the district of Khaberán between Abíward and Sarakhs. See Meynard, Dict. de la Perse, 558.

3 Zírqán is not mentioned by other authors I have consulted and may be a clerical error. The name of the place where this battle was fought was Dandángán a town in the vicinity of Merv, cf. Raverty, p. 94, note 3. Also Abul Feda II. ii. 197. Meynard, p 239 It seems to me most probable that we should read زند خان though all MSS. give زير خان. Zandkhán, زند خان is a fortified town situated at the distance of one farsakh from Sarakhs (Meynard, 288).

4 Abul Feda II. ii. 201. A province lying between Herát, Karáwán and Gurjistán.

5 Firishta حاجب شيباني Hájib Shaibání.

6 MS. (B) در قلعها حبس كرد

7 Shihàbu-d Daulat Maudúd his eldest son. Compare the account given by Firishta.

29\. Balkh, and having appointed Muḥammad ibn Abdus Ṣamad as his Wazír despatched them thither. He then appointed the Amír Muḥammad[1] with two thousand soldiers to proceed to Multán, and sent the Amír of that district[2] to the foot of the hills of Ghaznín to restrain the Afgháns of that district who had broken out into rebellion; and having laden camels with the whole of Maḥmúd's treasures which were stored in Ghaznín and the neighbouring fortresses started for Hindustán and despatched messengers *en route* to bring his brother Amír Muḥammad who had been blinded[3] and was then confined in the fortress of Bazghand.[4] When Sulṭán Mas'úd arrived at the frontier fort[5] of Márikala,[6] his slaves plundered all the treasure-camels. In the meantime the Amír Muḥammad arrived there, and the slaves who recognised that this violence would have no successful issue unless another governor were appointed[7] perforce, approached the Amír Muḥammad, raised him to the Sovereignty and breaking into open riot assaulted Sulṭán Mas'úd who had taken refuge in that fort. The next day the whole army becoming violent brought Amír Mas'úd from within the fort of Márikala and made him prisoner confining him within the fortress of Kírí,[8] till at last in Jamádiu-l-Awwal 432 H they sent a false

[1] Firishta says امیر مجدود Amír Majdúd—the second son of Mas'úd MS. (A) has امیر محدودہ Amír Mahdúda, which should in all probability be read مجدود Majdúd MS (B) agrees with the text, both are probably wrong.

[2] The words in the text appear to be a misprint for the following امیر ایزدیار which is Firishta's version. The Amír Izad Yár was Mas'úd's fifth son. Both MSS however have امیراین دیار را

[3] See page 21

[4] MSS (A) and (B) برغنه.

[5] رباط Dozy quoting from de Slane gives *casernes* fortifiées qu'on construisait sur les frontieres de l'empire as the meaning of رباط

[6] Márikala Firishta says Márkala which according to some is on the Jhilam river which in those days was called the Behát. Raverty in his *note* 4, page 95 says A pass somewhat difficult situated between Ráwal Pindi and Attock—See Elliott II. 273, *note* 2

[7] MS (A) این تعدي ببش MS (B) این تعدي ازپیش In the text read تعدي از for تعدي او Cf. Firishta غلامان دانستند كه ایدقسم تعدي ازپیش نخواهد رفت

[8] Firishta reads كيري Kírí. Cf. Raverty 95 (5). MS (B) MS. (A) كيري See Elliott II. 273, *note* 3

message purporting to emanate verbally from Amír Muḥammad ordering him to kill Amír Mas'úd and to send his head to him. The Kotwál in obedience to this order severed Mas'úd's head from his body and sent it to Amír Muḥammad.

Of the vicissitudes of time, this much pleased me
That I saw good and bad, right and wrong, pass away
He who at morning time wore on his head a jewelled crown
Him I saw, at the time of evening prayer, with a brick underneath his head (in the grave).

This story is according to the relation of Nizámi,[1] but the Qáẓí Baiẓáwí relates that in the year 432 Mas'úd fled defeated from before the Seljúqs to Ghaznín, and Amír Muḥammad who had consolidated his power during Mas'úd's absence sent him to a fortress whither his son Aḥmád ibn Muḥammad followed him and murdered him.[2] The Government of Sulṭán Mas'úd ibn Maḥmúd lasted eleven years, but we ought to note that the Qázi Baiẓáwi (may God's mercy be upon him) assigns the year 433 H as the date of the death of Mas'úd, and writes that Muḥammad ibn Maḥmúd reignéd in Ghaznín for fourteen years after his father,[3] one year after his father's death, nine years in the lifetime of his brother, and four years after his brother's death, as has already been stated. God alone knows the truth. Apparently this is due to the mistake of a copyist. Among the poets who flourished in

[1] Niẓámu-d-Dín Aḥmád, author of the *Tabaqát-i-Akbarí*; Elliott, v. 177. Died 1003 H.

[2] Baiẓáwí's account is as follows —

Mas'úd after his arrival at Ghaznín sent Yúsuf to prison and became master of all the dominions of his father. In his time the Seljúqs crossed the Jíhún and invaded Khurásán He fought with them and made peace with them several times but being defeated in A H. 432, he returned to Ghaznín where his brother Muḥammad had regained power in his absence. On his arrival he was consigned to a fort, and Aḥmád, the son of Muḥammad, went direct from his father to the fort, and there slew him, A. H. 433; Elliott II. 256.

[3] That is from 421 A H to 434 A H. with interruptions during the supremacy of Mas'úd. Maḥmúd died in 421 A. H. Mas'úd was murdered on the 11th of Jamadí-al-Awwal, 433 H. (Raverty, pp. 95-6.)

Muḥammad was put to death by Maudúd in revenge for his father's murder in the year 434 H. Maudúd reigned seven years and died in 441 H. (1049 A.D.)

the time of Sultán Mas'úd is Manúchihrí[4] who speaks as follows in a *qasídah* concerning his Wazír.

Couplet.

Shah Mas'úd is as proud of his rectitude
As is the prophet of Naushirwán[5] the upright.

Sultán Maudúd ibn Mas'úd ibn Maḥmúd,

Ascended the throne of Empire (after the murder of his father in Bámián[1]) with the consent of the Wazírs and Amírs, and with the object of avenging his father purposed to march towards Mári galah, but Abu Nasr Aḥmád ibn Muḥammad ibn Abdus Ṣamad opposed his projected expedition and brought him to Ghaznín, whence he proceeded with a large army to attack his uncle the blind Amír Muḥammad. On arriving at Dípúr[2] he engaged in a severe battle with the Amír Muḥammad and thus
31 passed the whole day till nightfall when both fell back upon their positions. The next day Sultán Maudúd induced the Amír Saiyyid Manṣúr who was one of the trusted (generals) of the Amír Muhammad to side with him, and engaging in battle took prisoners the Amír Muḥammad and his son Ahmád and put them all to death. The Amír Maudúd founded there a city which he

[4] Manúchihrí Dámaghání. Hakím Abunnajm Aḥmád, a pupil of the poet 'Unṣuri, whom he is said to have surpassed in sweetness and facility of expression He was called شست گله *shaṣt galla* because of his possessing numerous flocks and herds. He died in 432 H. (Majma'-ul-Fuṣahá).

[5] Naushírwán. Chosroes I son of Kobád, one of the Sassanide dynasty, ruled over Persia from 531 A D. to 579 A D (See Dict G and B B, p. 720, Vol. III) The prophet Muhammad was born in the fortieth year of his reign, April 20th, 571 (Sprenger) or August 20th, 570 A D (Caussin de Perceval I 283). Muḥammad used to boast of his good fortune in having been born during the reign of so just a king. *Cf.* D'Herbelot III. 57.

[1] Bamián " Situated ten days' march from Balkh and eight from Ghaznín. There is a building there of a prodigious height ornamented with paintings of all the birds created by God, and containing two enormous images called سرخ بد *Surkh bud*, the Red idol, and خنگ بد *Khing bud*, the White idol." Meynard, Dict de la Perse, p. 80.

Abul Feda II. ii 208, between Balkh and Ghaznín. The district in which Ghaznín and Kábul are situated.

[2] Text has Deipúr (MS. A دینور Dinúr). For the locality of this place, see Raverty 96, *note* 2 The name is in all likelihood Dinúr as in Baihaqí

named Fatḥábád.[1] This victory was gained in the month Sha'bán of the year 432 H., or according to another account in the year 434 H.[2] And in the year 433 H. being angry with Khwája Aḥmad ibn Abdus Ṣamad he imprisoned him in Ghaznín where he died in prison, and in this same year he sent Abú Naṣr Muḥammad bin Aḥmad towards Hindustán to fight with Námí ibn Muḥammad[3] and Námí was killed in the course of that war. And in the year 434 H. Artagín at the order of the Sulṭán proceeded with an army to Tabaristán against Dá'úd[4] the Turkomán, and having lost in battle a large number of his men came to Balkh and established the coinage and proclamation of sovereignty in the name of the Amír Maudúd. Afterwards when the Turkománs attacked him several times in force not being able to contend with them, he quitted Balkh and came to Ghaznín. Then in the year 435 H. Amír Maudúd imprisoned Abú 'Alí the Kotwál of Ghaznín for a time, but eventually appointed him as the Díwán of the kingdom and Kotwál of Ghaznín, and imprisoned Yasúri ibn Iyamghúr the Diwán, till at length he died in confinement; he also punished Altigín[5] and in the year 436 H. Khwája Táhir who had succeeded Khwája Aḥmad as Wazír, died, and was succeeded by Khwája Imám Abul Fatḥ 'Abdur Razzáq.[6] In this same year he sent Tughral Ḥájib in the direction of Bust, who took prisoner Abú Manṣúr Zangí,[7] the brother of Abul Faẓl and brought him to Ghaznín, he then departed for Seistán and having

[1] Raverty 96, *note* 2.

[2] The latter date must be the correct one as Mas'úd was not put to death till 433 A. H. See note 3, page 45.

The Táríkh-i-Mas'údí, however, writes as follows :—

و امیر مودود دردن شعبان که شاه ملک خطبه بگردانید [۴۳۲] بدینور
آمد و جنگ کرد و عم را بگرفت با پسرانش و کسانی که با آن پادشاه یار
بودند همگان را بکشت

See Thomas' Coins of kings of Ghaznín, *J R. A S*, lx. 279.

[3] Firishta describes him as ولد محمد مکحول the son of the Blinded Muḥammad.

[4] See *note* 1, p 88.

[5] Alptigín Ḥájib.

[6] Grandson of Hasan Maimandí

[7] Firishta says also Zangi. Briggs in his translation has said "Oozbuky."

32. engaged in conflict with the Turkománs at the Ribáṭ Amír,[1] put most of them to death after which victory he went to Garm Sír, where he put to death the Turkemáns of that district who were known as Red-caps[2] and took many of them prisoner, and brought them to Ghaznín.

In the year 438 H., he sent Tughral to Takínábád who on arrival there revolted. Accordingly Alí bin Rabí' was nominated to proceed thither and Tughral fled with a few followers. Alí plundered his army, and having captured some of them brought them to Ghaznín. In the year 439 H. the Amír Qazdár raised a rebellion[3] and suffered defeat at the hands of Hájib Buzurg Bártagin[4] and after a time tendered his submission.

And in the year 440 H. having conferred upon his two sons Abul Qásim Maḥmúd and Manṣúr on the same day robes of honour and the drum and ensigns of commission sent one of them towards Lahore and the other towards Parshúr[5] and he sent Abú Alí Hasan Kotwál of Ghaznín to Hindustán to punish the rebels there, and when Ḥasan returned to Ghaznín after having done good service Maudúd made him over to Mírak ibn Ḥasan with orders to imprison him. He died in prison. As a sequel to this, Mírak ibn Ḥasan the Vakíl who had murdered Abú 'Ali Ḥasan without the orders of Amír Maudúd and had kept it secret, incited the King to

[1] Firishta رباط اميو Ribáṭ Amír, Long 105, Lat 34, *Áín-i-Akbarí* (J.) iii. 68. Both MSS have رباط اسير

[2] Firishta also says سرخ كلاه and does not mention the word قزلباش though Briggs translates "called Kusil Básh, owing to their wearing red caps" Briggs, Vol. I, p. 121. قزل Qizil *Red* is Turkish باش Básh. *Head* is Turkí.

[3] In one copy we find بغي قصد ورزيد Firishta has the following امير قزدار طغيان ورزيد so we should read here امير قصدار بغي ورزيد

[4] According to Firishta باستكين MS (A) reads بايتكين Báitigín, MS. (B) reads بابتكين Bábtigín. Briggs says, "In the year 439 he was sent against Khoozdár, the ruler of which paid the usual tribute" but in the original of Firishta we find these words: وقزدار جنگ كرده شكست يافت which looks as if امير قزدار Amír Qazdár was his name. Elliott V. App, p 558, states "Kusdar lies to the south of Bust, and is the present Khuzdár of our maps the capital of Jhálawán in Bilúchistán"

See pp. 557–559 from which the above is quoted.

[5] Parshúr, the modern Peshávar, called originally Parashávara. Cunn. Anc Geog of India, p. 78.

proceed to Kábul so that that misdeed of his might remain concealed. When the Amír Maudúd reached the fortress of Siálkoṭ[1]
he was attacked with colic[2] and was forced to return to Ghaznín, and 33
ordered Mírak to release Abú Alí Kotwál. He accordingly prayed for a week's respite, and in the interim Amír Maudúd departed this life on the 24th of Rajab A H 441, having reigned nearly nine years The *Lubbu-t-Tawáríkh*[3] states that Sulṭán Maudúd asked in marriage the daughter of Chughz[4] Beg Saljúqí, by whom he had a son whom he named Mas'úd, that he reigned seven years, and that in the month of Rajab 441 he attempted to go to Khorásán to visit Chughz Beg, but died on the journey of colic.

1 Firishta writes سانكوت Sánkot Both MSS. read سيالكوت very plainly written

2 قولنج. Probably intestinal obstruction which is included under the term قولنج Qúlinj of which there are stated by Sadídí to be five varieties. Cf Sadídí *Art.* قولنج

i القولنج الحقيقي True or spasmodic colic.

ii القولنج السدي Obstructive colic—due as he says to an accumulation of بلغم or mucus in the cæcum or colon.

iii القولنج الريحي Flatulent colic.

iv ورم حار او بارد إمعاء و ما يجاورها مثل الكبد و الكلية An acute or chronic swelling of the bowels and neighbouring parts such as the liver and kidneys.

v القولنج الالتوائي Twisted colic which he defines as a twist of the distal end of the small intestine. Volvulus.

In the بحر الجواهر we find the following definition of the disease "A disease in which the bowels become disarranged on account of some unnatural obstruction (لاحتباس غير طبعي) It is very painful and increases in violence and is fatal."

Defining the Colon the author says · اكثر تولد القولنج فيها و اقولنج يشتق منها

Colic principally arises in this bowel and is a strangulation of part of it.

3 *Lubbu-t-Tawáríkh*, "The marrow of History." The author was Yahyá ibn 'Abdul Laṭíf Qazwíní who composed it in 1541 A D.

He died 18 Dec. 1552 *See* H K *Lubbu-t-Tawáríkh* also Elliott, Vol. iv p. 293.

4 Jaghar Beg. See Raverty *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* p 97, *notes* 3-4.

MS (A) چغر بيگ Chaghar Beg MS (B) چغز بيگ Chaghz Beg.

Sultán Mas'úd ibn Maudúd ibn Mas'úd ibn Maḥmúd.

Ascended the throne in the third year of his age by the machinations of 'Alí ibn Rabí', however his affairs did not prosper and they raised his uncle to the throne after he had reigned only five months.[1]

Sultán 'Alí ibn Mas'úd ibn Maḥmúd.

Ascended the throne by the consent of the nobles, and when 'Abdu-r-Razzáq ibn Aḥmad Maimandí who had been sent by the Amír Maudúd towards Seistán arrived at a fort between Bust and Isfirár,[2] and learned that Abdu-r-Rashíd ibn Maḥmúd was confined in that fort by the orders of the Amír Maudúd, he brought him back and placed him upon the throne, 'Alí having reigned for a period of about three months. This event took place in the year 443 H. (1051 A. D.)

Sultán 'Abdu-r-Rashíd ibn Maḥmúd.

34 Came to the throne, and with the consent of 'Abdu-r-Razzáq proceeded to Ghaznín 'Alí ibn Mas'úd fled without engaging in battle, and Tughral Ḥájib who was one of the household slaves of Sultán Maḥmúd having conquered Seistán turned his steps towards Ghaznín. Amír 'Abdu-r-Rashíd fortified himself there till Tughral obtaining an opportunity in the year 445 H. (1053 A. D.) put the Amír Abdur Rashid with all the descendants of Sultán Maḥmúd[3] to death and married the daughter of Mas'úd against her will. One day when he was on the throne a body of determined wrestlers inspired with hatred against him tore him to pieces. 'Abdu-r-Rashíd's reign lasted for four years,

[1] The account given by Firishta differs slightly from this—he says—that on the death of Maudúd 'Alí ibn Rabí' who laid claim to the throne placed Mas'úd the son of Maudúd, who was then a boy of four years of age, upon the throne of Ghaznín, this arrangement was opposed by Básht[illegible]n Ḥájib who fought with 'Alí ibn Rabí' whereupon the whole populace of Ghaznín rose in arms, and eventually Básht[illegible]gin Ḥájib succeeded in deposing Mas'úd ibn Maudúd after a reign of five or six days, raising his uncle Abul Ḥasan 'Alí to the throne Compare also *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* (Raverty, p. 97 and *footnote*)

[2] اسفرار MSS (A) (B) Firishta says Isfirain which is in the neighbourhood of Nishapúr, see Meynard, p 34 (Abul Feda II ii. 188).

[3] كه نه نفر بودند Nine people [illegible] all (Firishta).

but in the *Niẓamu-t-Tawáríkh* his reign is said to have lasted for seven years,[1] and in the *Lubbu-t-Tawáríkh* his death is said to have occurred in the year 445 H God knows the truth.

SULṬÁN FARRUKH ZÁD IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MAHMÚD

Being released from confinement succeeded to the kingdom by consent of the nobles. A body of Saljúqs came up against Ghaznín, and Farrukhzád put most of them to death and overcame them, and made many of them prisoners and sent them to Ghaznín. Alp Arsalán[2] the Saljúq king brought an army against Ghaznín from 'Iráq and Khorásán, and being victorious in fight conveyed a large number of the notables of Ghaznín to Khorásán Eventually upon the arrangement of terms of peace the prisoners of both 35
sides obtained their release, and since Zábulistan had been laid waste the Sultán remitted the usual tribute, and treated the inhabitants with kindness. He used to fast three months, and used to spend the greater part of the night in prayer He died of colic in the year 450 H.[3] The period of his reign was six years

SAIYYIDU-S-SALÁTÍN IBRAHÍM IBN MAS'ÚD IBN MAḤMÚD.

Ascended the throne He was a just and devout king, and used to write each year a Qurán with his own hand and despatch it to the holy city of Mekka. He built no house for himself with the exception of a temple and a school to the honour and glory of God. When the affairs of state devolved upon him, he made peace with the Saljúqs and being free from apprehension, went to Hindustán and conquered many fortresses and districts.

[1] Firishta says "less than one year." *Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí* says two and a half years.

[2] Alp Arsalán son of Dáúd, son of Mikail son of Saljúq was the second Sultán of the family and dynasty of the Saljúqs He succeeded his uncle Tughral Beg in 455 A H (1063 A D) He was born in 421 A.H and was murdered 466 A H. and was buried at Merv

For a full account of this prince see D'Herbelot, pp 198–203

See also Ibn Khalliqán (Slane) in 230 and *seqq*, where it is stated that Alp Arsalán was born in the year 424 (A D. 1032-3) and died on the 10th of Rabí'u-l Awwal 465 A H (1072 A D)

[3] Firishta mentions that a year previous to his death an attempt was made upon his life while he was in the hammam

From one city [1] the inhabitants of which were of Khurásánian descent, whom (Afrásiáb) had expelled, and who had become a populous community in Hindustán, he took prisoners a hundred thousand persons, [2] and sent them to Ghaznín, with other spoils on the same scale. He built a number of towns, among them Khairábád, and Imánábád and others. He has been described by the title of Saiyyidu-s-Salátín, and enjoyed the reputation of being a Wálí. [3] In his reign in Ghaznín, the Dárú-i-Chashm (eye medicine) and other mixtures and medicaments and dietaries for all
36. diseased folk used to be obtainable from his store-house. His death took place in the year 472 H, [4] after a reign of thirty years. Qázi Baizáwí says that his reign extended from the year 450 H. to the year 492 H. Mas'úd Sa'd Salmán [5] flourished in his time and the following verses are taken from an ode which was written in his honour.

[1] Named "Darra" (Firishta) where we read كه افراسياب از سر كشي ايشان بشك آمده بازن و فرزند از ولايت حراسان اخراج كرده بود و بهندوستان فرستاده ....

In our author's text we read —— و آخر ايشان را اخراج كرده which is evidently corrupt. The words in the *Tabaqat Akbar Sháhi* are almost identical with those quoted from Firishta and some such change as the substitution of the word افراسياب for the words اخر ايشان which may easily have arisen from a copyist's mistake, seems [illegible] in our text. (MSS. (A) and (B) are like the text).

[2] Because they were idolaters and refused to embrace Islám, according to Firishta.

[3] والى Wálí. Abul Fazl (*Aín-i-Akbari*) (Jarrett) iii 350 gives the following definition of a wáli "In ancient works many significations have been given the outcome of which is that it means one who has attained to the knowledge of the Supreme Being. a lofty soul will indeed love God alone . ... . A *wáli* in my opinion is one who acquires four great virtues and avoids eight reprehensible actions. He should always wage a victorious war by circumspect conduct against the myriad disorders of the spirit and never for an instant relax his attention from its deceits. This lofty station is attainable by the grace of God and the guidance of fortune and is sometimes to be reached through the spiritual powers of a mediator, and sometimes without it."

[4] Firishta says 482 H or 492 H. *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* 492 H. with a reign of forty two years.

[5] Mas'úd Sa'd Salmán Jurjáni. Known sometimes as Hamadani. The son of Khája Sa'd ibn Salmán. A famous poet native of Jurján who attained

Abúl Qásim Malik Maḥmúd Ibrahími ibn Mas'úd
In whom four things exult, each of them glories in him
Firstly, his expanded canopy, secondly, his flaunting banner,
Thirdly his golden pen, fourthly his brilliant dagger.

This ode he finished completely in the same style, and in another place he says.—

Emperor of the higher world, from the blessings of whose reign
The sword's lofty occupation is the control of things temporal and spiritual.
Mas'úd (Fortunatus) because from the fortune of the expanse of kingdom's conquest
He has gone beyond that which comes within the scope of the sword.

Ode.

Oh thou that hast formed the design of travel and girded the loins of conquest,
Right and left of thee the heavens have opened for thee the doors of conquest,
Mas'úd, the world-conquering, for whom the age of fortune
Has sent forth every moment the heralds of conquest,
Like a lance point thou hast placed thy head in the direction of battle,
Like an arrow thy waist girds up the loins of conquest,
In sooth, a hundred victories thou winnest, and a hundred years hence
In Hindustán in all directions will be seen the traces of thy conquest. 37.
So many are thy conquests, that in the expanse of the world
Every day in every place they tell the tale of thy conquests.

high distinction in the service of Mas'úd bin Mahmúd and Sulṭán Ibrahím of Ghaznín but was imprisoned for a time in the fortress of Nái owing to the spiteful rancour of Abul Faraj Rúní. He obtained his release upon the death of Mas'úd ibn Maḥmúd. He was however again made prisoner for some years and upon being released left the court and went into retirement in Ghaznín where he died. There is a very long account of him with copious extracts from his various poems in the Majma'ul Fuṣahá, Vol I. pp. 514 and *seqq.* See also Beale (O B.D p. 173.) and *Atashkada-i-Áẕur*, p 162.

Thy spear and thy arrow and thy sword will be
If my fancy limns a line, the painter of the forms of conquest,
When thy sword said I will deal a light blow
Its oath lay not heavy save on the head of conquest.

The Ustád Abul Faraj Rúní[1] too was eulogist of Sulṭán Ibrahím, and also the panegyrist of Sultán Mas'úd, and many odes in their honour are to be found in his *Díwán*, and Rúín[2] is the name of a village of the dependencies of Lahore, and in these days it is as one may say in ruins, because not a trace of it remains, and the following *qit'ah* in praise of Sulṭán Ibrahím is by the Ustád Abul Faraj

Hail to the might of thy powerful sword
Precious as the breath of life, and rare as wisdom itself
Thou hast imprisoned that lifeless one, as one seizes the throat,
Thou hast made orphan this which has no issue like a peerless pearl

38 And Mas'úd Sa'd Salman with that envious nature which is peculiar to poets, bore a grudge against Ustád, who became the cause of Mas'úd's imprisonment for ten years, he wrote this rubá'í (quatrain) in prison[3]

[1] Abul Faraj Rúní, a celebrated poet. The name Rúní is from the village of Rúna (رونه) in Nísápur. He was a great favourite and companion of Sultán Ibrahím, and we learn from Mas'úd Sa'd Salmán Jurjání that he fell under the displeasure of that king and was imprisoned in the fortress of Nái by the calumny of Abul Faraj, as is stated in the text a few lines further on. Abul Faraj lived for some time at Láhore so that he is known to a few as Láhorí. His writings were very elegant and served as a model for the poet Anwarí. A Díwán of his containing about 2,000 verses is extant. (Majma'ul Fusahá i. 70) See also *Atashkada-i-Āẕur*, pp 137, 138.

[2] *Beale* (O B D, p 15) says that he came from "Rún a place near Lahore." It would appear from the text above that Badáoni attributed his name of Rúní to his connection with the village of Ráín. The author of the Majma'ul Fusahá gives no authority for the statement above quoted so that it is difficult to decide which of the places is to be given the honour.

[3] He was imprisoned in the year 572 H by Maḥmúd ibn Ibrahím in the fortress of Nái. (Majma'ul Fusahá *loc cit*) See *note 5*, page 52.

For thy prison such a prisoner as Malik Sháh is necessary
So that thy fetter may chafe the foot of monarchs.[1]
That one who springs from the loins of Sa'd Salmán
Even were he a serpent would not sting thy realm.

The following verses are also by him :

My heart has become rent in all directions like a comb from regrets
Because I saw a white hair in the tooth of the comb.

There are extant also Díwáns by him in Arabic, Persian and Hindi.

'ALÁU-D-DÍN MAS'ÚD IBN IBRAHÍM IBN SULṬÁN MAS'ÚD,

Succeeded after the death of his father and died in the year 508 H. (1114 A. D.), having reigned seventeen years

SULṬÁN SHERZÁD IBN MAS'ÚD IBN IBRAHÍM,[2]

By his father's order became king, and reigned for one year. His brother Arsalán Sháh revolted against him and killed him in the year 509 H. (1115 A. D.)

SULṬÁN ARSALÁN SHÁH IBN MAS'ÚD IBN IBRAHÍM,

Ascended the throne of sovereignty and seized upon the whole 39.
of his brothers with the exception of Bahrám Sháh who fled and went to Sulṭán Sinjar[3] who was the son of his maternal uncle.[4] In spite of all the apologies for Bahrám Sháh which Sulṭán Sinjar

1 تا بند تو پاي تا حداران شايد MS. (A)

2 Cf. Raverty. *Ṭabaqat-i-Náṣiri*, page 107, note 7 Firishta also mentions the accession of Kamálu-d-Daulah Sherzád, and calls the preceding monarch 'Aláu-d-Daulah *also* Elliott II. 278.

3 Sulṭán Sinjar Muizzuddín Abúl Háris Sinjar was the third son of Sulṭán Malik Sháh and the last of the Saljúq dynasty in Khurásán. He was born A. H. 479 (1086 A D) in the environs of Sinjár and it was on account of this circumstance that he received this name See I K (Slane) I 600 He governed the province of Khurásán for 20 years. He died in 552 A. H, at Merv of a "colique compliquée avec un devoyement" D'Herbelot.

See also Beale (O B.D, p 236).

4 The sister of Sulṭán Sinjar called "Mahd-i-'Iráq" was married to 'Aláu-d-Dín Mas'úd father of Sulṭán Arsalan Sháh Cf Raverty *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣiri*, p 107, note 6.

made the subject of several letters, Arsalán Sháh would not listen to him, and eventually Sultán Sinjar raised an army against him. He gave battle with thirty thousand cavalry and being defeated went to Hindustán. Sultán Sinjar remained forty days in Ghaznín and after presenting that country to Bahrám Sháh retraced his steps Arsalán Sháh having collected a large army in Hindustán proceeded thence to attack Ghaznín, and Bahrám Sháh not being able to withstand him sought refuge in the fortress of Bámián and with the assistance of Sultán Sinjar having again seized Ghaznín and taken Arsalán Sháh captive put him to death in the year 510 H. (1116 A. D.). The reign of Arsalán Sháh had lasted for a period of seven years.[1]

Sultán Bahrám Sháh ibn Mas'úd ibn Ibrahím

Succeeded to the throne. Hakím Sanái[2] was his panegyrist. *Kalílah Damnah* and many other books were composed in his reign and on the day of his accession Saiyyid Hasan Ghaznavi[3] declaimed an ode of which this is the opening couplet.

> A shout went forth from the seven heavens, saying
> "Bahrám Sháh is Lord of the world."

And this ode he wrote in his honour, and despatched it from the sacred city of Mekka.

> Should it ever be that I again behold the face of the king
> 40 I will apply, as a thank-offering, the dust of his feet to both my eyes

[1] This account differs from that given in other authors. The *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* says that Arsalán Sháh died in 511 H, after a reign of two years. Firishta says three years Baizawí gives 512 A. H, as the year in which Arsalán Sháh was put to death (D'Herbelot)

[2] Abú Muhammad ibn Adam Sanáí, died 525 A. H, A. D. 1130 (H. K.). A celebrated poet, author of the *Hadíqatu-l-Haqíqat*, a Persian poem commonly known as *Fakhrí-námah*. Among his other works were

طريق التحقيق - عشق نامه - سير العباد الى المعاد - كارنامهٔ بلخ - عقل نامه

According to Majma'u-l-Fusahá (I 254) he died in 590 A. H. but, see *note* 1 p. 35.

[3] Ashrafu-d-Dín Hasan ibn Násiri-l-'Alaví, died 565 H. Majma'u-l-Fusaha I, 192.

Bahrám Sháh for whom may the lives of emperors be the ransom.

May it be that their lives are even worthy of the king

The planets of the sky fall like meteors, if they but place a foot outside the boundary of fidelity to the king.

Another.

Bahrám Sháh from desire of whose sweet honied name

The young tree of the kingdom hereafter brings forth parrots, (poets).

And the *Ḥadíqatu-l-Ḥaqíqat* [1] of Shaikh Sanáí is written in honour of Bahrám Sháh, it was written during his imprisonment, the reason of which imprisonment was Ghaznévide fanaticism with regard to Sunni doctrine, when this book having reached the capital of Baghdád received the *imprimatur* of the chief men and nobles, it attested the reality of his faith, and they wrote a memorandum which led to his being released. A short time subsequently he departed this life. It is said that when they accused the worthy Shaikh Sanáí of heresy after he composed the *Ḥadíqat*, he wrote the following letter to the Sultán Bahrám Sháh.

In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate:

Praise be to God the Lord of the worlds, and blessings upon the best of His created beings, Muḥammad, his family and companions all of them. To proceed, it is said in certain traditionary sayings, that two things tend to prolong life, and to cause rain to fall and trees to grow, one of these is to assist the oppressed—the other to repress the tyrannical. An argument which they have advanced in support of this is that the prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, declared that the heavens are established by righteousness (equity). Equity is like the bird [2] which, wherever it casts its shadow, secures an amplitude of

[1] The work mentioned in note 2 page 56. Its full title is *Hadíqátu-l-Ḥaqíqat wa Sharí'atu-t-Ṭaríqat* (*hortus veritatis et lex viæ*), and it treated among other subjects of the Imáms Abú Hanífa and Sháfi'í, the founders respectively of the Hanífite and Sháfi'í sects of Sunnis.

[2] کس نیاید بزیر سایهٔ بوم ور هما از جهان شود معدوم

No one would go under the shadow of the owl, even if the Humá were extinct from the world. See Roebuck, Oriental Proverbs p 327. The هما

wealth, and the place where it builds its nest becomes the centre of durability, and rain falls from the heaven, while tyranny and
41. oppression is as a bird [1] which, wherever it flies, leads to famine and life and modesty are lost from among mankind. And God, *may He be glorified and exalted*, preserves the Emperor of Islám, and the just king Bahrám Sháh ibn Mas'úd Sháh ibn Ibráhím Sháh ibn Mas'úd Sháh ibn Mahmúd Sháh, from iniquity and oppression, and although the whole world should combine to write and describe the stock and supply of grateful acknowledgment of this slave's heart, they would have no power to express it, and the tree which the king of the kingdom planted [2] for the discovery of the secrets of the unseen, even Gabriel and Michael [3] were precluded from having any share therein: it is certain that in all circumstances the just man is happy and the tyrant is miserable, and the worst of all oppression is this that a small party should read a subject and not understand it, but become arrogant with regard to it and loosen the tongue of censure against the learned Hence it is that our prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, said, Pity three people, a rich man who has become poor, the great man of a tribe who is disgraced, and a wise man among fools [4] A book which is written in the language of the learned in the knowledge of God, demands an acute and discriminating mind such as that of Báyazíd [5] and

Humá, is a fabulous bird of good omen, it is supposed that every head it overshadows will wear a crown.

1 The owl بومة on the other hand is the type of ill omen.

e g ماري تو كه هركه را بيني بزني يا بومی تو كه هركجا نشيني نكني

Thou art a snake biting everyone thou seest, or an owl destroying every place where thou alightest

again بلبلا مژده بهار بيار خبر بد ببوم شوم گذار

O nightingale bring the glad tidings of spring and leave bad news to the ill omened owl Roebuck, Oriental Proverbs pp 140, 349

[2] Expunge كه from line 6 and read جبرئيل و ميكائيل از

[3] By this tree is meant the lote tree of Paradise صدرة المنتهى Ṣidratu-l-Muntaha See Mishkát, XXIV vii

[4] Cf Quran II 90–95

[5] Bayazid Anṣári also called Pir Roshan, founder of a Ṣúfí sect, called the Roshaniyah or enlightened Beale (O B D, p 70).

A good account of him will be found in The Emperor Akbar by Beveridge. Vol II pp 139 and seqq

Shiblí:[1] these men of wisdom who read that book and appreciate that which is written in it, but who have not the slightest trace of religious knowledge, it must be from spite and ignorance that they find fault with the book, and this is a proof of their blindness of heart that they call the Ál-i-Marwán contemptible, and carry their eulogy of the elect family, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon it*, beyond bounds while they exalt the commander of the faithful 'Alí, *may God be merciful to him*, above the other companions, *may God be graciously pleased with them*, and they do not see that he has been placed below Síddiq[2] and Fárúq[3] and Zú' Núrain[4] on the ground of descent 42.
and rightful succession, and there is a true story related of the Lord of the Created beings Muḥammad Muṣṭafá, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, with reference to the vices of the Ál-i-Marwán and the virtues of the Ál-i-Muḥammad Muṣṭafá, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him* If it is a lie, and most people believe it to be so, reason tells us that it is true, and the word of the true God is this, "Oh God, adorn the world with those learned men who fear thee or who reverence thy people, and do not make me to suffer at the hands of those who are wanderers from the path of thy love, for thy mercy's sake

[1] Abú Bakr Doláf Ibn Jahdar (or Ja'far) Ibn Yúnus (his name is thus inscribed on his tomb) surnamed As-Shiblí, a celebrated saint was born and brought up at Baghdád, but his family belonged to Khurásán This highly respected *Súfí* followed the doctrines of the sect of Málik and had for masters Al-Junaid and the other holy men of that epoch As-Shiblí died at Baghdád, A H. 334 (A. D 946), and was interred in the cemetery of Al-Qaizurán. He was born at Surra-man-ráa (Samarrá on the Eastern bank of the Tigris). Shiblí means belonging to Shibla a village in the dependencies of Osrúshna, a large town beyond Samarqand in Transoxiána I K (Slane) I. 513. See also regarding Samarrá J R A. S 1895 p 36.

[2] "The faithful" The title given by Muḥammad himself to the first Khalífah Abú Bakr, who reigned two years and died A D. 634 (A H 13).

[3] The second Khalífah 'Umar, A H. 13 to A H 23. Called *Farúq* or "the Discerner" as distinguishing Truth from Falsehood in Islám

[4] Uṣmán The third Khalífah, A H. 23 to A H 35 Called *Zú-Núrain* 'the possessor of the two lights" because he married two of the Prophet's daughters, Ruqaiyyah and Ummu Kulsúm

The above three Khalífahs, the first three successors to Muḥammad according to the Sunní Muslims, are rejected by the Shí'ahs who assert that 'Alí was the first legitimate successor, the others having been usurpers.

and for thy bounty and beneficence oh Thou most merciful," and[1] this verse is from the *Ḥadíqat.*

> If the earth is a fit place for any court
> It is for the court of Bahrám Sháh that it is fitted.

Then Sulṭán Bahrám Sháh brought up several armies against Hindustán and conquered the cities which his forefathers had not taken, and leaving one of his Amírs of high rank in Hindustán returned to Ghaznín. That Amír revolted, and fought a severe battle with the Sulṭán in the vicinity of Multán, and a bitter conflict ensued; in the end the Sulṭán's enemy fell a prisoner into his hands and was put to death, and a second time the country of Hindustán came into his possession, and 'Aláu-d-Dín Ḥasan ibn Ḥusain Súrí who is one of the kings of Ghor revolted against him and proceeded to Ghaznín. Bahrám Sháh fled and 'Aláu-d-Dín left his brother Saifu-d-Dín Súrí in Ghaznín. Bahrám Sháh returned and retook Ghaznín, and having seated Saifu-d-Dín upon a cow, and having exposed him to public ridicule, killed him in the worst possible way. 'Aláu-d-Dín upon hearing this news was
43. most distressed and made for Ghaznín with a huge army—before his arrival however Bahrám Sháh had reached the other world and his son was on the throne in his stead. 'Aláu-d-Dín by way of avenging his brother carried several loads of the earth of Ghaznín to Ghor[2] and set rivers of blood flowing, he is accordingly famous in his own country. Bahrám Sháh left this world in the year 547 H. (1152 A.D.) the period of his reign was thirty two years.

Mas'úd S'ad Salmán wrote the following hexastich in praise of Bahrám Sháh.

> Bahrám Sháh became the world conquering king.
> He became the Sun of the Age, and the shadow of the glory of God.
> His canopy which was auspicious became the glory of the humá.[3]

1 Cf. Raverty, *Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí* p 347 *note* 2.

2 Cf. *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*, Raverty p 356. This earth was mingled with the blood of certain Saiyyids whom he took prisoner from Ghaznín, and from it several towers were built on the hills of Fírúz Koh.

3 The *humá* is according to the Ghiáṣu-l-Lughát "a bird which eats bones

God *be He exalted and glorified* became his guide.
That polished dagger became of increasing authority.
The face of his enemy became black like his canopy.
As long as the emperor of the world in his time sowed the seeds of justice,
Every criminal that he detected, he passed over his crime,
If the sky placed his praise upon the running water
The flowing water retained [1] his image like an engraving on stone.
He raised[2] true religion and justice to the zenith.
The Emperor, dispenser of justice, lover of truth, and defender of the faith.[3]

Khusrau Sháh ibn Bahrám Sháh.

Ascended the throne after his father, and 'Aláu-d-Dín Husain ibn [4] Hasan Ghorí came up against him. Khusrau Sháh fled and came to Lahore, and occupied himself with the empire of Hindústán, and when 'Aláu-d-Dín, as has been related, returned from Ghaznín successful, he went back and recaptured that country, and after that the tribe of Ghuzz [5] seized Sultán Sinjar he turned towards Ghaznín. Khusrau Sháh was not able to withstand him **44.**

and its shadow falling upon any one ensures his attaining royal dignity." See *note* 2 page 57

[1] MSS. (A) (B) بداشتة not نداشتة as in the text,

[2] برفراشتة MS (A) not سرفراشتة as in text.

[3] MS (A) reads دين ورز حق پناة

[4] The text has حسن' با حسين but the MSS. A. and B. have بن which is the correct reading. 'Aláu-d-Dín Husain Ghorí Jahánsoz, the first of the kings of Ghor.

[5] A tribe of Turks. They took Sinjar prisoner in 558 H. From them sprung the Seljúq dynasty the founder of which was Ruknu-d-Dín Tughral Beg. Originally from beyond the Oxus they established their power by the conquest of Túa in the year 429 A H, when under the leadership of Tughral Beg and Dáúd they defeated the forces sent against them by Mas'úd ibn Mahmúd. Ravaging Armenia they entered Diárbakr in 433 A. H, and in 435 A. H. entered Mosul, but in the same year were defeated in an encounter with the Arabs and fled to Nasíbín, and thence passing through Armenia returned to Azarbaiján

Cf D'Herbelot, art. *Gas.* who attributes the origin of this tribe to Gas tenth son of Japhet son of Noah; from Bulgár, one of the sons of Gaz, sprang the Bulgarians and from Perthas the other son sprang the Ghuzz tribe.

and for the second time returned to Lahore, where he died in the year 555 H, after a reign of eight years In his time many great poets flourished and wrote odes in praise of him. The following poem is of the kind called *Tarji'band*[1] and was written by one of them in his honour.

> The revered Emperor Khusrau Sháh who with ease
> Conquers with sword and mace from Hindústán to Khorásán.

It must be stated, that in the historical works by Qázi Baizáwi and others[2] it has been written that when 'Aláu-d-Dín plundered Ghaznah and put many of the inhabitants to death, he left there Ghiyásu-d-Dín Abul-fath Muhammad and Shihábu-d-Dín Abul Muzaffar who were his nephews. They then with great craft put Khusrau Sháh at his ease with regard to themselves and took up their abode in his city. Khusrau Sháh[3] was imprisoned in the year 555 H, and died in the same year, and the days of the Ghaznévide family came to an end. After a time Ghiyásu-d-Dín died, and the whole kingdom remained in the possession of Shihábu-d-Din, but since Khwája Nizámu-d-Dín Ahmad deceased, has written in the *Táríkh-i-Nizámi* copying from the *Rauzatu-s-*
45. *Safá* that Khusrau Malik ibn Khusrau Sháh was the last of the kings of the Ghaznévide dynasty, I have followed him—God knows the truth.[4]

Khusrau Malik ibn Khusrau Sháh.

Ascended the imperial throne in Lahore after the death of his father, and spent the greater part of his time in luxury and licentiousness, so that in his time great damage found its way into the

[1] The Tarji'-band consists of a series of couplets followed by a couplet in the same metre, but having a different rhyme, recurring at regular intervals

[2] See *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) iii. 341 See also Elliott II. 258.

[3] The *Rauzatu-s-Safá* however states that Khusrau Shah reigned at Lahore two years after he fled from Ghaznín, and on his death was succeeded by his son Khusrau Malik.

The account in the text is that given by *Baizáwí* and other reliable authorities

[4] Cf Raverty *op cit*, p. 112 *note* 5

Baizawi states that the Ghaznévide dynasty ended with Khusrú Sháh. The work here quoted is best known as the *Tabaqát-i Akbari*, but its author called it *Tabaqat-i-Akbar-Sháhí*, and Badaoni calls it also by that name as well as by the name *Táríkh-i-Nizámí*. As has been seen the present work is admitted by the author to be merely an abridgment of the

kingdom, and the dynasty of the Ghaznévíyah was growing old while that of Ghor was in full vigour, accordingly Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín Muhammad Sám, who is well-known under the title of Sultán Shihábu-d-Dín Ghorí, having gained the upper hand and making Ghaznín his capital, brought an army against Hindústán and came with overwhelming force near to Lahore. Khusrau Malik fortified himself there and was compelled to ask for quarter in a personal interview. Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín Muhammad Sám took him to Ghaznín, from thence sending him to Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Din, who imprisoned him in Fíroz Koh[1] and sent an order, and after ten years' confinement made him taste the cup of destruction.

> Set not your heart on this world, for it is without foundation
> It is a newly wed bride entangled with many a lover.

This event took place in the year 583 H. (1187 A. D.). He reigned twenty-eight years; the times of the Ghaznévide dynasty came to a close, and the Empire passed from their hands to those of the Sultáns of Ghor. "Thou givest the kingdom to whom thou seest fit."[2]

HEMISTICH.

Nothing endureth but God, God's kingdom alone is a kingdom

And Qází Baizáwi *may God's mercy be upon him* states that

Táríkh-i-Nizámí *Khwaja Nizámu-d-Dín Ahmad was the son of Khwája Muqim Harawí Díwán of the household to Bábar, he subsequently served under Akbar (Elliott V. 177 *et seqq*). The real facts are that the son Khusrau Malik succeeded his father and reigned till 583 (H) (1187 A D.), as is stated by our author.

[1] The *Tabaqat-i-Násirí* states that Khusrau Malik was imprisoned in the fortress of Balarwán in Gharjistán. Fírúz Koh was the capital The story of the treachery by which Shihábu-d-Dín Ghorí took Khusrau Malik prisoner is told by Firishta

See also page 44 where the author states that Ghíyásu-d-Dín imprisoned Khusrau Sháh in one of the fortresses of Gharjistán where he died a prisoner

[2] Qurán III. 25 قُلِ اللّٰهُمَّ مَالِكَ الْمُلْكِ تُؤْتِي الْمُلْكَ مَنْ تَشَاءُ وَتَنْزِعُ الْمُلْكَ مِمَّنْ تَشَاءُ - "Say 'O God, Lord of the kingdom, thou givest the kingdom to whomsoever thou pleasest and takest the kingdom from whomsoever thou pleasest.'"

46 the duration of the Ghaznévide dynasty from Sultán Maḥmúd to Khusrau Sháh was one hundred and sixty-one years in the hands of twelve persons, while Qáẓí Yahya Qazwíní, *may God's mercy be upon him*, says one hundred and fifty-five years in the hands of fourteen persons, and the author of the *Taríkh-i-Niẓámí*, as has already been quoted above, says two hundred and fifteen years in the hands of fifteen persons, and God knows the real truth of the matter.[1]

II. The Ghorí Dynasty.

Who reigned in Dehlí. This dynasty commences with Sultán Shihábu-d-Dín Ghorí[2] who is known as Muizzu-d-Dín Muḥammad ibn Sám.

Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín Muḥammad ibn Sám Ghorí.

Ascending the throne as regent in place of his elder brother Sultán Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín, king of Ghor and 'Iráq and Khorásán, in the year 569 H., in Ghaznín, had the *khutba* read and the currency struck in his own name,[3] and in obedience to the command of his brother brought several armies against Hindustán and raised aloft the standard of holy war. Dehli was reduced in his time.

[1] None of these estimates are exactly accurate, that of the *Táríkh-i-Niẓámí* is the nearest. The actual duration of the Ghaznévide dynasty taking Khusrau Malik as the last representative was from 366 A. H. (976 A. D.) to 583 A. H. (1187 A. D.) a period of 217 years during which time there were fifteen sovereigns.

It is difficult to see how Baizáwí arrives at his statement above quoted as from the accession of Maḥmúd in 387 A. H., to that of Khusrau Sháh in 552 A. H. is 165 years during which twelve kings reigned.

The statement of Qáẓí Yahyá Qazwíní is so far from the truth as to be impossible.

If we take Khusrau Sháh as the last Ghaznévide king the dynasty lasted from 366 A. H. to 555 A. H., a period of 189 years.

[2] Who was nominated with his elder brother Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín to the charge of a province of Ghor by his uncle Aláu-d-Dín Husain Jahánsoz.

[3] As a matter of fact the coins were struck in the joint names of Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín and Muizzu-d-Dín, and as Thomas remarks the superlative الاعظم "The greatest" is applied to Ghiyásu-d-Dín while Muizzu-d-Dín is only styled معظم "Great" (Thomas, Pathán kings of Dehli. p. 18).

In brief, Sulṭán Ghiyáṣu-d Dín when he had seized Tagínábád[1] which was one of the dependencies of Garmsír and had made over the governorship of that place to Sulṭán Shahábu-d-Dín, used continually to bring up armies against Ghaznín, till at last in the abovementioned year Sulṭán Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín brought that country within the circle of his conquests, and drove out of Ghaznín the tribe of Ghuzz, who after the captivity of Sulṭán Sinjar had been in possession of it, and bestowed upon Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Dín Muḥammad, the title of Sulṭán Shihábu-d-Dín[2] Sulṭán Shihábu-d-Dín after one year of sovereignty as vicegerent

1 - تکینا باد که از اعاظم بلاد گرمسیر بود Takínábád which was one of the chief cities of Garmsír. *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*, p 115, line 9, (Cal Edn), see *Aín-i-Akbarí* (J.) iii. 68, also Elliott, II. 292, 293

2 The statement in the text forms the subject of considerable controversy as there are found those who assert that the title Shihábu-d-Dín is an impossible one as applied to Muizzu-d-Dín popularly known as Muḥammad Ghorí (see Raverty's *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* p 446 *note* 5) It is true that the author of the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* states that Muizzu-d-Dín was originally called Zangí while Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín was called Ḥabshí—both of them being called Muḥammad He goes on to say that prior to Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín's accession to the throne Ghor he was called Shamsu-d-Dín and that Muizzu-d-Dín was called Shihábu-d-Dín The actual statement is

وپیش ازین لقب او ملک شمس الدین بود ولقب برادرش شهاب الدین بعد از مدتي که برتخت بود لقب او سلطان غیاث الدین شد و برادرش ملک شهاب الدین بعد از فتوح خراسان سلطان معز الدین شد -

"Before this his title had been Malik Shamsu-d-Dín and the title of his brother had been Shihábu-d-Dín. Some time after his accession his title was changed to Sulṭán Ghiyásu-d-Dín." From this the possibility is not excluded that the author of the *Ṭabaqát-i-Naṣirí* intended to lay stress not so much upon the change of names as the change of dignity, the assumption that is, by both of the title of Sulṭán.

But whatever may be decided about this there can be no question that the name "Shihábu-d-Dín" is just as applicable to the person known more familiarly as Muḥammad Ghorí, as is the name "Muizzu-d-Dín," and Badáoni evidently held this opinion as he henceforth speaks of him constantly as "Shihábu-d-Dín"

On the other hand if this really was a subsequently acquired title it is certainly strange that it does not appear on any of his coins on which he is always styled As Sulṭán Al-Muazzam (or Al-A'zam) Muizzu-d-Dunyá wad Dín Abú-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad ibn Sám

It is not however a point of serious importance as it involves no disputed question of identity.

for his brother, in the year 570 H., conquered Kardíz[1] and in the
47. year 571 H., took Uchh and Multán and drove out the tribe of the Karmatians from those regions, and utterly destroyed the Bhati[2] tribe who had fortified themselves in the fortress of Uchh,[3] and having entrusted that country to Alí Kirmáj[4] returned to Ghaznín.

Then in the year 574 H. (1178 A. D.) proceeding by way of Multán[5] he brought an army against Gujrát, and suffered defeat at the hands of Rái Bhim Dev ruler of that country, and with great difficulty reached Ghaznín and obtained relief.

And in the year 575 H he seized Parshúr,[6] and in the year 580 H (1184 A. D.) marched against Láhore; Sultán Khusrau Malik who was the last of the kings of Ghaznín, shut himself up in the fortress of Lahore as has been related, and after considerable correspondence by letter and messenger, he sent his own son with an elephant as a present, and Sultán Shihábu-d-Dín made peace with him, and set about building the town of Siálkot[7] and having left his deputy there, proceeded to Ghaznín; and in the year 581 H he brought an army against Díwal by which is meant

1 Kardíz a district lying between Ghazna and Hindustan, Yáqút Or Gardaiz, the name of a large "darak of the Tájiks, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* Raverty, p 449, *note* 9.

2 MSS. (A and B) agree with the text جماعة بهتية For a full account of this from Firishta with a comparison of other translations, see Raverty, p 459, *note* 2. Raverty's translation corresponds exactly with the original and, as he very justly remarks, the incorrect translations given by Briggs and others have placed Muizzu-d-Dín's conduct in a wrong light. Bhátia a strong fort of this name was situated between Multán and Alor. The Rájá referred to according to the Mir'át-i-Jahán-Numá was chief of the Bhati tribe See Raverty *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* 451, *note* 3 last paragraph Sec Elliott, Vol I p 61.

3 *Uchh* On the Eastern bank of the Panjnad 70 miles S. S W. of Multán. *See* Cunningham, A G of India, p. 242.

According to Tieffenthaler it is 20 miles from Multán, Tieff I 118.

4 So also Firishta علی کرماج though Briggs translates, Ali Kirmány.

5 In the text read از راه ملتان Firishta says, "came again to Uchh and Multán."

6 بجانب پیشاور که در کتب سلف بکرام و پرشور و فرشور مشهور است (Firishta) cf. Raverty *Tabaqát-i-Nasiri*, p 452, *note* 8 Peshawar was known as Bagrám or Farshúr

7 Sialkot is said by other authors to have been founded by one of the early Hindú rulers. Tieffenthaler "Un chateau tres fort bâti par Maḥmoud

Tattah[1] and having thrown into confusion the cities on the sea shore took a vast amount of plunder and returned.

And in the year 582 H. he came again to Lahore and plundered the surrounding country, and having provided Husain with the means of fortifying and holding Síálkot retraced his steps, and 48.
from *Táríkh-i-Nizámí* which is the original source of this selection we gather that the building of Siálkot took place in this year, in contradiction to the *Mubárakshåhi*[2] from which we learn that the building of Siálkot was two years earlier. God knows the truth. And inasmuch as the house of history is, like the house of dreams and other things of that sort, ruinous, apologies must be made for discrepancies; and in that year Khusrau Malik with the assistance of the Khúkhars[3] and other tribes, besieged the fort of Siálkot for a long time, but had to return without attaining his object. In this year also Muizzu-d-Dín again besieged Khusrau Sháh in Láhore, who after striving for some days, found himself

Gasnaví .. La petite riviere d'Ayek coule le long de cette forteresse au couchant" Firishta states that Muizzu-d-Dín founded the fort of Síálkot which lies between the Chenáb and Rávi and left Husain Kharmíl as governor, in the year 580 H (1184 A. D)

[1] Cf. Raverty 452 *note* 2. See also Tieffenthaler, I 121. Tatta est tres ancienne ... on la nomme aujourd'hui Dobil Tatta is not the same as Debal which lies between it and Karáchí. See Abul Feda, (Reinaud) I. ccclxxxvi.

The position of Debal. Judging by the map given in Tieffenthaler Debal lay between Karáchí and Tatta at a distance of 30 miles from the former and seventy from the latter, almost due East from Karáchí and N.-W. of Tatta. It lay at a distance of about 20 miles from the sea on one of the large arms into which the Mehrán (Indus) divided in those days, but which to judge from modern maps have now disappeared or much diminished in size It also lay a short distance to the North of Lári Bunder which was at the head of an arm of the sea which had evidently in former times been an arm of the Indus also, at a distance of about ten miles to the South; the arm of the river joining the sea from Debal lay some six miles or so to the westward

This position tallies with that of the ruined city mentioned by Ibn Batúta, Paris Edition, III 112, 113, 114, a translation of the description of which is given in Cunningham's Anc Geog, p 299, 300.

[2] By Yahyá ibn Ahmad ibn Abdullah Sirhindí. Elliott, IV 6.

[3] The Khúkhars. This seems to be the same tribe as the Gakkhars, cf. *Aín-i-Akbarí* (Bl) Vol. I. 456 *note* 1, and Vol II (J) 383 *note* 1, but see also Raverty (455 *note* 4), who asserts that the two tribes are quite distinct

unequal to the task, and yielded to the Sulṭán who conveyed him to Ghaznín and sent him to his brother Sulṭán Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín at Fíroza Koh. Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín imprisoned him in one of the fortresses of Ghurjistán, where he died a prisoner, and the plain of Empire once for all passed to the dynasty of Ghor without the thorn of a partner or rival, as has been already mentioned.

Qiṭa'h

If you saddle the piebald horse of Circumstance,
and if the white horse of state leads thee beside him,
And if the garden of your pleasure in happiness
copies fair the past memories of Paradise,
Be not proud, for this mean time will unexpectedly
draw its pen through the writing of your fortune.
Time is like a wind, which at the first
draws from the cheek of the rose the veil with all respect,
Then after a week has passed in the midst of the garden,
drags its body with ignominy to the dust.
The world at one time brings forward by turn in the narrow course, the horses of honour and disgrace.
The crafty fowler gives the bird grain, and then draws it into the noose of his artfully laid snare.
One man who has lost all hope, gains honour,
Another who is always hopeful in spite of all is disgraced
Strange is it if a man who has walked in the shadow of poverty should court a favour from the sun ?
49. Be content, if you have a portion of wisdom,
that the ignorant should be oppressed by the foolish
What of that man who, in the assembly of mirth and merriment quaffs the wine of pleasure from the cup of luxuriousness ?
What of him who sitting behind the wall of sorrow suffers from the after effects of sorrow and the worry of toil ?
At last the hand of fate takes both of them straight off to the brink of the pit of death.
Happy is the brave hearted man who like Sharaf draws the foot of fidelity beneath the skirt of retirement.

And in this year Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Dín left Alí Kirmáj[1] who was
governor of Multán, as his Vicegerent in Lahore, and in the year
587 H. coming from Ghaznín he reduced the fort of Tabarhindah[2]
which was the capital of the great rájás of Hindustán, and left Malik
Ẓiáu-d-Dín Tukılí[3] with a *corps d'elite* consisting of one thousand
two hundred cavalry soldiers, and was contemplating a return.
In the meantime Rái Pathúrá the Governor of Ajmír, and Khandí
Rái his brother who had been Governor of Dehli before Pathúrá,
arrived with a vast army at a place called Taráyan[4] on the banks
of the river Sarsuti at a distance of seven *krohs*[5] from Thánesar.
It is now known by the name of Taráwarí[4] and is distant forty
krohs[5] from Dehli. A great conflict ensued with the Sultán and
the Muslim troops were defeated. The Sultán evinced great
bravery on the field of battle, and in that engagement also
Khandí Rái who was mounted on an elephant at the head of his
army, received a spear thrust in his mouth from the hand of the
Sulṭán The Sulṭán also was struck on the head by the Rái's
spear, and his arm was also wounded but both escaped in safety. 50.
The Sulṭán got off his horse and taking up his son Khiljí upon his
horse and mounting behind him took him off the field; the
Sulṭán proceeded to Ghaznín, and Rái Pathúrá took the fortress
of Tabarhindah from Ziáu-d-Dín Tukılí on peaceable terms after a

[1] *Ṭabaqát-ı-Náṣırí* says Alí Karmákh Firishta Alí Kirmáj,
MS (A) علی کرماج MS (B) علی کرماخ

[2] Both MSS A and B have تبرهنده: Jarrett (*Aín-ı-Akbarí* trans, III 360 *note* 2) says he is not able to determine the position of Tabarhindah, and Raverty (*Ṭabaqát-ı-Naṣırí* p 457 *note* 3) thinks Tabarhindah is a copyist's error for Bathindah apparently relying on the *Lubbu-t-Tawáríkh-ı-Hind* From Rennell's map in Tieffenthaler it would appear that the situation of the fortress of Tiberhind, which is there marked though not described in the text, was about half way between Bikanir and Jhunjhnú in Rajputáná, that is to say about 100 miles north of Ajmír.

See also Raverty 458, *note* 3

[3] Malik Ẓiyáu-d-Dín Túlakí, (*Ṭabaqát-i-Naṣirí*) Raverty p. 457 *note* 3.

[4] MSS (A) and (B) read نراين. See Raverty; *Ṭabaqát-ı-Náṣırí* 459 *note* 7. Tieffenthaler mentions this place calling it Narain, but it is not to be found in the map he gives, see Vol I. p. 155.

It is placed by Cunningham (map facing p 327), S E of Thânesar.

[5] The کروہ Skr. क्रोश *krosh*, is equivalent to about two miles.

See also *Aín-ı-Akbarí* (J) ii. p. 116 *note* 2 and 414 *note* 2. Cunn Geog. of A. I., App B p. 571. See also *Táríkh ı Rashídí*. Elias and Ross, p 424 *note* 1.

siege of one year and one month And in the year 588 H. the Sulṭán again came into Hindustán with a large and brave army of 40,000 cavalry, and divided his forces into four army corps, and having given battle time after time in the place above mentioned gained a victory. Pathúrá was taken prisoner and Khandí Rái having been overcome in battle was killed and hasted to his resting-place in Hell The Sulṭán then having reduced the fortresses of Sarsutí [1] and Hánsí proceeded to Ajmír the capital of Pathúrá, reduced it and plundered its environs killing and taking prisoners. From certain other sources we learn that Ḥaẓrat Khwájá Muínu-d-Dín Chishtí [2] *may God sanctify his heart*, that revered one who is the fountain head of the great and holy men and the dignified elders of the land of Hind, whose blessed tomb is a place of pilgrimage situated in Ajmír, was at that time in the company of the Sulṭán, and this victory occurred through the impulse of the blessed and divine soul of that pillar of holiness. And in this year leaving Sulṭán Malik Quṭbu-d-Dín Aibak who was his servant and adopted son and vicegerent in the town of Kúhrám which is distant seventy *krohs* from Dehli, he invaded and plundered the Siwálik range which lies to the North of Hindustán, and proceeded to Ghaznín. In the same year too Qutbu-d-Dín having captured Dehli took it away from the kinsmen of Pathúrá and Khandí Rai Then in the year 589 H. (1193
51. A, D) Sulṭán Shihábu-d-Dín fought with Rái Jai Chand the governor of Qanauj, on the confines of Chandwár [3] and Aṭáwah, [3] killed him and went to Ghaznín. The fort of Kol [4] fell into the hands of Qutbu-d-Dín Aibak, and he made Dehli his capital and brought its surrounding districts under his sway From that date Dehli once more became the metropolis of the Sulṭáns. The erection of minarets and other buildings of that kind, such as mosques, was

[1] The country south of the Himálaya between the Sutlej and Ganges as far south as Hánsí (Raverty).

[2] Khwájah Mú'inu-d-Dín Ḥasan Chishtí was the son of Ghiyásu-d-Dín Ḥasan born in A. H 537 in the village of Sijz of the province of Sijistán. He died in A H 633 and is buried near Ajmír

[3] Tieffenthaler I. 166 mentions Atáva and Chanouá as belonging to the Serkár of Agra (See Raverty (*Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí*) also p. 470 note 1)

[4] Cól—ville munie d'une forteresse qu'on appelle Sábetghar et Ramghar. Tieff. I 200, in the province of Agra 40 miles North of Agra

commenced in the reign of Sulṭán Shamsu-d-Dín Altamash[1] in the year 606 H., as will be related, *if God (may He be exalted) so will it*, in its own place. And in the year 591 H., he took the fort of Bhangar[2] and Badáon. And in the year 593 H he conquered Gujerát and took his army to Nahrwálá which is known as Pattan,[3] and having taken vengeance for the Sulṭán on Bhím Raí Dev, and having taken much spoil returned; and in that year Sulṭán Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín removed his effects from the transitory world to the eternal abode,[4] and Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Dín having heard this news when on the confines of Tús and Sarakhs,[5] turned towards Bádghís and performed the duties of the mourning ceremonies and having divided his brother's dominions among his kindred[6] came to Ghaznín and brought an army against Khwárazm, and on the first occasion Sulṭán Muḥammad Khwárazm Sháh suffered defeat, and the Sulṭán pursued him and fought the Khwárazmians at the head of an aqueduct which they had dug from the eastern bank of the Jaihún, and a number of the noted generals of Ghor were martyred and he could not take Khwárazm; he also fought a great battle with an army of Khitáí[7] kings of Turkistán who had come to the help of Sultán Muḥammad,[7] on the banks of the river Jaihún—he fought right bravely but at last was defeated, and being left with a hundred thousand cavalry soldiers he entered the fortress of Andkhúd where he entrenched himself, and 5

1 Sulṭán Ul-Muaẓẓam Shamsu-d-Dunyá wau-d-Dín Abúl Muzaffar, Iyal Timish the 1st of the Shamsíyah Sulṭáns *See* Raverty 597 *note* 4.

2 MS. (A) تهنکر Thankar, but it should be بنگهر apparently, as in Tieffenthaler we find Banghar described as "un Fort triangulaire, construit de terre par ordre d'un prince Indou nommé *Harcaran* ... *Banghar* est à 30 milles d'*Aunla* a 40 de Baréli et à 8 de la rive ulterieure du Gange.

Budáon, "ville ancienne ... elle à une forteresse au dehors de laquelle sont des maisons Elle est a 20 milles de *Baréli*, à 10 d' *Aunla* et à 5 de *Banghar*

Budaon was the birthplace of the famous Niẓámu-d-Dín Auliya, called "*Al Bahhás*" or the controversialist, and "*Mahfil-shikan*" the assembly-router.

3 20 miles from Radhanpur 40 miles from Guzerat to the N W Tieff I 385. See also Bayley, Hist of Gujarat 25 &c Abul Feda (Reinaud) II ii 117. *Aín-i-Akbarí* (J) II 262 and III 59

4 He died at Herat

5 See Raverty (*Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*) 257 *note* 2 and 471 text and *note* 5.

6 The details of this partition are given in the *Tabaqát-i-Naṣirí* (Rav. p 472)

7 Sulṭán Muhammad Khwárazm Sháh applied to Gúrkhán of Qará Khiṭá for assistance. See Raverty (*Tabaqat-i Náṣirí*) 473 *note* 2

having asked for quarter[1] returned to Ghaznín; and at that time the tribe of the Khúkhars in the neighbourhood of Lahore shewed symptoms of revolting the Sultán accordingly brought an army against them, and also summoned Qutbu-d-Dín Aibak from Dehlí, and having given the Khúkhars a severe lesson returned to Ghaznín, and while on the way back was martyred at Damyak,[2] which is the name of a village of the dependencies of Ghaznín, at the hands of Khúkhar bandits—the following *qiṭá'h* has been written to chronicle this event[3] —

The martyrdom of the king of sea and land Shihábu-d-Dín,
Whose like has never yet been seen since the world began,
On the third day from the first of Sha'bán, in the year 602
Happened in the road to Ghaznín at the stage Damyak.

The days of his reign from the commencement of the rule of Ghaznín to the end of his life were thirty and two years and some months, and he left no heir save one daughter, but he left behind him much treasure of gold and silver and precious stones, among these latter were five hundred *mans*[4] of diamonds jewels of great value, besides cash and estates and other property the value of which we may estimate on the same scale. He made expeditions to Hindústán nine times, twice was defeated and seven times was victorious.

Thou didst see Muizzu-d-*Dín* Muhammad Sám, who in war
Was stronger in heart and hand than Sám and Nariman
He obtained, like Mahmúd, from the elephants of Hindústán
Governments of Sasán and many kingdoms of Sámán

[1] For an account of the incidents here briefly referred to see Raverty (*Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí*) 478 *note* 6

[2] A village beyond the Indus on the road to Ghaznín. Its exact situation is a matter of some uncertainty Firishta (Bombay text) has رهتک ! Rohtak

[3] No author that I have seen records the name of the author. The *Tabaqát-i Naṣiri* attributes it to "one of the learned men of that period"

[4] The Tabriz *man* must be meant, being somewhat less than 2 lbs. while the *man* of Hindustán varies from 40 to 80 lbs, (Raverty)

The *Aín-i-Akbarí* makes no mention of the *man* as a weight unit for jewels Two *sers* are equal to half a *man* As the *ser* was nearly two pounds this would make the *man* equal to eight pounds nearly (See *Aín-i-Akbarí* (Jarrett) II 366 *note* 4).

The *Tabaqát-i Naṣirí* says 1500 *mans* of diamonds.

He departed this world, and they say (the writer vouches for it)
That there remained of his secret treasure 500 mans of diamonds.

And in his reign many learned doctors and scientists and poets 53.
flourished, of whom was Imám Fakhru-d-Dín Rází[1] *may God be merciful to him* who wrote the *Laṭáif-i-Ghiyaṣí* and other books in honour of his brother Sulṭán Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín Abú-l-Fatḥ. He remained with the army of Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Dín Muḥammad Sám, and every week used to stand up to preach, and at the termination of his sermon the Sulṭán used to evince great emotion, and since the Imám got very wearied of this continual coming and going, and everlasting service, one day addressing the Sulṭán from the pulpit he said Oh! Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Dín, some time hence neither will this greatness and glory of yours remain nor the flattery and hypocrisy of Rází: The following *qiṭa'h* is by him:

If an enemy does not agree with you O friend
If behoves you to agree with your enemy,
If not, then have patience for a few days
He will not remain, nor will you, nor the pride of Rází.

And after the assassination of the Sulṭán certain mischief-makers out of envy accused the Imám of having conspired with the Fidáis,[2] and asserted that the Imám was well aware of their

[1] Abú Abdullah Muḥammad Ibn Omar Ibn al-Hasain Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Alí al-Jaimi al-Bakrí at-Tabarestaní Ar-Rází (native of Raí in Tabaristán) was a doctor of the Sháfiite sect, he was born at Raí A. H. 544 (A. D. 1150) and died at Herát A. H. 606 (A. D. 1210). (*Ibn Khalliqán*). *See* D'Herbelot *art* Rází. See also *Majma'ul Fusahá* I. p. 374, where he is called Al-Quraishí at-Tamímí, Ibn Khalliqán does not mention the *Laṭáif-i-Ghiyáṣí* among Ar-Rází's works, while on the other hand Háji Khalífa gives a work of this name but does not mention the author. His reference to it is as follows. "11124 El-Letáif El-Ghíyathiyeh, subtilitates Ghíyáth-ed-Díní Liber persicus in quatuor partes divisus, quarum prima de principiis religionis, secunda de jurisprudentiâ, tertia de ethicâ, quarta de precatione agit."

[2] The term Fidá-í is particularly applied to the disciples of the chief of the Muláhidah heretics, at whose hands Muizzu-d-Dín met his death according to the express statement of the author of the *Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí*. (See Raverty 485 *note* 3) This attempt to implicate Rází in the responsibility for the murder is recorded also in the *Jami'u-t-Tawáríkh*, and the *Táju-l-Maásir*. See Elliott II. p. 236.

hypocrisy They made an attempt upon the Imám and he fled for refuge to Muaiyyidu-l-Mulk Sinjarí [1] who was one of the distinguished generals of the Sultán; he despatched him in safety to a place of security. A poet has written an ode in praise of him of which the following are two couplets.

> Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín Sháh Ghází whose sword in the world has become like the famous Zulfiqár [2] of Alí Murtazá.
>
> The true Sultán Muhammad Sám, he whose love for the people is like the Sun of the friendship of Mustafá.

1 *Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí* states that he held the office of Vazír, and was put to death by the Turkish Maliks and Amírs of Ghaznín, together with Malik Naṣiru-d-Dín Husain the Amír-i-Shikár

2 *Zúl Fiqár* The following is extracted from Ibn Khalliqán (Slane) Vol IV p 220

"It is related that Hárún ar Rashíd on sending Yazíd ibn Mazyad against Al Walíd gave him Zú'l Fakár the sword which had belonged to the Prophet "Take it, Yazíd, by it you will be victorious" To this Muslim Ibn al-Walíd alludes in the following verse of a *kasída* composed by him in praise of Yazid·

> 'You caused the Prophet's sword to recollect his way of acting and the bravery displayed by the first (Musulmán) who ever prayed and fasted'

By these last words he meant Alí the son of Abú Talib for he was the person who dealt blows with it"

Lower down, quoting as his authority Hishám ibn al Kalbi, Ibn Khalliqán states that Zúl Fiqár belonged to Al-Aási son of Nabih, both of whom were killed in the battle of Badr, Al-Aasi being slain by 'Alí who took the famous sword from him—and he continues "Another author says that *Zúl Faqár* was given to 'Ali by the Prophet" I must observe that *faqar* with an *a* after the *f* is the plural of *Faqára* which means a vertebra of the back The name of this sword is also pronounced *Zúl Fiqár* the word *fiqar* is the plural of *fiqra* (Vertebra)

At Tabarí states that *Zul fiqár* came into the possession of Hárún ar Rashíd in the following manner.

"Zul fiqár was borne by Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah ibn al Hasan ibn al Hasan ibn Alí ibn Abí Ṭálib on the day in which battle was given to the army of Abú Ja' far al-Manṣúr the Abbaside; when he felt death to be near he gave *Zúl fiqár* to a merchant who had followed him, and to whom he owed four hundred dinárs 'Take this sword,' said he, 'any member of the Abú Ṭálib family whom you may meet with will buy it from you and give you the sum to which you are entitled The sword remained with the merchant till the Abbaside prince Ja'far the son of Sulaimán ibn Alí ibn Abd Allah ibn al Abbás ibn Abd-al-Muṭṭalib obtained the governments of Yemen and

Another poet says :—

> The Emperor of the age, Khusrau Ghází Muizzu-d-Dín
> From whom the glory of crown and diadem gains increase,
> The origin of victory, Muḥammad ibn Sám ibn Husain
> His very presence has become the mark for princely glory.[1]

And Názukí Marághai too says in praise of him :—

> Sháh Muizzu-d-Dín before whose princely might
> The heaven stands girt like a bunch of flowers
> He came to the throne like a rose at the time when
> The heaven brought the Sun into the Balance [2]

Medina, and he purchased it from the merchant for four hundred dínárs From him it passed to al-Mahdí the Son of Al Manṣúr (Khalífah from 775 A H to 785 A.H.) from him to Músa al Hádi and from Músa to his brother Hárún ar Rashíd "

Al Asmái relates that he saw Hárún ar Rashíd at Tús wearing a sword and that he said "Asmái would you like to see *Zúl fiqár*" and on Asmái expressing a wish to see it Hárún ar Rashíd bade him draw the sword—on doing so he found on it eighteen *faqáras*—The word *faqára* is said in a note to the above to designate "a sort of waving ornament on the blade or else a notch on its edge It is doubtful which is meant probably the latter "

The word *Zúlfiqár* meaning *vertebrated* I think it quite possible that the sword in question was so called from its strength and pliability, the vertebral column being the type of the combination of these two somewhat incompatible elements.

1 MS (A) has مرسیاه را MS (B) agrees with the text

2 i e In the time of year (autumn) when the Sun was in the sign of Libra (میزان)

The sun enters	Gemini	Taurus	Aries	(Spring)	21st March.
	جوزا	ثور	حمل		
	Virgo	Leo	Cancer	(Summer)	21st June.
	سنبله	اسد	سرطان		
	Sagittarius	Scorpio	Libra	(Autumn)	21st September.
	قوس	عقرب	میزان		
	Pisces	Aquarius	Capricornus	(Winter)	21st December.
	حوت	دلو	جدی		

The sign Libra was a later addition to the Zodiac. It was known to the earlier Greek astronomers as χηλαί cf Virg Georg, I 33.

He in the fire of whose wrath evil doers
Give up their sweet lives like sugarcane.
The sugar of religion and the rose of sovereignty
The revolving sphere has mixed together;
Oh Lord! let this conserve of religion and sovereignty
Be the cause of health to the whole world.

And Qázi Ḥamíd[1] of Balkh says:

Gházi Muizzu-d-Dín wad-Dunyá with whom
On the day of battle victory marches with his auspicious standard.

Qua locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentes Panditur.

Subsequently it was called Ζυγός (the yoke) by the Latins *Jugum* and was first formally called *Libra* in the Calendar of Julius Cæsar. This name seems to have been derived from the East, and must be regarded as a symbol of equality introduced into the heavens at the period when the entrance of the sun into that constellation marked the Autumnal Equinox. "In the commentary of Theon on the Almagest *Libra* is frequently represented by Λίτρα (a pound) or Λίτραι, a word originally borrowed by the Romans from the Sicilians, transformed into Libra and then restored to the later Greeks in the new sense of a balance." *See* Smith's (D. G. R. A) p 151, also *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) III. p 18 and *notes*. Also Albirúní (Sachau) p. 173, where a table is given of the signs in seven languages. Sir William Jones (Jones' Works Vol. I. p 334) leant to the opinion that "both Greeks and Hindus received their divisions of the Zodiac from an older nation" and there can be little doubt that this was the case; the almost absolute identity of the nomenclature in Arabic, Greek, Persian, Syriac, Hebrew and Sanskrit points to a pictorial rather than to a verbal original, the more so as in the case of a pictorial symbol of ambiguous shape it was possible for the name to differ in different languages Thus we know that the sign Libra was first known as χηλαί to the Greeks from its resemblance to the claws of a scorpion, then this name was changed to ζυγός from the resemblance to a yoke, and finally called *Libra* a balance

The same pictorial idea is applicable to all three words, and it is more than probable that we must look, for the origin of the Zodiac, to the same source whence we trace the origin of our Alphabet

See also Albirúní [Sachau (Trubner)] Vol 1 p 219

[1] Fakhru-l-Ulamá wa Zínu-l-Fuzalá Hamidu-d-Din Umar ibn Maḥmúd Balkhi, a celebrated writer whose Maqamát called forth the praise of the poet Anwarí He was the author of several works written in a style of great and studied elegance. He was an accomplished poet Several of his works are mentioned by name. See *Majma'ul Fusahá* I. 197.

Bú l Muzaffar[1] the Ruler of the East for whom in the field of battle,
The Humá of his canopy carries as it were victory under its wing.

Sulṭán Quṭbu-d-Dín Aibak

Who was one of the specially favourite servants of Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Dín, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon had a broken little finger,[2] and was known by this soubriquet (Aibak), they also call him Quṭbu-d-Dín[3] Lak ba<u>kh</u>sh.[4] With the consent of 55.
the nobles of Hindústán he established himself as Protector of the kingdom of Dehlí, and after the martyrdom of Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Dín his brother's son, Sulṭán <u>Gh</u>iyáṣu-d-Dín Maḥmúd, the rightful heir of Sulṭán <u>Gh</u>iyáṣu-d-Dín Muḥammad in whose praise they wrote the following verse:—

[1] His full titles were: Sulṭán al-A'zam, Muizzu-d-Dunya wa-d-Dín Abul Muẓaffar Muḥammad. On his death difficulties arose as to the succession, the Turkoman generals claiming it for <u>Gh</u>iyáṣu-d-Dín Maḥmúd, son of <u>Gh</u>iyáṣu-d-Dín, while the chiefs of <u>Gh</u>úr on the other hand favoured the claims of Baháu-d-Dín Sám, and a quarrel arose between the two parties as to the route to be taken in conducting the corpse of Muizzu-d-Dín to <u>Gh</u>aznín. Eventually this was settled by the diplomacy of the <u>Kh</u>wája Muaiyyidu-l-Mulk Táju-d-Dín Yaldkuz (Yaldúz) came out to meet the body, which was buried in an enclosed grave which he had built for his daughter, on the 22nd Sha'bán (Firishta).

[2] This is the reading of the text and of both MSS and it serves in a measure to correct the current idea as to the etymology of the name Ibak. Raverty (514, *note* 1) states that Ibak in Turkish means *finger*. This does not appear to be the case so far as I can learn from dictionaries ايبك means the comb of a cock, while the word finger is پرمق *parmaq*. On the other hand the word اي *ay* means *moon* and بك *beg* or *bek* means *Lord*. Whether the finger was broken at the time of the eclipse, or whether it was a congenital defect does not appear, but from the text before us the connection with the moon is the cause of the name, not, as has been said, the broken finger See also Raverty *loc. cit.* and Thomas' Pathán kings of Dehli, page 32, *note* 1. Firishta however distinctly states (چون انگشت خنصر او شکسته بود اورا ایبک می گفتند if his text is correct.

[3] He was given the name of Sulṭán Quṭbu-d-Dín Aibak by Muizzu-d-Dín on the occasion of a public ceremony when he distinguished him by special marks of his favour (Firishta).

[4] The bestower of laks. So called from his lavish generosity.

Sulṭán from East to West, Monarch from West to East
Maḥmúd ibn Muḥammad ibn Sám ibn Ḥusain

having sent to Malik Quṭbu-d-Dín from Fíroza Koh the canopy and insignia of royalty, addressed him by the title of Sulṭán,[1] and in the year 602 H. (1295 A.D.) having come from Dehlí to *Láhore on* Tuesday, the sixteenth of the month of ZuQa'dah in the aforesaid year, ascended the throne of empire and became proverbial for his kindness and clemency. He used to bestow upon deserving recipients rewards far in excess of their anticipations, and inaugurated his custom of *lak bakhshi* (bestowing laks). One of the learned men of the time named *Baháu-d-Dín* Ushí[2] said in praise of him.

Quatrain.

Oh thou that hast brought into the world the bestowal of laks,
Thy hand has brought the mine into great straits;
From envy of thy liberality the heart of the mine has seized blood drops,
And placed them forward pretending that they are rubies.

And after some time enmity arose between him and Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz, who was one of the slaves of Muizzu-d-Dín and had read the Khuṭba in his own name in Ghaznín, on account of Láhore, and the fire of war and conflict blazed forth on the confines of the Punjáb; Táju-d-Dín was defeated, and went to
56 Kirman which was his usual abode. Sulṭán Quṭbu-d-Dín went and took possession of the fort of Ghaznín and staying there for a period of forty days, spent his time in rioting and wantonness and dissipation Accordingly the people of Ghaznín were annoyed at his behaviour and secretly summoned Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz, who arrived without warning, and Sulṭán Quṭbu-d-Dín not being able to oppose him came to Láhore by way of Sang Surákh[3]

[1] He appears to have already possessed the title of Sulṭán (see *note* 3 page 77).

[2] Baháu-d-Dín Muhammad Ushí Farghání was a very famous preacher and learned divine, very famous according to Ufi as an extempore speaker, and an extremely able poetry and prose writer (Majma'u-l-Fuṣahá, I 172)

[3] One of the routes between Ghaznín and the Punjab, for he did not dare to take that through Kirmán (Raverty, 527, *note*) The *Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí* omits all reference to this, and merely mentions Quṭbu-d-Dín's death without saying where his fatal accident happened. As to the exact date of his death, see Raverty 528, *note* 2

Verse.

When the head of a Sulṭán becomes unsteady from wine
Without warning the crown of Empire falls from his head.

And after wielding power for some time he fell from his horse when playing *chaugán* at Láhore in the year 607 H., and died [1] and was buried in that city and his tomb is at present the resort of pilgrims. The period of his reign after the conquest of Hindustán, was twenty years, out of which period he was for four years a Sulṭán.

This ancient revolving heaven has overthrown many heroes;
So far as you are able, place no reliance on the sun and moon and Jupiter.[2]

Seven other individuals of the generals and slaves of Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Din reached princely power in Hindústán and Ghaznín and Bengála and other places, whose affairs are written in their proper places; among others Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz on the confines of Taráyan, otherwise known as Taráwarí, having fought with Sulṭán Shamsu-d-Dín Iyaltamish was taken prisoner. Another is Sulṭán Náṣiru-d-Din Qabácha [3] who is also one of the slaves of Muizzu-d-Dín, and had married one of the daughters of Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz, the other daughter was married to Sultán Quṭbu-d-

1 قالب تهی ساخت Literally, emptied the mould (*in which he was cast*). The word قالب though Arabic in appearance is not really so. It is in reality the Persian word کالب (cf کالبد) in an Arab dress.

The game of *chaugán* is the origin of the modern game of "polo" the *chaugán* چوگان called in Arabic صولجان *Ṣaulajān* is a name applied to a stick with a curved extremity. Curling locks are called چوگان سنبل A pony which is fit for the game of چوگان is called چوگانی (Burhán-i-Qaṭi')

2 In the 'Ajáibu-l-Makhlúqát of Qazwíní we find that the astrologers considered the sun as holding the place of king, and the stars are his courtiers and troops The moon is his Vazír and Jupiter the Qázi. The planet is considered to be a very fortunate one by astrologers who called it سعد اکبر The moon is also lucky so much so that everything lucky was called by the Hindús Somagraha, Soma being the Sanskrit word for moon The sun was called 'Aditya,' i e, the beginning as being the origin of all things. See Albiruni (Sachau) I 217 and *seqq*.

3 Who on the death of Quṭbu-d-Dín proceeded to usurp Uchh and Multán according to Raverty (530, *note* 6). The *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* states that Náṣiru-d-Dín Qabácha married two of the daughters of Quṭbu-d-Dín. (See *note* 4, p. 529) (*note* 2, p 532).

Dín and Sulṭán Muizzu-d-Dín during his lifetime had bestowed upon him the governorship of Uchh and Multán. After the death of Sulṭán Quṭbu-d-Dín, he brought the whole country from Uchh [1] to Sarsutí and Kuhrám under his own rule, and also took possession of Lahore, and having fought with the army of Malik Táju-d-Dín who was on his way from Ghaznín, Khwája Mu'aiyyidu-l-Mulk Sinjarí [2] being in command of that army, was defeated and went to Sindh in which country he obtained great ascendancy.

57. In the year 611 H. (1214 A D.) a Moghul army arrived and laid siege to Multán for forty days and the Sulṭán Náṣiru-d-Dín, having opened the doors of the treasury, evinced great bravery and warded off their attacks, and at last after a reign of twenty-two years fell a prisoner into the hands of Sulṭán Shamsu-d-Dín and trod the way to the next world. [3] Another is Malik Baháu-d-Dín Tughral, when Muizzu-d-Dín Muḥammad Sám reduced the fortress of Bahankar [4] he entrusted the command of it to Malik Baháu-d-Dín Tughral, and he having built a fortress in the country of Bhasiyána [5] elected to reside there [6] and used continually to

[1] 70 miles south-west of Multán For the situation of Uchh, see Cunn A. G. I, p 242.

Tieffenthaler says that under this name are comprised seven villages the chief of which contains the tomb of Syud Bukhárí. Tieff. I. 118. In Rennell's map, Vol. III. Surusty is shewn as in Long. 74·5 Lat. 28 5, Koram Long. 75 4 Lat. 29 4.

[2] See *note* 1 page 74.

[3] In the year 612 H. according to the *Táju-l-Maásir*, but from the text it appears to have been in 610 H or early in 611 H.

According to *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* he was drowned while trying to escape. *See* Raverty 542–543, *notes*. cf. Elliott II. 304.

[4] Both MSS., but according to *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* and Alfí the name of the fort was Thankír or Thangir. (*See* however Raverty 544 *note* 1).

[5] MS. (B) has Bhasiyána, MS (A) has Bhayána. *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* says "the fortress of Thankír which is in the territory of Bhiána" This fortress he built was called Sulṭán Kot (*Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí*).

Tieffenthaler mentions a place which he calls Beána and says, concerning it, *Beána* etait autrefois une ville bien peuplée, aujourd'hui le nombre de ses habitans est fort diminué, apres que le Rajah Indou en a chassé, il n'y-a que peu d'années, les Mahometans, Afgans, et Saïdes, qui se vantent de descendre de la race d'Alí. Elle est au pied des montagnes, à 14 milles communs de *Fatepour* au Sud-Ouest.

He mentions no fortress named Thankír or Bahankar nor does he mention Sulṭán Kot.

[6] Cf *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* where this fort is called Sulṭánkot.

harass the environs of Gwáliár, and Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín at the time of his return from Gwáliár had promised to give that fortress to Malik Baháu-d-Dín who accordingly strongly fortified a position at a distance of two *krohs* from Gwáliar and harassed the garrison of the fort, so that after a year the garrison sending messengers and presents invited Sultán Quṯbu-d-Dín and surrendered the fort to him. On this account enmity arose between Malik Quṯbu-d-Dín and Baháu-d-Dín. Malik Baháu-d-Dín died a short time afterwards [1]

Another is Malik Muḥammad Baḵẖtyár G̱ẖúrí. [2] He was one of the great men of G̱ẖúr and Garmsír, a man adorned with all good qualities who came to G̱ẖaznín in the reign of Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín and from thence went to Hindústán. He did not approve of having to live in Láhore with Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín, and joined hands with Malik Ḥusainu-d-Dín Ug̱ẖal Beg [3] ruler of the country between the two rivers (The Doáb) and the country beyond the river Ganges, and Kanpilah and Patiáli [4] were allotted as his reward. He proceeded to Oudh and conquered that coun-

[1] No date is given of these events.

[2] Called also Muhammad Baḵẖtyár Ḵẖilji, the first to lead a Musulmán invasion of Bengal in 596 A H He belonged to the Ḵẖilj tribe of G̱ẖúr, a Turkish tribe. Regarding him the *Aín-i-Akbarí* states that the astrologers had predicted the overthrow of the kingdom of Nadiya by Muhammad Baḵẖtyár Ḵẖiljí He destroyed the city of Nadiya (in 1203 A D, 600 A. H) and transferred the Capital to Laḵẖnauti From that time Bengal has been subject to the kings of Dehli *Aín-i-Akbarí* (Jarrett) II 148

He was a nephew of Muhammad son of Maḥmúd (See *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* 549) Raverty denies his having ever been a slave but from the statement in the text there seems to be no doubt that the author so regarded him (*See* Raverty, p 550 *note* 6)

Maliku-l-Muazzam Husainu-d-Dín Ug̱ẖul Beg held in fief a considerable tract of country in the Doáb, independently of Qutbu-d-Dín

[3] See Raverty *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* 550 *note* 6.

[4] MSS (A) and (B) كنپله *Kanpila.* MS (A) پنبالي *Panráli* MS (B) پتّيالي *Pattáli* Raverty p 550 *note* 6, says *Pattilah* پتيلة (Lat 25° Long 82° 54′] and *Kuntilah* كنتلة [Lat 25° 7′ Long 82° 35′] the Kuntil of the Indian Atlas.

See the note above for a discussion of the question

In the text كديله is evidently a copyist's error for كنپله

try, reduced Behár and Munér,[1] and having taking large booty Sulṭán Quṭbu-d-Dín sent him royal honours and a banner of Sulṭánship. He then brought many presents to the court of the
58 Sulṭán, and received great favours and distinctions; the grandees of the court seeing they were powerless against him, became envious of him, and instigated the Sulṭán to such an extent that one day he made him fight with a rogue elephant,[2] but he struck the elephant so hard upon the trunk with a heavy club that the elephant turned and fled. The Sultán was overwhelmed with astonishment to see this, and nominated and appointed him ruler of the whole country of Lakhnautí[3] in Bengála and sent him away. In the second year after this arrangement Muhammad Bakhtyár brought an army from Behár towards Lakhnautí and arrived at the town of Núdiyá[4] with a small force, Nudiyá is now in ruins. Ráí Lakhmia (Lakminía[5]) the governor of that

[1] *Manér* ville assez distinguée située sur la rive citérieure (du *Gange*) à 4 milles ouest de Scherpour—(qui est á 6 milles, de *Patna*) l'embouchure du *Son* (Soano) se trouve entre Maner à l'ouest et Scherpour à l'est Le *Son* se jette dans le *Gange* ¾ de cosse avant Manér Tieff I. 423 *note* (*a*).

Behar the capital of the ancient kingdom of Magadh is situated on the Pancháná river Tieffenthaler describes it thus "Une grande ville moins peuplée aujourd'hui qu'elle ne l'a été, remarquable par des tombeaux magnifiques de Mahométans (Shaikh Sharafuddín Muníri is buried there).

Elle a été la capitale autrefois de la province. Sa distance de Patna en ligne droite est de 17 milles"

See *Hunter* Gazetteer of India.

[2] On the occasion of a public audience held by Quṭbu-d-Dín in the Qasr i-Safed.

[3] The ancient capital city of Bengal called originally Lakshmanáwati, and possibly also Gaur Called Jannatabad by the Emperor Humáyún See *Aín-i-Akbarí* II. (Jarrett) 122, 131 also Imp. Gaz, *art Gaur*. *See* also Raverty *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* 559 *note* 2.

[4] Both MSS. نودیا Núdiyá Also *Tabaqát-i-Akbarí* See Imp Gaz *Nadiya*, Nadiya or Nabadwip is on the west bank of the Bhágírathi, it was founded by Lakshman Sen son of Ballal Sen King of Bengal who is said to have left Gaur for Nadíyá owing to the superior sanctity of the Bhágírathí at Nádiyá The name was called *Núdia* until the time of Aurangzeb—

See Raverty *op cit* 559 *note* 2

[5] *Aín-i-Akbarí* II, (Jarrett), 148 *Tabaqát-i-Násiri*, 555.

town who had heard from astrologers[1] the fame of Muḥammad Bakhtyár and his great power, fled thence to Kámrán, and property and booty beyond computation fell into the hands of the Muslims, and Muḥammad Bakhtyár having destroyed the place of worship and idol-temples of the infidels founded Mosques and Monasteries and schools and caused a metropolis to be built called by his own name, which now has the name of Gaur[2]

VERSE

There where was heard before the clamour and uproar of
heathen.
Now there is heard resounding the shout of "Alláho akbar"

And after having the *khuṭbah* read and the currency struck in his name,[3] having collected a large body of men, under the command of Amír Alí Masíj[4] (Mích) he attempted to conquer the countries of Tibet and Turkestán and twelve thousand cavalry fully armed and equipped arrived at a city which they call Bardhan.[5] A river

[1] For an account of the birth of Lakhmaniya see *Tabaqát-i-Akbarí* which relates that in order to delay the birth for two hours his mother caused herself to be suspended head downwards with her legs bound together till the auspicious moment predicted by the astrologers to ensure his reigning for eighty years arrived, immediately after delivery of her child the mother died. (see also Raverty *Tabaqát-i-Nasirí*, p 555)

[2] There is no authority for the statement that Gaur was ever known by the name of Muḥammad Bakhtyár Concerning the name Gaur see Hunter Imp Gaz. *Gaur*

[3] The recitation of the خطبه or public prayer in the name of the new Sovereign and the issue of coins bearing his name was regarded by Muhammadan nations as constituting actual accession to the throne and the statement is probably incorrect

As to this passage see Raverty 559 *note* 3. *See* Thomas Pathán Kings of Dehli p. 37 and p. 110, and notes It appears unlikely that Muḥammad Bakhtyar issued coins in his own name, as he was nothing more than Sipahsálár of the Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín Muhammad Sám moreover no such coins are known.

[4] A chief of the tribes of Kúnch and Míj called Alí Míj (*Tabaqát-i-Naṣirí*.) tribes between Tibet and Lakhnauti

[5] Regarding this the *Tabaqát-i Náṣirí* says that a chief of one of the

here crossed their route called the Brahmanputr,[1] which they also call Brahmkadí It is three or four times the size of the Ganges. Sháh Garshasp [2] when he came to Hindustán built a bridge over that river, and crossed it at Kámrúd and went on his way. Muḥam-
59. mad Bakhtyár crossed by that bridge, and leaving certain of his trusted generals to protect the bridge and command the road, entered the territory of Tibet, and spent ten days among the mountains and difficult roads, and at last arrived at a plain in

mountain tribes between Lakhnautí and Tibbat the Kúnch-Mij-and Tihárú who are all of Turkish countenance (همه ترک چهره اند) and speak a language differing both from that of India and that of Tibbat, adopted the religion of Islám and agreed to act as guide to Muḥammad Bakhtyár whom he conducted to a place where there is a city called Mardhan Koṭ (or Bardhan koṭ) * in front of which flows a vast river called the Bang Matí and when it enters the country of Hindustán they style it Samundar in the Hindí dialect; in magnitude, width, and depth it is three times the size of the Ganges

From this point the account differs, the *Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí* says that they journeyed up the river for ten days among the mountains till they came to an old bridge built of hewn stone, &c

Our text on the other hand states that they crossed the old bridge immediately on reaching the river *after* which they journeyed for ten days in the mountains, &c.

Badáoni's statement has more *primá facie* probability, the statements of the *Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí* moreover are somewhat confused and contradictory. Neither author mentions how long the cavalry force took to reach Bardhan.

It seems fairly certain from Badáoni's account that the city of Bardhan was on the near side of the river and that the crossing of the river was impracticable at that point, how far it was from Kámrúd, where Badáoni says they crossed by the bridge, does not appear

MS (A) ابردين Abardin, MS (B) ابردهن Abardhan

Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí says Bardhan (Raverty 561 *note* 8). Calcutta text has مردهن كوط.

[1] *Tabaqát* calls this river the Beg-Matí (*see* Raverty 561 *note* 1)

For a full discussion of the identity of the river crossed and the place of crossing see Raverty pp 561-565 The only additional information given by the text is that the bridge was at Kámrúd, and it seems not impossible that it may be the bridge of Sil Hako and the river the Brahmaputra though Raverty thinks it was the Teesta

[2] See Raverty p 561 *note* 9 and *Áín-i Akbarí* III. (Jarrott) 328 *note* 4.

which was a fort of great strength. the garrison of that fort who were descendants of Gushtasp (that fort too was one of the buildings erected by Gushtasp) came forth to fight, and fought so bravely till nightfall that many men were lost on the side of Muḥammad Bakhtyár. He pitched his camp on that very spot, and coming down received tidings that five farsangs beyond this city there was another city [1] from which 50,000 Turks all warlike and ready for battle would come to the relief of their city. The following day Muḥammad Bakhtyár not thinking it advisable to remain there, and not being able to oppose them, turned back and came to the head of the bridge. Before his arrival the Generals in charge of the road had fought among themselves, and the infidels had broken two arches of that bridge. The army of Muḥammad Bakhtyár had this bridge in front and the infidels kept coming up in their rear, and fought with determined bravery. In that neighbourhood there was an idol temple of great strength [2] They passed the night there by some stratagem, and in the morning a ford was found, and a party of men who crossed by the ford found the sand of the river was a sort of quicksand, and the water of the river gradually growing deeper and deeper, the greater part of the soldiers of Muhammad Bakhtyár were drowned in the ocean of destruction, and the remnant which remained became fuel for the fire of the infidel's sword and attained the exaltation of martyrdom. Muhammad Bakhtyár, out of many thousand men, arrived at Deo Kot with some three or four hundred only, and fell ill from vexation and was attacked by hectic fever [3] and used to say "no doubt Sultan Muhammad Muizz-ud-Din Sám has met with an accident that fortune has gone so against me." And when weakness took possession of him 'Alí Mardán one of Muḥammad Bakhtyár's greatest generals arrived 60
at Deo Kot from the district of Narnáli [4] and finding him

[1] Called Karpattan (*Tabaqát-i-Náṣirí*) see Raverty p. 567 and *notes* for a full account of Bakhtyar's retreat and disasters

[2] See Raverty 570 *note* 9. regarding the possible locality.

[3] I take this to be the meaning of the text بزحمت دق منجر گشت.

[4] MSS. (A) and (B) نارنولي See Raverty 572, note 7, where he calls this نارنكوي Naran-koe,

bedridden, pulled down the sheet from his face and ruthlessly despatched him with one blow of a dagger This event happened in the year 602 H after the death of Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín. and after the death of Sultán Qutbu d-Dín this same Alí Mardán eventually seized the reins of power by great craft, and promulgating the *khutba* and *sikka* of Lakhnauti in his own name was styled Sultán Aláu-d-Dín, and from the excessive folly and pride and arrogance of his mind sat quietly in Lakhnauti and divided the country of Irán and Túrán among his adherents, and no one dared to say "these dominions are outside the scope of the Sultán's power why do you divide them?" They say that some unfortunate merchant laid a complaint of poverty before Aláu-d-Dín, who asked "where does this fellow come from?" They answered "*from Isfahán*" then he ordered them to write a document to Isfahán which should have the force of an assignment of land to him The merchant would not accept this document, but the Vazirs did not dare to represent this fact and reported "the ruler of Isfahán, by reason of his travelling expenses and assembling his retinue for the purpose of subjugating that country, is in difficulties" He thereupon ordered them to give a large sum of money far beyond his expectations; and when his tyranny and oppression exceeded all bounds the Amírs of Khilj consenting together put him to death and raised to the throne Malik Husámu-d-Dín Khiljí who was one of the nobles of Khilj and Garmsír and one of the servants of Muhammad Bakhtyár. The reign of Alí Mardán lasted thirty-two years [2]

Another was Malik Husámu-d-Dín [3] abovementioned who became possessed of the whole country of Tirhut and Bengála and Jájnagar and Kámrúd and gained the title of Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín, till in the months of the year 622 H., he sent to the Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín Iyaltimish thirty-eight head of elephants and

[1] Cf *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* 578. He would appear to have been the subject of expansive delusions very likely an early symptom of the general paralysis which would have declared itself later had he not been removed.

[2] Both MSS have سی و دو سال but as a matter of fact Alí Mardán reigned only two years and some months (see also Raverty 580 *note* 7)

[3] Malik Husámu-d-Dín 'Iwaz

seventy thousand *tanqahs* [1] in cash as a present and acknowledged 61
the Sultán's authority, as will be mentioned, if God (*be He exalted*) so will it. And in the year 624 H. Malik Náṣiru-d-Dín Muḥammad ibn[2] Sulṭán Shamsu-d-Dín went from Oudh to Lakhnautí at the instigation of some of the Amírs,[3] and Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín[4] who at that time had taken an army from Lakhnautí to Kámrúd turned back, and fought a severe battle with Malik Náṣiru-d-Dín and was taken prisoner together with the majority of his generals and was put to death. The duration of his reign was twelve years.[5] The mention of these few kings of the regions of Hindustán incidentally with the affairs of the Sulṭáns of Dehlí was both opportune and necessary, and the affairs of the remaining Muizzíyeh kings who attained to the Sulṭanat of Multán and other kingdoms are mentioned in other places.

SULTÁN ARÁM SHÁH IBN QUTBU-D-DÍN AIBAK [6]

After his father, succeeded to the throne

In the world no family remains without a master
If one departs, another takes his place,
This too is the way with this deceitful world
The father departs, the son's foot is in the stirrup.

By the consent of the Amírs he marched from Lahore to Delhí. In the meantime Malik Shamsu-d-Dín Iyaltimish, who was a servant and adopted son, and son-in-law of Sulṭán Qutbu-d-Dín,

[1] *Tanqah* For the value of this see J. R. A. S. New Series Vol. i p 343 *also* Raverty 584 *note* 2. Thomas Chr. Pathán Kings of Dehli pp. 161 and p 49 *note*

The silver *tanqah* weighed 175 grains. There was a coin known as the *kaní* which was $\frac{1}{64}$ of a *tanqah*, while another coin was introduced under Muhammad Tughlaq known as the *black tanqah* which was $\frac{8}{64}$ of the silver tanqah.

The value of the silver tanqah was about the same as the rupee See *Aín-i-Akbarí* III. (Jarrett) 362, *note* 3.

[2] The text should read بن سلطان شمس الدين MSS. A. and B.

[3] Malik Izzu-d Dín Jání See Raverty, p 594, *note* 1.

[4] Ghiyásu-d-Dín Iwaz ... Husain Khiljí

[5] He was the last of the Muizzi Sultans according to the *Tabaqát-i-Násirí*.

[6] Succeeded his father in 607 H. Cf Raverty, 529, *note* 4. Thomas pp 40.

and had tributary relations with Malik Náṣiru-d-Dín Qabáchá, at the invitation of Sipah Sálár Alí Isma'íl, had come from Hardwár and Badáun to Dehli and had taken possession of the city and its country. When Arám Sháh arrived in the vicinity of Dehlí Malik Shamsu-d-Dín came out against him in battle array, and Arám Sháh was defeated. The duration of his reign was just a year.[1]

[2]All of us young and old are doomed to die
No one remains in this world lastingly
62 This is the way of the lofty sky It holds
In one hand a crown in the other a noose.

SULṬÁN SHAMSU-D-DIN IYALTIMISH[3]

Called by the title of "Yamin-i-Amir-al-Múminín"
(Right hand of the Commander of the Faithful.)

In the year 607 H. ascended the imperial throne of Dehlí; and the reason of the name Iyaltimish is that his birth occurred on the night of an eclipse of the moon, and the Turks call a child

1 Minháj-us-Siráj mentions that at Arám's death Hindustán was divided into four principalities. Sind in the possession of Náṣiru-d-Dín Qabachah: Dehlí and its subordinate divisions belonged to Shamsu-d-Dín Iyaltimish. Lakhnautí was held by the Khilj chiefs 'Alí Mardán having thrown off his allegiance on the death of Qutbu-d-Dín, and Lahore remained a subject of contention between the rulers of Sind, Dehlí and Ghaznin. See Thomas' Pathán Kings p 40

2 *Not in either MS* Those verses are from the Shahnámah of Firdausí (*vide* Sháhnámah, Calcutta Edition, by Turner Macan, 1829, Vol I p 361, line 3, and Vol I p 372, line 6 The editor of the text has apparently quoted these lines from memory or possibly they were in the MSS from which he prepared the text

3 In MSS A and B this word is clearly written ايلتمش This text has التمش

Iyaltimish or Altamish as he is generally called was the first sovereign who reigned in Dehli with independent power He received a diploma of investiture from the Khalíf of Baghdád [Al-Mustanṣir b-illáh, A. H. 626] a most important recognition to a Muḥammedan sovereign and one that is remarkable as being the earliest notice taken by the arrogant court of Baghdád of this new Indo-Muḥammadan kingdom. (Thomas, p. 43).

born under these circumstances Iyaltimish.[1] His father was the chief of many of the tribes of Turkestán. His kinsmen under pretence of taking him for a walk took Iyaltimish into a garden and sold him like Joseph to a merchant, from there he happened to be taken to Bokhárá, and thence in the time of Sultán Muḥammad Sám to Ghaznín, and in these days Sultán Quṭbu-d-Dín after the conquest of Nahrwálah and the taking of Gujrát had gone to Ghaznín, and since without permission of Sultán Muḥammad Sám no one could purchase Iyaltimish he asked permission from the Sultán to sell him. Sultán Muḥammad Sám said that since he had given orders that no one there should buy that slave they were to take him to Dehli and sell him there. Sultán Quṭbu-d-Dín after his return from Ghaznín bought a slave named Ibak, a namesake of his own, and Iyaltimish, at Dehli for 100,000 *tangahs* at first he called him Amír Ṭamgháck,[2] and appointed him to the Amírship of Tabarhindah,[3] and at the time when Sultán Quṭbu-d-Dín fought with Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz, Ibak his slave tasted the cup of death At that time he made Iyaltimish an especial favourite, and after the capture of Gwáliár he made him Governor of that place, and subsequently bestowed upon him the rule of Baran[4] and its environs, and since he 63.
began to shew signs of extraordinary hardiness he entrusted the country of Badáún to him, and in the war of Muizzu-d-Dín with the Khúkhars (as has been already related), Iyaltimish having got together a huge army from Badáon and the foot of the hills, joined hands with Sultán Muizzu-d Dín in the service of Sultan Qutbu-d-Dín, and armed as he was having forced his horse into the river[5] engaged the enemy bravely several

[1] Concerning the origin of the name see Thomas, p 44, *note* 1 The note is too long to transcribe here, but briefly it may be said that Mr Redhouse to whom the above text was submitted by Mr Thomas thinks it probable that owing to errors of transcribers of the Turkish compound word the ل has become displaced and that the word should really be written ايتتلمش *ay-tutulmush* = *eclipse of the moon.*

This explanation seems most plausible In Turkí the word التمش *altamsh* means the advanced guard of an army, or the number sixty.

[2] طمغاج MS A. طمغاج MS B

[3] Tabarhindah in MS. A is written تبرهندة.

[4] Buland shahr, (Thomas). See Hunter Imp. Gaz. (p 141)

[5] See *Tabaqát-i-Naṣirí.* It was the river Jhílam.

times: Sultán Muizzu-d-Dín bestowed on him fitting honours and distinguished him royally and gave him high recommendations to Malik Qutbu-d-Dín, and went to the greatest possible lengths in his care for him; and that same day Malik Qutbu-d-Dín wrote his letter of emancipation, and by degrees raised him to the dignity of Amír-ul-Umará (Chief of the Amírs) till his affairs reached the height they did. And in the beginning of his reign certain of the Muizziyeh and Qutbíyeh Amírs rebelled against him and suffered punishment and became food for the pitiless sword. And Malik Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz after he had suffered defeat by the Army of Khwárazm obtained possession of Lahore; Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín coming from Delhi to meet him in the year 612 H drew up in battle order on the confines of Taráyan which is known as Serái Taláwarí.[1] After a severe battle Sultán Táju-d-Dín Yaldúz being defeated fell a prisoner into the hands of Shamsu-d-Dín who sent him to Badáon The bird of his soul there escaped from the prison house of the body and took its flight to the nest of the next world His tomb is in that city.

And in the year 614 H Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín came into conflict with Sultán Náşiru-d-Dín Qabácha who had married the two daughters of Sultán Qutbu-d-Dín one after the other, and was in possession of Uchh and Multán, and victory rested with Sultán
64. Shamsu-d-Dín, and for the third time[2] Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín went up in person against him. He, having fortified the castle of Uchh, himself went to the fortress of Bhankar, and Nizámul-Mulk Wazír Jandí pursued him while the Sultán reduced Uchh. After hearing the news of the capture of Uchh, Násiru-d-Dín sent his own son Bahrám Sháh into the presence of the Sultán and sued for peace Bhankar also was captured. And in the year 615 H. Náşiru-d-Dín was overwhelmed in the sea of destruction in the Punjab, and surrendered the property of life to the flood of death, and the Sultan turning back came to Delhí In the year 618 H. Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín raised an army against Sultán

[1] Cf. Raverty, p 608, note 8

[2] According to the Tazkiratu-l-Mulúk this was the first occasion in which Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín had shewn hostility to Náşiru-d-Dín Qabacha. On the other hand the *Tabaqát-i-Naşirí* states that there used to be constant contention between them Badáoni is very likely correct in his statement. See *Raverty* p 609, note 1.

Jalálu-d-Dín Mangburní[1] son of Khwárazm Sháh who having suffered defeat at the hands of Changíz Khán after Táju-d-Dín, came to Ghaznín and thence from fear of the incursions of Changíz Khán had gone to Lahore with his family and relations; and Sultán Jalálu-d-Dín not being able to withstand him went towards Sindh and Síwistan and from there by way of Kuch and Makrán arrived at Kirmán and Iráq.[2]

And in the year 622 H.[3] Sultán Shamsu-d-Dín, took an army towards Behár and Lakhnautí and brought Sultán Ghiyásu-d-Dín Khiljí, who has been before mentioned, into obedience, and having accepted the present above mentioned,[4] established the *khutba* and *sikka* in his own name[5] and having given his elder son the title of Sultán Náṣiru-d-Dín Maḥmúd[6] made him his heir, and having made over that country to him returned to the metropolis of Dehlí. Eventually Malik Náṣiru-d-Dín Mahmúd having fought with Ghiyáṣu-d-Dín on the confines of Lakhnautí got the upper hand, and having taken him prisoner put him to death, and great booty fell into his hands which he divided into portions and sent it as rewards[7] to each of the nobles of Dehlí. 65.

1 So called because of a mole which he had on his nose (Raverty 285, *note* 3). He was the last of the Khwarazm Sháhí dynasty. He is said to have turned devotee and to have lived till 688 H (Raverty 299, *note*) There is some question as to the orthography of this name. Thomas p 90, *note* 1, judging from inscriptions on his coins calls him Mankbarnin, as he considers the final letter to be ن *n* not ی *í*. The etymology given above is probably correct as the word مینگ (*meng*) in Turkí means *grain de beauté* while بورون means "nez" (*Dict Turk Orientale* Pavet-de Courteille) the word originally being مینگبورون mengbúrún would in Persian have become altered in pronunciation to منگبرن mangburun and with the addition of the ya-i-nisbat منکبرني Mangburuní.

2 For a full reference to the bibliography of this expedition, see Elliott II 549. See also *Aín-i-Akbarí*, Vol II Jarrett 343, and *notes*. D'Herbelot art. Geladeddin, Vol II p 87

3 Mistake in text ۴۲۲ where 422 H is in figures.

4 "Thirty elephants and eighty *laks* of treasure." (*Tabaqát-i-Nasirí*)

5 See Thomas' Pathán Kings, p 46. It is not said here what kind of coinage—Thomas puts the year 626 A H as the first of the silver coinage.

6 محمود MS (A)

7 The word انعام in MS A is omitted in the text after the word دهلي. MS A continues after the word فرستاد as follows.—

و سلطان شمس الدين در سنه ثلث و عشرين و ستمائة سپاهي گران

[1] [It is well known that a poet name Náṣirí arrived in that country from Dehlí in the service of Haẓrat Khwája Qutbu-d-Din Ushi[2] *may God sanctify him* and said I have composed a Qaṣida in praise of Sultán Shamsu-d-Din Read the Fátiḥa that I may get the accustomed reward." They read the Fátiḥa and he having been admitted to the Sulṭán's presence read this *Maṭla'*.

> Oh thou from dread of whom sedition has sought refuge,
> Whose sword has sought from the infidels property and elephants.

The Sulṭán by the mere reading of that *matla'* learnt it by heart and repeated it, and when the poem was finished he asked How many couplets does this Qaṣida contain? The answer was fifty and three. He thereupon ordered them to give him fifty-three thousand white tangahs[3]] Sultán Shamsu-d-Din in [the year] 623 H made an attack upon Ranthanbhúr[4] and having brought an army thither reduced that fortress, and in the year 621 H. having

بعزیمت تسخیر قلعهٔ مندور نامزد ساخته ان قلعه را با کوه سوالک در حیز ضبط
اورد و بدهلی مراجعت فرمود و همدرین سال امیر روحانی که از افاضل ان
روزگار بود و در حادثهٔ چنگز خان ازانجا بدهلی امده و در تهنیت این فتوحات
قصائد غرّا گفته ازانجمله اینست قصیده

MS. (B) reads as follows و سلطان شمس الدین .. عزیمت رنتور نمود
و لشکر دران طرف برده القلعه را مفتوح گردانید و درسنه اربع و عشرین
و ستمائه سپاهی گران بعزیمت تسخیر قلعه مندور نامزد ساخته
I do not know what MS the Maulavi Ahmad Alí used for his edition, but it cannot have been either of the MSS. to which I have access

[1] The words in [ ] brackets are not found in either MS I have consulted.

[2] A famous saint known as Kakí from the "Kák" or Cakes which were supplied by the prophet Khizr for the sustenance of his family for whom his devotions left him no leisure to make provision See *Ain-i-Akbari* II (Jarrett) 363, *note* 2 He died A H 634, and is buried in Dehli See also Raverty p 621, *note* 6, third para [*Ain-i-Akbari* II (Jarrett) 279]

[3] The silver tangah piece of 175 grains

[4] A figure of this fortress is given in Tieffenthaler Vol I facing p 320, plate xx He describes it as a fortress so situated at the head of a narrow gorge that it can be held by "une poignée de soldats" having a spring of water arising from the rocks and forming a stream which runs down

detailed a large army to attack and capture the fort of Mandúr,[1] brought that fort together with the Siwálik hills into the circle of his conquest and returned to Dehlí, and in this same year Amír Rúḥání[2] who was one of the most learned men of that time came to Dehlí from Bukhárá in the affair of Changíz Khán, and wrote several brilliant odes of congratulation upon these victories, of which the following verses are an extract.

> The faithful Gabriel carried the tidings to the dwellers in heaven,
> From the record of victories of the Sulṭán of the age Shamsu-d-Dín,
>
> Saying—Oh ye holy angels raise upon the heavens,
> Hearing this good tidings, the [3] canopy of adornment.
> That from the land of the heretics the Sháhansháh of Islám 66.
> Has conquered a second time the fort resembling the sky;
> The Sháh, holy warrior and Ghází, whose hand and sword
> The soul of the lion of repeated attacks[4] praises

And there are also other many charming poems attributed to him, of which the following ode is one :—

> From the tongue of the pen my own story I tell in the words of the pen

to Scherpour two miles distant (This place is not marked on Rennell's map). Besides this there are cisterns hewn out of the rocks in the fort to collect the rain water It is entered by four gates approached by steps cut in the rocks

[1] Or Mandawar (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p 611, *note* 3, Mandwar MS (A)

See *Rennell's* map. Monorpour Long 77 Lat 27. This fortress answers apparently to the situation of Mandú or Mandawar Tieffenthaler I 323, mentions 'Manoarpur ville de marque avec une forteresse a 15 milles Nord de Djepour " This is probably the fort here called Mandú

[2] Hakim Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad Ali Samarqandí.

[3] MS (A) we have instead of كلهٔ آمیین as, in the text, the words كلهٔ تزئیں which appears a better reading, "the canopy of adornment," I have preferred it

MS (B) has كُلهٔ برتین which is evidently a copyist's error for كُلهٔ تزئن

[4] حیدر کرار is a name of علي 'Ali who is called Asad 'Ullah or by the Persians Shír-i-Khudá, The lion of God.

On the page of my life, though the writing of grief has been traced by the pen
Since I lived in this world with the pen all my days have been black as the pen
And swift as I write my account, so fierce is the point of the pen
That like to my own gentle voice is the sharp loud lament of the pen.
Although in the midst of my loss I reap always rewards from the pen,
Still no one will mention my state to my Lord save the tongue of the pen.
'Tis from Khwája Manṣúr bin Sa'íd thrives the market of test of the pen
That great one whose words load the burden of truth on the van of the pen.
He has mounted his beautiful thoughts on the steed of his swift running pen.[1]
In the road of just ruling he gallops, light holding the rein of the pen.
His skill hand in hand with his wisdom reveals hidden arts of the pen.

And in the year 626 H Arab Ambassadors came from Egypt[2] bringing for him a robe of honour and titles, and out of joy at this they built triumphal arches in the city and held banquets And in this same year the tidings arrived of the death of his son Sulṭán
67. Náṣiru-d-Dín Governor of Lakhnautí, and the Sulṭán, after completing the duties of mourning, gave his name (i.e., Náṣiru-d-Dín) to his younger son after whom the *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* is named. In the year 627 H., he proceeded against Lakhnautí and quieted the disturbances of those regions, and after entrusting the government of that place to Izzu-l-Mulk Malik 'Aláu-d-Dín Kháfí[3] returned to the capital and in the year 629 H reduced the fortress of Gwáliar. Malik Táju-d-Dín the Secretary of State, wrote the

[1] MS. (A) خود ىدان را سوار كردة بود.

[2] This must have been from Baghdád from the Khalifah Al Mustanṣir b-illah See Raverty 616, *note* 2

[3] MS (A) علاالدين MS (B) علاالدين خافي as in the text *Tabaqát-i-Naṣirí* reads Aláu-d-Dín *Janí* See p 618, *notes*

following quatrain upon the taking of that fort, and they engraved it upon stone:—

> Every fort which the king of kings conquered
> He conquered by the help of God and the aid of the faith:
> That fortress of Kálewar and that strong castle
> He took in the year six hundred and thirty.[1]

It is apparently the date of the siege which accounts for the difference of one year. And in the year 631 H.[2] having made an incursion in the direction of the province of Málwah and taken Bhilsá[3] and also captured the city of Ujain,[4] and having destroyed the idol-temple of Ujain which had been built six hundred years previously, and was called Mahákál, he levelled it to its foundations, and threw down the image of Rái Vikramájít from whom the Hindús reckon their era[5] (the author of this selection, by the order of the Khalifa of the time, the Emperor, the Shadow of the Deity, in the year 972 H and again anew in the year 1003 H[6] with the assistance of Hindú pundits translated 32 stories about him which are a wonder of relation and strange circumstance, from the Hindúí into the Persian tongue and called it Náma-i-Khirad Afzá—) and brought certain other images of cast molten brass placed them on the ground in front of the door of the mosque of old Dehlí[7] and ordered the people 68.
to trample them underfoot and a second time he brought an army against Multán;[8] this expedition was in every way unfortunate

1 26th of the month Safar 630, A H (*Tabaqát-i-Naṣirí*), 1232, A D.

2 632 H (*Tabaqát-i-Naṣirí*) p 621, *note* 6

3 Bhilsa on the Betwá, is a place of Hindú pilgrimage, in its neighbourhood are many interesting Buddhist topes

4 Ujjain on the Sipra, was in ancient times the capital of Málwá, and the spot which marked the 1st meridian of Hindu geographers. It was the city of Vikramaditya See Hunter, Imp. Gaz, and Tieff Vol I p 346.

5 *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) II. 15, *notes* 2, 3. Alberuni, (Sachau) II 5, 6 The Samvat era commencing from 57 B C.

6 1564 A D. and 1594 A D Al-Badáoni died according to the *Tabaqát-i-Sháh Jahání* in the year 1024, A H. (1615 A D) I can find no mention of the Náma-i-Khirad Afzá, and can offer no suggestion as to what this work was a translation of possibly it was of one of Kalidása's poems سي ودو الف وبلث (B) بلث والف سي ودو (A) The text (C) agrees with MS (B).

7 See Imp Gaz art Dehli.

8 See Raverty 623, *note* 8, who holds that this should read بنيان Baniián. Both MSS. (A and B) have ملتان as also has Fi [illegible]

for him, and a very severe bodily illness afflicted him, he so returned and came to Dehli, and in the year 633 H, (1235 A D) left this lodging house of the world for the eternal mansions of the next world. The duration of his sultanate was twenty-six years.

Verse.

For this reason this heart-enthralling palace became cold.
Because when you have warmed the place, they say to you Rise [1]

And the prince of poets [2] (*on him be mercy*) says —

[3] [In all Hindustán you saw the dust of the troops of Iyaltimish
Look now drink your wine, others walk in his plain]
It is the same Dehlí one would say, yet where is his victorious canopy?
It is the same kingdom at all events, where has that royal dignity of his gone?
The earth is a house of mourning, and mourns too for its own sake
At the time of the birth of that child whom they see weeping.

It is a well known story that Sulṭán Shamsu-d-Dín was a man of a cold temperament, and once upon a time he desired to consort with a pretty and comely girl, but found that he had not the power The same thing happened several times . one day the girl was pouring some oil on the head of the Sulṭán and shed some tears upon the Sultán's head He raised his head and asked the cause of her weeping, after a great deal of hesitation she answered I had once a brother who was bald like you and that reminded me of him, and I wept. When he had heard the story of his being imprisoned it became evident that she was the own sister of the

[1] Nizámí.

[2] Mír Khusrú Dehlaví A few translated selections from the works of this poet will be found in Elliott, Vol iii p 523, and a notice of the poet historian at p 67 of the same volume His full name was Yamínu-d-Dín Muhammad Hasan, he is said to have left behind him some half million of verses He was born in 651 A H (1253 A.D) and died in 725 A.H (1325 A.D.) but according to the *Atash Kada* his death occurred A H. 752 (A.D 1351)

[3] Not in MS (A).

Sulṭán, and that God *be he glorified and exalted* had preserved him from this incestuous intercourse. The writer of these pages 69.
heard this story from the lips of the Khalifah of the world, I mean Akbar Shāh *may God make Paradise his kingdom* in Fathpur and also in Lahore, one evening when he had summoned him into the private apartments of the capital and had conversed with him on certain topics, he said, I heard this story from Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban and they said that when the Sulṭān wished to have connection with that girl her catamenia used to come on [and this occurrence was at the time of writing].[1]

SULṬĀN RUKNU-D-DĪN FIROZ SHĀH IBN SHAMSU-D-DĪN

Who in his father's time had several times been in charge of the districts of Budāon, and afterwards had received the canopy and staff of authority, and while holding the country of Lahore was his heir-apparent, succeeded to the throne by consent of the authorities in the aforesaid year,[2] and Malik Tāju-d-Dīn his secretary[3] wrote this congratulatory ode in honour of his accession —

> All hail to the everlasting kingdom,
> Above all to the king, in his heyday of youth,
> Yamīnu-d-Daulat Ruknu-d-Dīn
> Whose door became like the Rukn-i-Yamani[4] from its auspiciousness

When he ascended the throne, he opened the doors of the treasury, and gave full scope to his taste for rioting and wantonness and indolence and sloth, and used to spend his precious hours in the company of prostitutes and vagabonds.

> When thy heart inclines towards the wine shop
> Except the tavern keeper[5] and the musician who will praise thee.

1 The words in brackets are not found in either MS. (A) or (B).

2 633 A H

3 MS (A) omits و before دبير

4 The south corner of the Ka'aba, a spot of special veneration to pilgrims Burton's pilgrimage to El Medina and Mecca, III, 162 Hughes Dict of Islām, 548 See also Muir's Life of Mahomet, II 36, *note*

5 مغ text MS (A) مى

And his mother Turkān Khātūn,[1] who was a Turkish slave girl, having gained absolute power, used to vex the other concubines of the Sultān against whom her envious heart burned, in various ways, and put to death Qutbu-d Dīn the eldest son of the Sultān by another concubine. The treasury became empty, and
70 M[illegible] Muhammad Shāh the younger brother of the Sultan, who was ruler of Oudh, refusing to acknowledge his authority revolted against him, and Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn[2] and Kabir Khān Sultānī governor of Multān, and Malik Saifu-d-Dīn feudatory of Hānsī, entering into correspondence with one another raised the standard of opposition. Sultān Ruknu-d-Dīn Fīroz Shāh had arrived in the neighbourhood of Manṣūrpūr and Tarāyan with the intention of quelling this disturbance, and before this occurrence Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Junaidī the Wazīr and Agent of the territory of Hindustān, fearing the Sultān had fled to Kīlūgharī[3] and had gone in the direction of Kol and joined hands with Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sālārī; and other trusty Amīrs who had remained in the army having fled from the vicinity of Manṣūrpūr went to Dehlī and having sworn[4] fealty to Razzīyah Khātūn who was the eldest daughter of Sultan Shamsu-d-Dīn, and his heir apparent according to her father's will, and a woman endowed with excellent qualities, brave, generous, and intelligent, raised her to the throne and imprisoned Turkān Khātūn When the Sultān having returned from the army, arrived at Kīlukharī, the troops of Sultān Razzīyah went out to meet him, and having seized him without fighting imprisoned him, and he died in prison.[5] The duration of his reign was six months and a fraction.

[1] Shāh Turkan, styled Khudāwanda-i-Jahān

[2] The *Tabaqāt i Nāṣirī* says, "Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn, Muḥammad Sālārī who was the feudatory of Budāun broke out into rebellion and in another direction Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kabīr Khān Ayaz feoffee of Multān, Malik Saifu-d-Dīn Kūjī feudatory of Hānsī, and Malik Ālāu-d-Dīn Jānī who held the fief of Lahor united tog[illegible]" and revolted Raverty pp. 633, 634.

[3] Kilukharī, a [illegible] of Dehlī

[4] MS (A) درعمة خاتون

[5] In the ye[illegible] 18th of Rabi'u-l-Awwal

His death was probably due to violence, occurring as it did according to Minhaj-us-Siraj on the day of his seizure and imprisonment. *See Raverty, p. 636, note 4.*

Do not set thy heart upon the world, for it is a stranger
Like the singer who is every day in a new house.

Among the poets of that age [and the master of that time] [1] of Ruknu-d-Dīn was Shihāb Muhamra Badāoni [2] as Mīr Khusrū [3] *on him be mercy* says in one of his opening odes

In Budāon Muhamra rises intoxicated from sleep
If there comes forth from this melody the sound of the birds of Dehlī

And Maliku-l-Kalām Fakhru-l-Mulk 'Amīd Tūlakī [4] mentions
him as a master [5] and since the speech of the modern (poets) after
the appearance of the cavalcade of the Prince of poets has be-
come like the stars at the time of the raising of the banner of 71
the glorious sun, and like the seven poems [6] at the time of the
descent of the inspired revelation upon the best of men, and the

1 [ ] not in MS. (A).

2 The name is wrongly given in MS. (A) MS. (B) and the text. The real name of this poet is Shihābu-d-Dīn ibn Jamālu-d-Dīn Mutmara (متمرة). He was known as Shihāb-i-Mutmara. The verse here quoted should be as follows:

درمدا ران مست بر خيزد شهاب متمره
بشنـــود گر نغمهٔ مرغان دهلـــي زين نوا

In Madārān Shahāb-i-Mutmara rises intoxicated
If he hear the sound of the singing of the birds of Dehlī in this melody.

Vide Majma'u-l-Fuṣahā, Vol I page 304

3 Mīr Khusrū, the celebrated poet born at Patiālā 651 A H Died 725 A H. the author of 99 poetical works (Beale (*Majma'u-l-Fusahā*) see *note* 4, page 68.

4 MS (A) لويكي Lūjakī We should read '*Amīd Lūmakī*. Fakhru-l-Mulk Khwāja 'Amīdu-d-Dīn commonly known as 'Amīd Dailami, the panegyrist of Sulṭān Muḥammad Yamīn, said by some to have been a native of Gīlān, called also 'Amīd Lūmakī. *Majma'u-l-Fuṣahā* I 353.

5 MS. (A) و چون.

6 The سبع المعلقات or seven poems. The well-known poems of the Jāhilīyat or pre-Islāmic age

See *Introduction to Ancient Arabian Poetry*, by C. J Lyall, pp. xxxii (Effect of al-Islām on the old Poetry) and xliv (The Mu'allaqat).

See also Noldeke (Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Arabe, pp. xvii and *seq*.

See also Arabian Poetry (Clouston) pp xxxi and *seq*

Lord of the world *on him be peace*, remains concealed as by a curtain—men speak and write less concerning them, nay more they do not even possess them—accordingly in harmony with the saying, *The first comer has the best of it*, I have thought it incumbent upon me to include a few odes from that eminent author as a benediction and blessing, in this composition of mine, and to leave a memorial for his friends, and to establish my own connection with the master, and to display upon the dais of evidence the excellencies of that doughty knight of the arena of eloquence, and more especially to fulfil the demands of fellow-citizenship The master poet Shihāb [1] Muhamra [Badāonī] then says as follows. -

I am Alif in the table of existence and of no value as a sign.[2]
My existence depends upon the duration of the existence of others, my own existence is transitory
I stand at the end of the row [3] in the hope of obtaining a better position, having rested from all movement with the attributes of insignificance
I have not the attributes of Alif for Alif has no crookedness.[4]
All my writing has become crooked on the page of desire
There is the song of the nightingale, the rose is happy, while I am careless like the lily.[5]

1 See *note* 5, page 70

2 Alif stands for 1, in the numerical value of letters, and is looked upon as having no intrinsic value, but merely serving as the starting place or origin for other numbers

In its literal value also it is ساکن بالذات that is, it has no capability of being pronounced till it is compounded with some other sign such as ء *hamza*

3 Alif must stand at the end either of a word as in بقا *baqā*, or a syllable as in قامت *qamat* The Alif at the commencement has a *hamza*

4 MSS (A) (B) کژی ندارد

5 The lily is said by the poets not to be affected by the song of the nightingale and to remain speechless, *cf* Hāfiz

حیفست بلبلی چو من اندرچنین چمن
با این لسان عذب که خامش چو سوسنم

Pity it is that such a nightingale as I living in such a garden and having so sweet a tongue should be silent as the lily

Like Alif I have no tongue, what have I to do with ten tongues[1] ?

Since I can seize it[2] while thus at rest, Why should I pursue?

Since I cannot see openly how can I follow a hidden path?

By stratagem, I can recognize no distinction between earth and heaven, although I am like the heaven in my whirling, and like the earth stationary

I am not like water in freshness, nor like fire in sublimity, nor like the wind in sweetness, nor like the earth in heaviness.

1 The ten tongues of the lily are of frequent mention in Persian poetry, *cf.* Ḥāfiẓ

بسان سوسن اگر ده زبان شود حافظ
چوغنچه پیش توأش مهر بردهن باشد

Were Ḥāfiẓ like the lily endowed with ten tongues
His lips in thy presence would remain sealed like the lips of the rosebud.

also

ز سر و قامتت بنشینم آزاد
همه تن گر زبان باشم چو سوسن

I sit alone utterly heedless of thy cypress-like form
Even though like the lily my body were cleft into tongues

The lily سوسن *Sūsan* is of four varieties The white variety is called *Sūsan-i-āzād*, see *Burhān-i-qāṭi'* s v سوسن, according to the *Bahru-l-jawāhir* its properties are those of heat and dryness and it is useful in the headaches of fever.

The *Makhzanu-l-adwiya* states that the word *Sūsan* is an Arabicised form of the Syrian *Sūsānī* The article may be consulted for further information regarding the varieties and properties of these lilies. The linear leaves of the lily are compared to tongues

2 MS. (B) چون گیرم MS. (A) چونگیرم

The text should read—

چو نگیرم آرمیده چه روم پسی دویده
چو نه بینم اشکارا چه دوم ره نهانی
فلک از زمین بحیلت نشناسم ارچه هستم
چو فلک بخیره گردی چو زمین بنا روانی

72. I am not made out of these four elements.[1] I am composed of the effluvia of the kennel. The refuse of the sewer water has boasted of piety[2]

My wisdom, as though incarnate, seems to have taken to praise my faults, my avarice,[3] huge as a mountain, has girded its loins for taking presents.

I am become fixed in the way of avarice, not a sign of truth remains in me. The oppression of my vices has overwhelmed the mercies of the Sacred Book.

My greediness has so deceived me that the five sensual appetites have taken away from my heart with disgrace the blessings of the readings[4] of the *'ashars*

My inner nature as well as my body is devoid of meditation and recollection My eye like my ear is inclined to the singing women and their songs

I desire brilliant speeches to fall from my tongue which is like a well-tempered sword. My pen has made me bent like a sickle[5] in the pursuit of my daily bread.

My speech has failed me because its glory was in the relation of this story Yes! all this loss of honour was owing to inordinate desire for bread

I am that mean one, less than the least, who am not worth a groat,[6] if you think me worth a barleycorn, you will not buy me for nothing

[1] For the constitution and properties of the four elements, see *Sadīdī*, (Asiatic Lithographic Press, Edition 1244 A H, page 7) بحث الار كان *Bahsu-l-Arkān*, two of the four are light and two of them are heavy Fire is absolutely light, air is relatively light Earth is absolutely heavy while water is relatively heavy The three kingdoms (animal, vegetable and mineral) are composed of an admixture of these four elements

[2] MSS (A) (B) نه ازين چهار طبعم زنخار پارگيدـــم
فصـــلات پارگيني زده لاف پارگاي

[3] MS (A) طمعم

[4] The reading of the Qur'ān, which is divided into portions called *'ashars* consisting of ten Āyats

[5] The دهره a bill-hook or reaping hook, is curved like a sickle and very sharp It is also called داس *dās*, (*Burhān-i-Qati'*)

[6] MS (A) حبّة نيرزم

Oh Shihāb it is strange that you in this ro of kingly affairs are neither the Amīr of the Eight Squares[1] nor the Knight of the Seven Places[2]

You are not an angel, nor are you a devil, from what workshop are you? You are not a sojourner nor yet a traveller, from what court are you?

Your heart and intellect are careless of the tortures of the grave, you have dressed yourself in Gūrkhānī silk.[3]

You have become utterly regardless from lust, owing to desire for license, from urgent desire, by means of false accusation you have planted the foot of success. 73.

Sorrow for the tulip-cheeked beloved has shut fast the door of your wisdom The vein of your eye has shed blood from desire for the cup of red wine.

You are corrupt like the wind, you stand paralysed like the earth. You are a pearl of transitory existence, a shell empty-mouthed

With breath like the burning lightning you are the enchanter of bad and good: with heart like a flint, you are the whetstone of dry and moist.

Naturally with desire you revolve like the sky in its figure-designing, from your youth hasting with greed, you are like a child in weakness

You carry the sorrow of the seven (heavens) and the four (elements) in your heart, and every moment from pride you are put to a hundred thousand devices in the performance of one genuflection

You are as coarse as the earth, and yet your speech is always of the moon in the heavens; you will not reach[4] the dignity of a king from the station of a doorkeeper.

1 The Wazīr at chess

"The Wazīr having a straight move can be placed on all the squares which shows the great honour and advantage attached to rectitude of conduct" Bland On the Persian game of chess, *J R A S* XIII, p 11.

2 The seven labours of Isfandiyār, see the *Shāh Nāma* (Turner Macan) Vol II, pp. 1126 and *seqq*

3 Gūrkhān, the hereditary title of the kings of the Kara Khitāī, the meaning of the title being "universal king." It must not be confounded with the title of Gurkān which was a Mongol title bestowed upon all who were allied by marriage with the house of Chingiz Khān

See *Tārīkh-i Rāshidī*, Elias and Ross, p 278, *note*.

4 MS. A برسی I prefer نرسی as in the text.

You yourself owing to frivolity have not attained even for a moment, freeing yourself from the imperfections of the world, to the religious duties at stated times

From the advice of the holy men may you be informed at least once, that in these two worlds at any rate [1] you are famous for creating dissensions

Perversity springs from your heart as pride springs from foolishness Evil arises from your body as rashness does from youth

You are the moisture of the gullet of hypocrisy, the blast of the forge of tyranny, you are the flower of the garden of inordinate desire, and the mud which befouls the reservoir of the soul.

74. When present you melt the soul, perchance you spring from the heat of Tamūz [2], in your ode you scatter snow [3] perchance you are of the breath of autumn

You like a child seek throughout your life after vain images, from your fancifulness the sorrows of time have made you old in your youth.

Poetry is but a desire, and its metre is like the mirage which is void of water This breath of life is grief to me, but its savour is better than the water of life

When your desire becomes collected that fancy becomes enjoyment, when your breathing is harmonious, it becomes a scatterer of pearls

How long this desire of the imagination? make one breath pearl-scattering in praise of that man whose equal wisdom has not seen even from the beginning

[1] MS (A) تاری

[2] *Tamūz* The fourth month of the Jewish year originally sacred to the god Tammuz, *see* Ezekiel viii 14 "and behold there sat women weeping for Tammūz," Tammūz was a deity of the Phœnicians called by the Greeks and Romans Adonis The word signifies "dissolution" or "diffluence" *see* Gesenius s v תמרן *See* also Alburuni's Chronology, (Sachan) pp 68–82. Tammuz was coincident with the sun's position in Cancer which is called the horoscope of the world because by its creation the creation of the four elements became complete, and by their becoming complete all growth became complete (Alburūnī) Corresponds to our July, the hottest month of the Persian summer

[3] When any one's speech is not considered pleasing the Persians say of him كلامش یخ است *Kalāmash yakh ast* His speech is ice.

The King of the throne of "Kun"[1] is Muḥammad who pitched the tent of dignity by the side of the door of the Protector (God) from the house of Ummahānī.[2]

He was a mortal of angelic beauty, a sky with the lowliness of earth. Like the sky he was pure in body, like the Angels he was pure in soul.

He was a pearl whose place was in the treasury of God, and he was a moon whose brightness shone forth from the sky of eternity

He was such a pearl that nothing of more value than his nature was ever produced by the medium of the elements from the sea of heaven.

He was such a moon that in every early morning the face of the star of Yaman became black as coal[3] from shame at his cornelian-like lips.

So sweet tongued a prophet that the salvation of his disciples comes by faith in his words,[4] from the eloquence of his utterances.

So eloquent in pearl-like speech that the beauty of his utterance 75.
makes the heart's blood like the hidden wealth of the mine, a royal treasure.

The brightness of the eastern sun is shamed by the beauty of his face, and the stature of the cypress of the garden is bowed before the perfect uprightness of his form.

[1] In the technical language of Ṣūfī philosophy كن *kun* is called عالم امر *'ālam-i-amr* the world of the order, or potentiality فكان *fakāna* is called عالم خلق *'ālam-i khalq* the world of creation, or the material world.

[2] *Ummahānī*, daughter of Abu Tālib, the uncle of Muhammad, and sister of 'Alī. The reference is to the nocturnal journey of Muḥammad called معراج *mi'rāj* (the ascent) which took place from the house of Ummahānī. When Muhammad awoke from his Vision in which he seemed to have prayed in the temple of Jerusalem, Ummahānī attempted to prevent him from going out of the house and telling the Vision to others, thus exposing himself to mockery from unbelievers See Muir *Life of Muhammad* II 220

[3] MS. (A) (B) چو شبة سياه گشتي. The text as it stands is meaningless.

[4] MS (A) بعقيدهٔ زبانش The text and MS. (B) have بقصيدهٔ زبانش which is evidently wrong for two reasons Firstly, because of the sense of the passage, and secondly, the تجنيس between عقيده and عقيله

By his accountantship he has adopted the way of absolute monarchy; and by his eloquence he has opened the door of auspicious government.

The attraction of secret desire, by revelation has drawn him from the expanse of the natural world to the ocean of spiritual existence

By the good tidings of his friend, his heart became intoxicated with the hope of a meeting. The son of Abu Qahāfah[1] has drunk from the cup of his friendship.

His speeches have founded a fortress[2] for the decrees of God.[3] 'Umar by his justice became the builder of it, by right government.

One, third in order,[4] has placed the footstep in this way, whose path to the enjoyment of this world was not obstructed by pride

His fourth pillar was 'Alī[5] who at the time of battle made the face of the sun pale from the glitter of his sword.

Oh, King! I entreat you by your friends deliver me during the whole of my life[6] by your aid from the calamity of foolish friends.

He who demanded from me[7] this Qaṣida, may his life like my Qaṣida be ornamented with the jewels of meaning ——

[1] Abū Bakr, whose original name was Abdul Ka'bah Ibn Abī Qahāfah He was the companion of Muhammad in his flight to Medīna

[2] رباط. A frontier fortress. The same word is used in more recent times to signify a traveller's rest house or caravansarāi.

[3] قصای حق را MS (B). If we read فضای حق را we must translate "for the expanse of the truth he has founded a rampart"

[4] عثمان, 'Usmān the third Khalīfa, who was rich and thus able to enjoy متاع این جهانی the good things of this life.

[5] علی اتکه شد کین MS (A) 'Alī the fourth Khalīf whose sword ذولفقار Zū l-fiqār (See note 2 page 74), was brought by Gabriel to Muhammad from heaven, and by him given to 'Alī.

[6] Text همه عمر وارهانی MS. (A) reads همه عمروار هانی and MS. (B) همه نمر وارشانی both of which are wrong. Only the first half of the Qasida is given in the *Majma'ul Fuṣahā.*

[7] Text زمن اتکه MSS (A) (B) have ده من

The following Qasida also he wrote, imposing upon himself the necessity of introducing the words "hair" and "ant," in a declaration of the unity of God and in praise of the Prophet, *may the peace of God be upon him*

Although with my tongue, I split hairs at the time of discourse, still in the praise of God, by reason of amazement, I am dumb as the ant. 76.

[1] And in the pursuit of the fairy-faced ones with chainlike locks, through desire often have I bound fast, like the ant, my life to my waist with my heart.

And for the sake of the ant-eyed and sugar-lipped ones, in my fancy I have bored the hair of speech a hundred ways by way of trial.

That I might have a store like the ant,[2] in his praise I have cleft the hair into halves, and have not received one jot from any one in recognition.

Henceforth, like the ant, I will gird my loins at the door of the Incomparable one, and from the root of each hair,[3] with a hundred tongues will I proclaim his gracious aid

How can I open my lips, I that am voiceless as an ant and a fish Nay rather will I make each hair a tongue to scatter pearls.

With this ant-like writing and these sugar-like words,[4] by means of poetical arrangement I will split the hair in the declaration of the unity of God the discerner of secrets.

That God to whose workmanship each several hair bears witness, and all that exists, ant and fish and snake, wild beasts and birds, men and genii.[5]

He who alone is self-existent, and is not within the bounds of computation, from whose wisdom[6] in both worlds nothing is hidden, neither the track of the ant nor the point of the hair.

[1] MS. (A) وزبي

[2] MS. (A) چوموري

[3] MS (A) وزبن هرمو بتوفيقش

[4] MS (A) لفظي چون شكراز

[5] Insert و in text after وحش MSS (A) (B)

[6] MS. (A) نيست ازعلمش

If, though as a single hair, His favour is shed upon the egg of an ant, from it there will issue in a single moment a hundred Jamshīds, each one like a hundred Jamshīds.

If, though as a single hair, he lets fall his wrath upon an elephant, the elephant will experience that which the cub of the raging lion suffers from the ant [1]

77 The intellect herein cannot understand, even by a hair's breadth, the reason why the offspring of the powerful lion should become the prey of the powerless ant.

In his decree there is not the space of a hair's point open to criticism, even though he should give the kingdom of a Solomon to an ant without recompense [2]

By his decree, the shape of the ant and the lion are similar, and by his art the colour of hair and bone are opposites

By his grace it is that every hair has knowledge of him, and from his equity it comes to pass that there is a [3] guardian over every ant, that [3] dust in the palm is endowed with chemical properties, and water in the sea becomes converted into pearl, [4] that the ant appears to the eye as a dragon, and a hair of the limbs as a spear [5]

1 It is said that the ants attack the newly born lion cub as yet unprotected by hair and kill it. The Arabs call the ant ابو مشغول *Father Busy* and أم نبوبة *Mother Turnabout*, and have some curious legends about them and regard them with somewhat of superstitious awe They say that to see in a dream ants entering a house betokens prosperity to its owner, while to see ants crawling on the carpet betokens prolific offspring The appearance of flying ants in a house where there is a sick person betokens his death, and on no account, they say, should ants be permitted to crawl over any one lying sick (*Hayātu l Ḥaiwān*) They say also that the ant has no stomach, and that it lives upon the air it breathes, and that it never sleeps

2 See Qur'ān, xxvii 15-20

3 MS (A) آمد

4 قطرات نیسان *Qaṭrāt-i-Naisān* The drops of rain falling in the month of Naisān are said when received into the shell of the oyster to become converted into pearls (*Ghiyāsu l lughat*) Naisān (*Burhān-i Qāṭi'*) or Nīsān was the first month of the Jewish year corresponding to the month of April, see Exodus xii 2, xiii 4, Albirunī, Chronology (Sachau) 62, and *seqq*

5 MS (A) مور در چشم اژدها و موی بر اعضا سنان

Oh Thou by whose power hair and blood and bone take shape, Oh Thou[1] who art surety for the daily supply of food to bird and ant and snake and fish.

In the body of every ant there is an exact account of thy equity, on the point of each hair there is a boundless praise of thy bounty.

The eye of thy mercy provides[2] sustenance for every ant and locust. The hand of thy favour tints the hair of all both old and young.

The pen of thy skill shews[3] that of which a manifest sign is shewn on the body of every ant, and appears on the end of every hair.

The mole on the cheek of the brides appear like spots on a mirror.

The hair on the face of kings appears like ants upon the Arghawān.[4]

By thy order it is that the stomachless ant is hungry in the way

By this bounty it is that the motionless hair upon the body is satisfied.

1 MS (A) وی

2 MS (A) عین فضلت پای مُزد The reading in the text پای مرد is preferable

3 MSS (A) (B) خامهٔ صنعت نماید

4 The Arghawān, or (Arabice) Arjuwān is according to the *Makhzanu l-Adwiya*, a tree which grows in Persia, bearing a brilliantly red flower of beautiful hue but slight odour, having a sweetish taste It is used as a dessert by the Persians by whom it is regarded as an exhilarant, and as clearing the voice Its wood is soft and light [The article from which the above is extracted may be consulted for an account of its properties].

The *Burhan-i Qāti'* states that a drink is made from the flowers which relieves the after effects of drinking, and the ashes of the burnt wood are used as a hair dye and hair restorer

Vullers-Lexicon Pers Lat states p 81 Hac arbore designari videtur arbor Judae *i e* Cercis siliquastrum (Linn), cf J A. S 1845, Dec p 457

That the dye obtained from it is of blood colour appears from the lines in the poem (*Mu'allaqah*) by Ibn Kulsum, where he writes

كان ثيابنا منا ومنهم خضبن بارجوان او طُليبا

As though both our garments and theirs had been dyed or besmeared with Arjuwān.

78. [1] He who did not turn away [2] his head from your door even by a hairs' breadth, the ant, although tongueless, began to praise him like the lizard [3]

When he like the ant became sleepless and fasting in devotion to you then without doubt with the sword of the finger he split the moon into two parts like a hair [4]

He was a sign like the true dawn, hair-splitting in his speech.

His followers were as successful as ants in opposing the scorpions of religion.

The silvery body of the seven heavens, would become (black) like ants, when he cast aside the covering from his dark locks.

1 The poet passes on from the praise of the Almighty to praise Muhammad.

2 MS (A) سر نپیچید The metre shews this reading to be right

3 This story is related as follows in the *Hayātu-l-Qulūb* ;—

One day the Prophet was sitting alone when an Arab came who had caught a lizard and had it in his sleeve He asked the people who that was sitting there, they answered God's prophet, he replied, addressing Muhammad, "I swear by Lât and 'Uzzâ that I consider you my greatest enemy and were I not under an oath to my tribe, I would certainly kill you." The prophet said "Accept the true faith" The Arab cast the lizard from his sleeve and said "I will never accept the faith till this lizard does" Then the prophet spoke to the lizard saying, "Oh thou lizard" The lizard answered him in choice Arabic saying "I am thy servant, Oh thou ornament of the Muslims." The prophet asked "Whom dost thou worship?" He replied "That God who is in Heaven and Earth, whose kingdom is in the earth and his wonders in the sea, and his marvels in the deserts Him I worship who knows what is in the womb, and has established his punishment in the fire" The prophet asked "Who am I?" the lizard replied, 'Thou art the prophet of the upholder of the world, and the seal of prophecy He is rightly guided who believes in thee, and he is lost who denies thee" The Arab said —"I require no more cogent proof than this; when I approached thee, I had no greater enmity to any one than to thyself, but now I hold thee dearer than my life, my father and my mother" (*Hayātu-l-Qulūb* by Āghā Muhammad Bâqir Majlisī)

4 شق القمر See Qur'ân, Surah 54. "The hour draws nigh, and the moon is split asunder" (Sacred Books of the East Vol. IX) In the حیات القلوب *Hayātu-l qulūb* a MS copy of which dated 25th Zúl Hijjah 1087 A. H. (1676 A. D) is before me I find the following account of the miracle performed by the prophet Muhammad at Mekka. "The tribe of Qoreish sought as a sign from Muhammad the performance of some miracle, the prophet pointed to the moon and by the power of God Most High it split into two halves A trustworthy Hadis by Hazrat Imâm Ja'far Sâdiq has come down to us, relating that fourteen infidels who were desirous of working

He lived like ants upon the earth in the midst of poverty,
For this reason the heaven appeared in his eyes as inferior in value to an eyelash.
In that place where the angels would have always cast their wings like ants,
If he had placed his foot even one hair's breadth beyond his abode.
[1] In intercession from the lightness of his spirit he split a hair,
So that, for the sake of an ant, intercession was not heavy to him even by the weight of a hair.
If for the sake of an ant one fell into error, he would make his excuse.
He remained without bounty if he was not thankful in the least.
On that night when he caught the least glimpse of that illuminated dwelling
Wings [2] grew upon him like the ant in his desire for the infinite.
Having cast his eye upon the fat morsel of the world which perishes like a hair, he closed the avenues of his appetite against this turquoise-hued table,[3] like the ant

the prophet's destruction came to him on the evening of the 14th of Ẕūl Hijjah and said to him, 'Every prophet has shewn some wonderful miracle, so this evening we desire you to shew us some great miracle.' The prophet asked what miracle they desired him to shew them. They replied, 'If you have any power from God order the full moon to divide into two halves.' Thereupon the angel Gabriel came down from heaven and said to Muḥammad, 'The Lord of heaven and earth sends greeting and has ordered all things to become obedient to you.' Then the Prophet raised his eyes to heaven and commanded the moon to divide into two halves, whereupon it split into two parts, and the prophet knelt to shew his gratitude to Almighty God. .... All authorities relate that this took place in Mekka; and further it is related that when certain travellers arrived they said in answer to questions 'We too saw on that night that the moon was in two halves' Consequently the infidels believed that it was a true miracle and not merely magic" He also relates that these infidels imposed upon Muḥammad the task of restoring the moon to its original condition, and also of turning one-half of the orb of the moon black while the other half was bright.

[1] MS. (B) موی سفت.

[2] MS (A) پربرآمد

[3] MS (A) زین پیروزه خوان.

For the ants of religion he carried away so much provision that there remained on the point of each hair an evidence of that bounty [1] for ever and ever.

Oh thou Creator, I have made every hair a tongue, but yet like an ant I complain in my heart of my voicelessness to sing thy praise.

If thou hadst illumined the eye of the ant like the thread of hair, without the permission [2] of thy mercy this caravan would not have passed.

I am like an ant in water, or like a hair in the fire, because this sugar-scattering mind of mine is not fit for this relation [3]

I have the foot of effort in the stirrup of devotion to you like the ant, as long as one single hair remains of me [4] I will not desist from this endeavour.

How can my burden be in the least degree lightened apart from thy consent? How can I gird my loins like the ant through avarice,[5] in the service of this one or that?

Although like the ant I have been crushed by the (iron) hand of desire

Yet I never contemplated the slightest idea of profit or loss apart from thee

Since this is from thee I am happy, although my heart is distraught and pained, my heart is like the eye of the ant and my [6] condition is like the hair of the heart-ravishing one

If the ant brought the foot of a locust into the presence of Solomon, Shihāb would have come headlong to thy door with the feet of his soul about his head as hair

The ant of thy generous table O Sāliḥ showed him (Shihāb) that path of rectitude.

[1] MS (A) نعمت.

[2] MSS (A) (B) بی جواز.

[3] MSS (A) (B) داستان

[4] MSS (A) (B) چون مور دارم یک موی من ماند

[5] MSS. (A) (B) از حرص پیش این و آن

[6] MS (A) و حالم

O Lord! grant him protection in crossing that hair like bridge[1] over the fire

On the point of each hair of his you have a hundred favours, for this reason that the heart of an ant is not vexed by him by so much as a hair's breadth in the world

Oh Lord![2] keep a watch upon the enemy of the king's dominions, for this is best, that he should be as a hair in the fire and as an ant in the running water.

And he also wrote in praise of Sulṭān Ruknu-d-Dīn Fīroz 80
imposing upon himself the necessity of introducing four things[3] as follows:—

Every moment this old wolf lion-hearted infant-eating[4]

Does with me that which the elephant and rhinoceros do at the time of contest.

The elephant-like sky wears away my body as does the rhinoceros

The time like a lion takes away my patience like a wolf.

I have not the strength of the rhinoceros, and the sky is like a fierce elephant towards me.

It displays the boldness of a lion like the old wolf of the time.

The elephant did not so treat the rhinoceros, nor did the wolf so treat the sheep

As the lion-like heaven treated this being who is thin as hair from oppression

The Lion of the sky has the craft of the wolf and the strength of the rhinoceros.

For this cause he heaps pain continually on my heart like the load of an elephant.

[1] The Ṣirāt or bridge across the fire of Hell. The Sirāṭ or bridge crossing the infernal fire is described as finer than a hair and sharper than a sword and is beset with briars and sharp thorns. The righteous will pass over it with the swiftness of the lightning but the wicked will soon miss their footing and will fall into hell fire

See Hughes, *Dict of Islām*, art Sirāṭ See also Qur'ān I. 5

[2] MS. (A) خصم ملک شاه را بار سنگاهش داربه.

[3] The words کرگ *karg* rhinoceros, گرگ *gurg* wolf, شیر *shir* lion, فیل *fil* elephant.

[4] MS (A) هرزمان این پیرگرگ شیرخوی طفل خوار.

A maddened elephant[1] is this wolf-haired rhinoceros.

Even if mankind are like male lions still sooner or later he effects their ruin.

The sky, the overthrower of the rhinoceros, the conqueror of the lion, if, in play, like the wolf it brings against the life of Rustum a strong move like "pilband."[2]

1 MS. (A) پیل مست

2 پیلبند A stratagem in the game of chess See Albirūnī (India) I. 183-184 The فیل or elephant it appears had the same mobility as the queen does in our modern game, that is it commanded both rank and diagonal.

There was one pawn known as the Piyāda-i-Aṣlī or original pawn, which had certain privileges attached to it. It was permitted once in the course of the game to remove to any square on the board where it might inflict the greatest injury on the adversary, as by attacking two pieces at once—"forking" them as chess players call it under certain combinations this pawn was utilised to give mate. Thus in Anhadi's Life of Khwāja 'Ali Shaṭranjī we find

خواجة دهقان علي شطرنجي كه چون رخ بعرصة فكرت نهادي شاهان سخن را دو اسپ و فيل طرح دادي منصوبة باز خيال در فيلبند حيرت پيادة مات افتادي

"When he moved his Rukh in the Board of imagination he gave the odds of two Knights and the Bishop to the kings of rhetoric the strategist of imagination fell into the pawn's mate from the "Fīlband" of confusion."

This (فيلبند) was explained to me by a Muhammadan friend, a chess player, thus suppose the white king at his own square, and a hostile pawn on his second square guarded by Black Bishop at Q Kt 4, the adversary brings his other Bishop to Q R 4 (ch) *mate*, white having other moves, but none which can prevent this final move of the Black Bishop.

The *Bahr-i 'Ajam* gives the following definition of پیلبند

پیلبند نام یکی از منصوبهای شطرنج - و پیلبند دادن عبارت از مات کردن بکشت پیل ٭

Pīlband is the name of a manœuvre in chess. "To give pīlband" means to mate by giving check with the Bishop (Pīl).

چو در جنگ پیلان کشائي کمند
دهی شاه قنـوج را پیلبنـد

When in contest with elephants thou disengagest thy noose Thou defeatest the king of Qanauj with the "pīlband" (Niẓāmī).

The wolf of my patience casts off from him the waterproof
like a lion, if the elephant of this coerulean castle has
made me over to his charge like a rhinoceros.

The lion of the sky, like the elephant in colour, a wolf by a
nature, takes and tears to pieces the armour of my patience
like the hide of the rhinoceros[1]

Last night when the lion of the sky became elephant coloured
in the hide of the rhinoceros, countless Josephs[2] appear-
ed from the wolves of the heaven.

My life is in the hands of the lion, and under the foot of the
rhinoceros of pain, until from the elephant bodied sky the 81.
tail of the wolf[3] became evident.

The claw of the lion and the horn of the rhinoceros, the tears
of the elephant and the hair of the wolf.

Although these four are of use in making the amulet[4] of
heart's attachment.

Of what use are the special properties of the lion and rhino-
ceros and the wolf and the elephant, when that silvery
cheeked one demands from me gold more than the weight of
an elephant.

Since I do not possess the ferocity of the rhinoceros, the
heart of the lion, and the breath of the wolf, I will go to
meet my beloved with an elephant load of sorrow.

Ḥasan Dehlavī also says.

هیهات که پیلبند عشقت

آسان آسان گشاد نتوان

Alas! that the "*pilband*" of thy love cannot easily be overcome.

For an excellent paper on the Persian Game of Chess by Bland, from which some of the above information is extracted, see *J R. A S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 1–70

[1] This reading is in the text. MSS. (A) (B) have a different reading جوشن صبرم ز چرم گرگ سازم تار تلو.

[2] *i e*, when it became dark countless stars appeared *See* Qur'ān XII. 1–15.

[3] The morning Zodiacal light. A light which appears in the east before the true dawn. It is called also صبح کاذب. *Ṣubḥ-i-Kāẕib* the false dawn; see *J R. A S.*, July, 1878; also a name of one of the mansions of the moon called also شوله Shaula. *Burhān-i-Qāṭiʻ*.

[4] تعویذ *ta'wīẕ* MS. (A). An amulet made of these four things is said to be efficacious in securing affection. We are reminded of the witches in Macbeth, "Scale of dragon, tooth of wolf," &c.

In the jaws of the lion and under the foot of the rhinoceros, and of this old wolf, my beloved one keeps me as though depicted upon the tear of the elephant on account of love.

My beloved with the rhinoceros-hilted sword is trotting like a wolf, I, like the elephant, am following him with a body *thin as thread.*

Afterwards the wolf in rhinoceros-like armour, the elephant-like heaven, the lion-hunter of the sky appeared like the torch of the king.

The pillar of the world, the elephant-conquering king with the lion-headed mace, by whose wolf-swift horse the rhinoceros is fiercely attacked.

The eye of the wolf of the sky is of all colours from his lion-like mace, the hump of the rhinoceros of the earth is trodden into hollows by the foot of his elephant.

His elephantine club empties the forest of wolves, his wolf-swift horse [1] seizes the meadow from the lions.

His rhinoceros-like staff of office is in the heart of the wolf of the sky, his club [2] like a pillar has cleft asunder the lions.

82. From the point of his javelin, and lion-headed mace, that happens to the wolf and elephant which happened to the life of Gurgsār from the sword of the brazen-bodied one [3]

Oh thou from whose lion-headed mace, rhinoceros-destroyer elephant-crusher, the tomb becomes narrow and dark for Gurgin [4] like the pit of Bīzhan [5]

[1] گرگ پوده خنگش.

[2] MS. (A) گرز.

[3] Isfandiyār at the conclusion of the seventh stage of the *Haft khwān.*

[4] Gurgīn-i Milād one of the chief warriors of Kai Khusrau.

[5] Bīzhan, son of Geo, and nephew of Rustam, was the lover of Manījeh daughter of Afrāsiyāb, Gurgīn being jealous of his prowess plotted against him and treacherously betrayed the secret of his amour, and Bīzhan was condemned to be confined in a deep pit head downwards. He was eventually released by Rustam, Gurgīn was punished by Geo, and then imprisoned. For an epitome of the story, see *Atkinson's Shāh Nāma,* pp 300–324. See *Shah Nāma,* Vol. II, pp 771–797 (Turner Macan Edition).

The reflection of thy elephant coloured [1] sword if it falls upon lion and wolf makes their eyes which are like the jujubes [2] of Gurgān to become like the pomegranate.

If the breeze of your lion-standard blows upon the dust of the world the maddened rhinoceros will seek shelter from the elephant, and the wolf from the sheep

When thou brandishest [3] thy elephantine mace, the lion casts away its teeth, the wolf its claws, the rhinoceros its gall bladder, and the snake its head-stone.[4]

Rhinoceros-like in attack, wolf-like in gait, lion-like in bravery, elephant-like in body is thy steed, Oh hero! hundreds of thousands like Rustam are thy slaves.

Oh King! in thy praise I have become more powerful than wolf and rhinoceros, lion and elephant, by the order of the Lord who rules the sky.

1 MSS. (A) (B) پیلگون.

2 عناب '*Unnāb*, Zizyphus jujuba (N. O Rhamnaceæ), a tree bearing an oval baccate fruit of a reddish colour called in Hindustānī بير *ber*, nearly allied to the Lotus of the Lotophagi, both leaves and fruit were used by the Arabian physicians. According to the *Bahru-l-Jawāhir* the fruit is useful to purify the blood from evil humours, and is of service in dry coughs and roughness of the chest and lungs, also in pain in the kidneys and bladder. The lips of a mistress are compared to this fruit. (*Burhān-i-Qāti'*).

3 MS (A) برگرائی.

4 مهرۀ مار The serpent is popularly supposed to carry a stone in its head. The *Makhzanu-l-Adwiya* says —*Hajaru-l-Haiyyah* (حجر الحية) called in Persian مهرۀ مار *Muhra-i-Mār* is of two kinds one a mineral which is known as مار مهره *Mār Muhra*, some say that it is found in emerald mines. It has an emerald colour, inclined to black or ashy, shaped like a square signet stone; weight from one to two *misqāls*

The other is an animal product which is found in the hinder part of the head of certain vipers. It is not found in all vipers, in fact it is only rarely found in any of them; when it is taken from the muscles it is soft but in contact with the air becomes stony hard. In size it is about the size of half a shell, (cowrie) oblong in shape, ashy-coloured. Certain stones are black and hard, striped with three white stripes, others are white and soft Some are artificial In order to distinguish the good and true from the false, place it upon the bite of a snake, it will stick to it if genuine If milk is poured on it, the milk becomes clotted and changed in appearance, and it is said that when some of them are placed in milk the milk does not become coagulated and when all the poison has been extracted by the stone it falls off, refusing

Thou art elephant-bodied, lion-conquering, thy mace if it so wishes, can place the rhinoceros firmly on the head of the sky like the tail of the wolf [1]

That Wazír who to the punishment of the wolf of the sky has given his heart, like the rhinoceros and the elephant and the lion, instead of being confused

Without the craft of the wolf, and the power of the rhinoceros, his determination strikes the head of the elephants with the driving hook [2] and brings sparks to the eyes of the lions

In thy kingdom, Oh King ! from the strategy of thy caution the lion has laid aside its oppression, the wolf its deceit, and the rhinoceros its disorder through fear of thee.

Oh thou, whose order is like the decree of fate, thou from whose dignity the Emperor like Fate overcomes the rhinoceros, the wolf, the lion and the elephant.

83. Skin, and horn, and hair, and tear, of wolf, rhinoceros, lion and elephant will be of use in the way of life, and heart, and nature, and speech.

to adhere any longer, and does not coagulate milk. Whilst it is extracting the poison its colour changes, and when it is thrown into milk it returns to its original condition

Another test is, when you rub it upon black or blue woollen cloth the cloth becomes white, if rubbed very hard for a long time the cloth becomes black and all whiteness disappears

Another test When it is placed in a porcelain vessel in lemon juice, it begins to move in a circular fashion This test is not peculiar to this stone, but most shells and snails too, shew the same phenomenon. (*Makhzanu-l-Adwiya*)

The *Bahru-l-Jawāhir* says only

حجر الحية حجر الفادزهر منه ما هو ثقيل اسود و منه ما هو رمادي
و منه ما فيه ثلثة خطوط

Hajaru-l-Haiyyah The stone Pādzahr (*Bezoar stone,*) some kinds are heavy and black, some are ashen-grey, and some have three stripes

[1] See *note* 3, page 115

[2] کژک MS (A) The hook or goad with which elephants are driven called in Hindi अंकुश *ankus*

For your armour and shoes, when did the wolf-natured sky select tears and skin from the elephant and lion and rhinoceros ?

For that purpose again and again,[1] this old wolf from the elephant and lion and the rhinoceros, brings as an offering its hide and skin and teeth as a present of rare value.

The she-wolf drives away the he-lion [2] as a good omen,

If in hunting it comes in sight of your rhinoceros-conquering elephant.

Elephant-bestower, I desire a desert place in Badāon,

Even though these regions are the abodes of the wolf and rhinoceros and the lion.

As long as the lion and the elephant are co-partners in awe, and the wolf and the rhinoceros are alike in writing [3] so long may your wolf-crafty enemy, Oh rhinoceros-destroyer and elephant-like in strength,[4] be humbled in the dust before the lion of your portico.

May your enemies bereft of life become like the lions and elephants and wolves and rhinoceros at the end of the stony line in the public baths.[5]

Sulṭān Raẓẓīyah bint Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn

Came to the throne in the year 634 H (1236 A D), and followed the path of equity and the principles of justice; set in order the affairs which had remained in confusion, and set before her the pursuit of beneficence, (which is as great a fault in women as stinginess is in men) as the object of her ambition, and made Niẓāmu-l-Mulk 84

[1] MS. (A) نونو MS (B) has تونو

[2] Text and MS (B) MS (A) has درسکون To sight a jackal when going to the chase is considered a good omen, a snake or a sheep is considered a bad omen. The she-wolf is held to represent craft and cunning while the lion represents strength The meaning seems to be the triumph of stratagem over force.

[3] کرک and گرگ. These words are exactly alike in writing

[4] MSS. (A) and (B) پیل‌ایستاد.

[5] The custom of ornamenting the walls of the public baths with frescoes of animals and other subjects obtains at the present time in Persia, as it did in ancient in the public baths of Greece and Rome. The walls and ceilings of the baths at Pompeii are an example of this.

Jundi (Junaidi) Chief Wazir[1] Antagonism and strife shewed itself among the Amirs, and Sultān Razzīyah formed an excellent plan, and threw these disloyal Amirs into confusion so that they fled in all directions, and she having selected certain of them for punishment put them to death,[2] and Nizāmu-l-Mulk retired to Sir Mūr[3] and took up his abode in the secret place of death, and Khwāja Muhazzab the Deputy succeeded him in office The kingdom of Razzīyah gained considerable power, she despatched an army to relieve Rantanbhūr,[4] which, after the death of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn, the Hindūs had invested continuously, and liberated the Muslims from their captivity, and Jamalu-d-Dīn Yāqūt, the Abyssinian, who was Master of the Horse, became her confidant and trusted adviser, to such a point that Sultān Razzīyah whenever she rode horse or elephant used to rest upon his arm or shoulder[5] He became an object of envy to the Amirs, and the Sultān Razzīyah came out from the curtain of chastity[6] and wearing the garments of men, regardless of propriety, used to wear a tunic and *kullāh*[7] when seated on the throne to rule the kingdom. And in the year 637 H (1239 A D.) Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Iyāz, Governor of Lahore, displayed hostility. Sultān Razzīyah proceeded against him and having reduced him to obedience added Multān also to his *jāegīr*,[8] and in the same year she brought up an army against

[1] See Thomas, *Pathan Kings*, p 104 and *seqq*. *Tabaqāt-i-Nasiri* states on the contrary, that Junaidi refused to acknowledge her She accordingly issued orders for his arrest, but he became aware of this and went into hiding, eventually dying in the hills of Sir Mūr Bardār

[2] Malik Saifu-d-Dīn Kūjī and his brother Fakhru-d-Dīn were taken prisoners and put to death *Tabaqāt i-Nasiri*, p 640

[3] MS (A) در کوه سر مور رفته Retired to the hill country of Sirmūr.

[4] The fortress of Rantanbhūr in the province of Ajmir, 75 miles south-east of Jaipūr, see p 92, *note* 4

[5] The text has نزي او مي كرد but this is a misprint for بازوي او مي كرد which is the reading of the MS (A).

[6] In the MS (A) we have the following از پرده برآمد came out of retirement, that is simply abandoned the habits of *purdah-nishini* generally imposed on Musulmān ladies This seems the better reading (see Raverty, p 642, *note* 3, with reference to this subject).

[7] The قبا *qabā* and كلاه *kullāh* were a tunic and hat worn by men

[8] After making over Multān to Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn, Sultān Razziyah returned to the capital on the 19th of Shābān 637 H (*Tabaqāt i-Nasiri*).

A *jāegīr* was land held in fief, generally bestowed as a reward for some service

Tabarhindah, and on the way the Turkī Amirs witnessing her immodest behaviour, rebelled, and seized both Sulṭān Raẓẓīyah and Jamālu-d-Dīn Yāqūt the Abyssinian, who had risen to be the Chief Amīr,[1] and confined them in the fortress of Tabarhindah.[2]

> **Seek not fidelity to its promise from the indolent world.** **85.**
> **For this old woman is the bride of a thousand lovers.**
> **[3] There is no sign of faithfulness to promise in the smile of the rose.**
> **Lament, Oh heart-reft nightingale, for here is cause for complaint.**

SULṬĀN MU'IZZU-D-DĪN BAHRĀM SHĀH[4] IBN SHAMSU-D-DĪN

Next succeeded to the throne, and came to Delhī. At this time Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Altūnīyah[5] the ruler of Tabarhindah having espoused the Sulṭān Raẓẓīyah, and having gained over certain of the Amirs and a body of the Jats[6] and Khūkhars, and all the landholders, brought an army towards Delhī Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Bahrām Shāh, sent the Malik[7] Balban the younger (who eventually became Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn) with a vast army to oppose Raẓẓīyah, and a battle ensued in which the forces of Razzīyah were defeated. She then went to Tabarhindah, and a second time collected her forces and rallied her scattered troops, and arrived in the neighbourhood of the village of Katīhal[8] with the intention of conquering Delhī, and again being defeated at the hands of the

[1] *Rauẓatu ṣ-Ṣafā* calls him Chief Commander of troops For subsequent events up to death of Razziyah see *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*

[2] *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* states that they put Jamālu d-Dīn to death

[3] *Ḥāfiẓ* *Ode* beginning بیا کہ قصر امل سخت سست بنیادست.
See Diwan Hafis Rosenweig-Schwannau I, p 30

[4] Son of Iyaltimish

[5] Altūnīyah was appointed by Razzīyah as feudatory of Baran (Bulandshahr) immediately upon her accession, he was afterwards made feudatory of Tabarhindah The account in the text differs slightly from that of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, *see* Raverty 647, *note* 9.

[6] Elliott I 507 Tieffenthaler II 206

[7] Malik Badru-d-Dīn Sankar Rūmī had become Amīr-i-Hājib on the death of Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn He was the patron of Ghiyāsu-d Dīn Balban for whom he obtained promotion to the dignity of Amīr Akhūr. The account in the text tallies with that given in the *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, but see Raverty 648, *n* 2.

[8] Kaithal Skr. Kapisthala. Lat 29° 48′ 7″ N., Long 76° 26′ 26′ E 38 miles distant from Karnāl and about 100 miles N W of Dehlī See Hunter, *Gaz* vii. 309.

Malik Balban the younger, took to flight and both she and Altūniyah fell into the hands of the Kawārs[1] and were put to death by order of Sulṭān Bahrām Shāh.

This event took place in the year 637 H (1239 A.D.),[2] and the duration of the reign of Razziyah was three years six months and six days.

> A head which the neck carries loftily
> That same head later finds a rope round its neck

When the sovereign power was firmly established in the hands of Sulṭān Bahrām Shāh, Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Ītkīn who was
86. formerly Hājib and was married to a sister of the Sultán, and had got all the affairs of the kingdom into his own hands by the assistance of Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Muhazzabu-d-Dīn, being accustomed always to keep a large elephant tied up at his door, like a king, was murdered in the year 638 H. together with Muhazzabu-d-Dīn Wazīr, by certain Fidāis,[3] by the orders of the Sulṭān, and in this year the Sultān dealt with a party composed of Amīrs and chief men, and leading nobles, and grandees, and judges who used to hold secret meetings to discuss a change of monarchy and the appointment of a new king Some of them he put to death, and

[1] The printed text and MS. (A) and MS (B) all have كواران Kawārān. There is some little uncertainty as to the identity of this tribe The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says "*Sulṭān Raẓiyyah with Malik Altūnīyah fell captive into the hands of Hindūs*" (*See* Raverty's translation page 648 and *note* 3.)

It seems probable that the Kawārān here spoken of were a tribe of *Jāts* otherwise known by the name of Gatwārās They are mentioned by Elliott, as holding villages in Gohana, in Sonīpat Bangar and in the Doāb on the opposite side of the Jumna (*see* Elliott, *Races of the N W. Provinces of India*, Vol I page 126)

[2] 638 A H. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* There is a confusion here in the dates. Firishta says that the armies met on the 4th Rabi'ul *Awwal 637* A H, and that Razziyah and Altūniyah were put to death on the 25th of the same month As Razziyah came to the throne in 634, 637 would seem to be the correct date but see *Raverty*, p 648, *note* 2

[3] فدائی چند is the reading of MS (A) Firishta *says* "*two Turks in a* state of (feigned) intoxication." دو ترک بصورت مستان Minhāju-s-Sirāj writes. p. 192, Cal Text دو نفر ترک مست را برسم فدائی از بالای قصر فرو فرستاد. He sent two intoxicated Turks, after the manner of Fidāis, down from the roof of the palace A Fidāi is one who voluntarily and cheerfully undertakes any enterprise which he knows will cost him his life (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*) *see* Raverty *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* p. 651 *n* 7

some, as for example Badru-d-Dīn Sangar Amīr Ḥājib[1] he sent to Badāon where they died in prison. Among them was Qāẓī Jalālu-d-Dīn Kāshānī, whom they removed from his military command and appointed Qāẓī of Badāon, and Qāẓī Shamsu-d-Dīn the Qāẓī of Mārhira[2] they threw under the feet of an elephant in the same way.

And in the year 639 H the troops of the Mughūl Changīz Khān came and invested the city of Lahore, and Malik Qarāqash the Governor of Lahore fled one day at midnight and came to Dehlī, where the Sulṭān pledged the Amīrs anew to fealty, and having summoned a conference sent Niẓāmu-l-Mulk[3] Wazīr, who at heart was not friendly to the Sulṭān, to oppose the Mughūl force in the Panjāb He, with craft and hypocrisy wrote a letter to the Sulṭān and made many complaints of the Amīrs who were with him, and begged the Sulṭān to come The Sulṭān, however, not thinking it advisable to go in person, wrote a despatch to him in apparent sincerity, saying, "those recalcitrant Amīrs shall meet their punishment in due time, you should treat them with civility[4] till then" He shewed that despatch in original to the Amīrs and brought them over to his side, and the Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Bahrām 87
Shāh sent Ḥaẓrat Shaikhu-l-Islām Khwāja-i-Khwājagān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Bakhtyār Ūshī,[5] *may God sanctify him,* to the Amīrs to put

[1] Who had been appointed Amīr Ḥājib when Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn was murdered.

[2] The MS (A) reads قاضي شمش‌الدين قاضي مرهرة را نه پای فيل which reading I follow Ferishta writes

قاضي شمس‌الدين و قاضي قصبهٔ مارهره را در پای فيل انداخت

Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī gives the details of this circumstance and states that it was brought about by the machinations of a Darwesh who was jealous of Qāẓī Shamsu-d-Dīn and had sufficient influence over Bahrām Shāh to compass his enemy's death

He calls the town *Mihir* (Raverty 657 and *note* 1), MS (A) has مرهرة Marhira.

[3] *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* states that the Sulṭān nominated Malik Quṭbu-d-Dīn Husain ibn 'Alī Ghūrī, together with the Wazīr the Khwājah Muhazzabu-d-Dīn for this purpose, and that the letter referred to in the text was written by him (*See* Raverty 657, 658)

[4] MS (A) تو بايد كه تا انزمان با ايشان مدارائي بكني. Carrying into effect the maxim بادوستان تلطف با دشمنان مدارا.

[5] See Raverty, p. 658, *note* 2 Quṭbu-d-Dīn Ūshī after whom the Quṭb minār of Dehlī is called died in 633 H *See* Raverty 622, *note* 6.

See also page 92, *note* 2 This was another man Saiyyid Quṭbu-d-Dīn.

matters straight and to quell the disturbance, but without success; the Shaikhu-l-Islām returned and came to Dehlī, and just at this juncture Nizamu-l-Mulk and the Amīrs also arrived and besieged the Sulṭān in Dehlī,[1] and taking him captive imprisoned him, and after a few days despatched him to the next world[2] and set up another king in his place.

The times of old have had this habit
To take from this man and give to that.

The duration of his reign was two years and one month and fifteen days

SULTĀN ALĀU-D-DĪN MAS'ŪD SHĀH IBN RUKNU-D-DĪN FĪROZSHĀH

Having been released from prison by the consent of his uncles Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Mahmūd and Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn, the sons of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, became king at the end of the year already mentioned (639 H), after that 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban[3] (the elder) had occupied the throne for one day and had issued a proclamation None of the Maliks or Amīrs had been satisfied with this arrangement and reverted to Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, and appointed Malik Quṭbu-d-Dīn Ḥasan as Deputy, and Malik Muhazzabu-d-Dīn Nizāmu-l-Mulk Wazir of the kingdom, and in the year 640 H. the Amīrs of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd put to death Nizāmu-l-Mulk the Wazīr.

One should not desire brief kingship like that of the rose
For a torrent speedily breaks down a bridge

The Wazīrship was conferred upon Sadru-l-Mūlk Najmu-d-Dīn Abū Bakr, and Malik Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban the younger who had at first[4] been called Ulugh Khān and afterwards attained the dignity of Sultān,[4] became Amīr Ḥājib and in succession to him
88 the governorship of Nāgor and Sind and Ājmīr was conferred

[1] On Saturday the 19th of Sha'bān 639 H. The siege lasted till the month of Zī Qa'dah (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p 659).

[2] On the 13th of Zī Qa'dah 639 H

[3] Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, see Raverty p 775 and 660, *note* 1

[4] Malik Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban was dignified with the title of Ulugh Khān and made Deputy of the kingdom and leader of the troops in the year 647 H, but was deprived of his office in 650-51 H. He was Amīr Akhūr till 642 H, when he became Amīr Ḥājib

See *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) II. 298.

permanently upon Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban, the elder, Budāon was conferred upon Malik Tāju-d-Dīn; and in this year 'Izz-ud-Dīn Tughā Khān who had advanced from Karrah [1] to the neighbourhood of Lakhnautī sent Sharfu-l-Mulk Asha'rī to the Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn with a written despatch, the Sultān then sent a red canopy and a special robe of honour in charge of the Governor of Oudh [2] for 'Izzu-d-Dīn Tughā Khān who was in Lakhnautī, and having brought both his uncles aforementioned out of confinement, assigned the district of Qanauj to Malik Jalālu-d-Dīn, and Bahrāij to Malik Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd, who acquitted themselves in those districts to his satisfaction. And in the year 642 H, the Mughūl forces [3] arrived in the district of Lakhnautī, the assumption is that the Mughūls must have come by way of Tibat and Khitā, and Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn sent Tīmūr Khān Qarā Beg [4] to the assistance of Tughā Khān and the Mughūls were defeated Hostility arose between Tughā Khān and Malik Qīrān,[4] Tughā Khān came to Dehlī, and Lakhnautī remained in the hands of Tīmūr Khān [4]

[1] The printed text has اکره ! but MS. (A) has کره which is correct. Karrah is on the right bank of the Ganges Lat 25° 41′ N Long 81° 21′ E. (*see* Hunter, *Imp Gaz.*) Vol VIII Before Akbar's time Karrah was the seat of government.

[2] Qāzī Jalālu-d-Dīn Kāsānī (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*)

[3] This is an error which has according to Raverty been handed on from author to author The way the mistake originated is pointed out by him in his note 8 on p 665

The original reading was کفار جاجنگر *Kuffār-i Jājnagar* which by some strange perversion became کفار حبکر خان thence to کفار چنگز خان and so to our author's statement.

Jājnagar or Jājpūr on the Baitarānī river in Orissa, capital of the province under the Lion Dynasty, the Gajpati or Lords of Elephants (*Āīn-i-Akbarī* II. 219 *n* 1) (*see Imp. Gaz.* Vol VII, and *Stat Acc of Bengal*, XVIII. 85–89).

The کفار جاجنگر Infidel hordes of Jājnagar were of course Hindūs and not Mughūls, hence the assumption in the text to account for their presence before Lakhnautī is as unnecessary as it is absurd.

[4] The real name of Tīmūr Khān Qarā Beg as he is called in the text, is Malik Qamaru-d-Dīn Qirān-i-Tīmūr Khān and he is the Malik Qirān referred to a line or two later In other words Malik Qiran and "Tīmūr Khān" are one and the same person. In the text فیران is a misprint for قیران MS (A). *See also* Raverty 66?, *n.* 9.

In this year the Mughūl army[1] arrived in the vicinity of Uchh and assaulted it, and the Sulṭān proceeding by forced marches with all possible speed, reached the banks of the river Biāh, and the Mughūls raising the siege of Uchh took to flight; the Sulṭān on reaching Delhi took to arresting and putting to death to such an extent that the Amīrs and nobles turned against him, and agreed to summon Malik Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Shamsu-d-Dīn from Bahrāij, and upon his arrival at Delhi in the year 644 H, they threw Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd into prison and he speedily[2] exchanged that confinement for the prison house of eternity

This is the way of the changeable world·
In kindness it gives and it robs you in wrath.

89. The duration of his reign was four years and one month.

SULṬĀN NĀṢIRU-D-DĪN MAHMŪD IBN SHAMSU-D-DĪN IYALTIMISH

Succeeded to the sovereignty in the year 644 H, (1246 A.D) and the Wazīrship was conferred upon Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban the younger, who was in reality great, and was the slave and son-in-law of the father of Nāṣiru-d-dīn.[3]

At the time of his accession great largesse was given, and the poets recited many congratulatory odes from some of which the following verses are taken—

[1] 1244 A D. This was really a Mughūl force, under the command of "the accursed Mangūtah" (*Tabaqat-i-Nāṣiri*)

[2] On the 23rd of Muharram 644 H (1246 A D)

His reign extended to a period of four years, one month and one day (*Tabaqāt i-Nāṣirī*)

[3] Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd son of Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish was born at the Qaṣr Bāgh in Delhi in the year 626 H (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*)

It will be remembered that he was the second son of Iyaltimish to bear the name of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, which was given him upon the death of his elder brother (see p 94) in 626 A H (*see Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Cal. Text p 201, *l.* 18)

He was a man of quiet and retiring disposition and spent most of his leisure in making manuscript copies of the Qur'ān Thomas (*Pathān Kings*) thinks that this faculty "possibly had its influence on the execution and finish of the legends of his coinage, which display a remarkable advance on the earlier mintages in the fineness of the lines and the improved definition of the Persian characters" (p 125).

That great Lord who is a Ḥātim in generosity and a Rustum in energy.
Nāṣir-i-Dunya wa-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Iyaltimish.
That great world conqueror, the roof of whose palace is the heaven.
In the height of his dignity this lower sphere is his vesture.
How can we measure the glory the *Sikka* acquires from his auspicious titles.[1]
Or how compute the exultation of the *Khuṭbah* at the mention of his happy name.

The records of his equity and his laudable qualities are evident from the book called *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*[2] which was composed in his honour

The Sulṭān entrusted all the affairs of the kingdom to Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban and in giving him the title of Ulugh Khān said, "I deliver into thy hands the reins of absolute authority, beware lest thou commit thyself to any evil action,[3] for tomorrow thou wilt be at a loss in the presence of Almighty God and thou wilt bring shame upon me and upon thyself" The Sultān himself would generally retire into his chamber and occupy himself in devotion, and reading the Qur'ān and in repeating the sacred names of God *may He be glorified and exalted*; and it is currently reported that on the occasion of a public audience he used to clothe himself from head to foot in regal apparel, while in private he used to wear an old ragged garment; and they also say that he used to 90.
devote his time to the copy of the Qur'ān which he was writing,[4]

1 His titles as given in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* were

As Sulṭānu-l-A'ẓamu-l-Muaẓẓam, Nāsiru-d-Dunyā wau-d-Dīn, Abū-l-Muẓaffar-i-Mahmūd Shāh ibn-i Sulṭān Iyaltimish Yamín-i-Khalīfatu-llah Nāṣir-i-Amīri-l-Mūminīn

The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* of Minhāju-s-Sirāj was written in his court and dedicated to him hence its name.

2 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* of Minhāju-s-Sirāj is a general history up to 658 H. composed by Abū Umar Minhāju-d-Dīn Uṣmān ibn Sirāju-d-Dīn al Juzjānī. See Elliott II, 259. An English translation by Major Raverty has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica, by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

3 زنهار کاری بد نکنی

4 Ibn-i-Batūtā states in his history (French edition, Vol III, p. 169).

وكان ملكا صالحا ينسخ نسخا من الكتاب العزيز ويبيعها فيقتات بثمنها
وقد وقفني القاضي كمال الدين على مصحف بخطه متقن محكم الكتابة

further that he used to write it himself in private so that no one might recognize his handwriting and buy it for more than its fair value, and he used to sell (these) in the Bāzār. They relate also several other strange stories about him, which resemble the narratives regarding the rightly directed Khalifs – among them I have seen it written in a book that one day his wife was complaining of not having a servant, and she said "Whenever I bake bread for you my hands get burned and blistered." He wept and replied, "The world is passing away, bear your toil for these few days for God Almighty on the morrow of resurrection (*we trust in Him and believe in Him*) as a reward for this labour, will surely give you a Ḥūrī to wait upon you, as it is, I cannot possibly buy a slave girl for you from the public funds His wife too, agreed to this.

The world is but a dream in the eyes of the vigilant,
A wise man does not set his heart upon a dream.

And the Sultān in the month of Rajab in the year of his accession, took an army towards Multān[1] and in Zūl Qa'dah having crossed the river of Lahore (Rāvī) and having appointed Ulugh Khān as leader of the forces,[2] sent him towards the Jūd hills[3] and the country round Nandanah, and he himself halted on the banks of the river Indus Ulugh Khān having punished that part of the country brought it into subjection, and having given a lesson to

C' était un souverain pieux il copiait des exemplaires du livre illustre (le Koran), les vendait, et se nourrissait avec le prix qu'il en retirait Le Kâdhi Camâl eddin m' a fait voir un Koran copié de sa main, artistement et élégamment écrit

[1] We find, بنبان Banián in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Raverty 677, *notes* 5, 6) but both MSS (A) and (B) read Multān

[2] مقدمة الجيش Also in MSS (A and B), but this must be a copyist's error for مقدم الجيش

[3] The Koh Jud (See Rennell's Map Koh-i-Jehoud) is apparently a part of the Salt Range, Lat 32° Long 71° Baber states that the tribes of Jūd and Janjūhah descended from a common ancestor, are the ruling races of the district and of all the tribes between the Sind and Bahrah *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) II 405, *note* 2)

Tieffenthaler (I 105), places Nandanah or Nandanpour (forteresse en brique sur une montagne) between the Behat and the Indus it must have lain somewhere near the line Jhelum to Peshāwar

the Khūkhars[1] and other contumacious tribes, joined the Sulṭān and returned to Dehlī, and in the year 645 H., having taken Mīwāt[2] turned his attention to the country of the Doāb, and the same year having sent Ulugh Khān from the confines of Karrah to oppose and overthrow the rebels of that district, arrived at Dehlī with great spoil.

And in the year 646 A.H., he proceeded against Rantanbhūr, and having punished the seditious tribes of those districts he returned, and in the year 647 H., he married the daughter of Ulugh Khān. **91.**

Then in the year 648 H., he took an army towards Multān, and after some days Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban-i Buzurg, the Governor of Nāgor, withdrew his foot from the circle of allegiance and rebelled,[3] but when the Sulṭān proceeded thither, he begged for pardon and joined the Court.

And in the year 649 H. he marched in the direction of Gwāliār and Chandērī and Mālwa, and Jāhir Dev[4] the Rāi of that

[1] Khūkhars, *see* Tieff I, 104 and 105, Le district des salines est habité par les *Khocares* ce sont ceux qui tirent le sel des mines, c'est un nation qui á quitté l'idolatrie pour embrasser le mahométisme. See also this volume, p 67, *n.* 3.

[2] Text and MS. (A) میوات Mīwāt This place is not mentioned in the *Tabaqāt-i-Naṣirī*, it is mentioned in the *Aīn-i-Akbari* (I. (Jarrett 307) as the place to which Naṣrat Khān fled from Dehli when it was seized by Iqbāl Khān, some 150 years later than the events recorded in the text.

Tieffenthaler, Vol. I, p. 211, Mēvāt est un canton assez étendu, borné par les provinces de Dehlī et d'Adjmere et par les Districts de Djepour et de Dik. It extends "north and south from Badshāpur to Harsana, 47 miles, and east and west from Dik to Narnol, 57 miles" Alwar is about the centre of it now.

Tieffenthaler goes on to say "Cette contrée est habitée par beaucoup de Mahométans qui etaiènt ci-devant gentils Elle appartenait auparavant aux Afghans dans le tems qu'ils regnoient a *Dehli* La Gouvernement passa ensuite aux *Mogols* Maintenant le *Djat* (Jats) s'en est approprié la plus graude partie et une partie est tombée au pouvoir du Rājah de *Djepour* (Jaipūr) qui en a expulsé beaucoup d'habitans mahométans

He speaks of the abundance of Nīm (*Melia asadirachta*) and Sissoo (*Dalbergia sissoo*) trees, and praises the cattle and horses of the country.

He speaks of Narnol the capital city of the district, as having formerly been populous and flourishing. *See* also Rennell's Memoir (1788), p 75.

[3] *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* says this occurred in 649 H., which is more probably correct, as it is the account of a cotemporary historian.

[4] This Rājā is called in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Chāhar Ajārī, he was independent sovereign of Narwar in A D 1246 (644 A.H) under the name of Chahar Deva, his coins bearing the inscription श्री चाहड देव. He was a very powerful Rājā (*see* Thomas 67 *et seqq* and Raverty 690 *note* 1)

country with five thousand cavalry and 200,000 infantry came out to meet him and gave battle to the Sulṭān in great force, but was defeated and the fort of Narwar[1] was taken. And in this year Sher Khān Governor of Multān, and Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban who had left Nāgōr with reinforcements for him reduced the fortress of Uchh, and Sher Khān remained in the fortress, while Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban came to pay his respects to the king, and received from him as a *jāegīr* the districts of Budāon and was given the title of Kashlū Khān

And in the year 650 H (1252 A D.) he left Dehlī intending to proceed to Lahore, and from there he went to Multān and Uchh, and in this expedition Kashlū Khān accompanied the Sulṭān as far as the river Biāh.

And in the year 651 H marching from Dehlī, he detailed forces to act against Tabarhindah and Uchh and Multān of which Sher Khān had lost control, and of which the Sindhīs held possession; and having regained possession of them, handed them over to the charge of Arsalān Khān and returned And in the year 652 H having assembled an army on the confines of the country at the foot of the hills[2] of Bijnor, and having crossed the Ganges by

1 Narwar --In the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, we find the Sarkar of Narwar as having 500 Cavalry, 20,000 Infantry Narwar itself had a stone fort (*see* also Raverty 690, *note* 1)

In the text بزور is a misprint for نرور MS (A).

Narwar Tieff I 175 gives a sketch plan of the fortress of Narwar and a long description from which the following note is abridged

A town of moderate size about ½ a mile long and ten in breadth, protected in his time (about 1780 A D) with stone walls, but formerly unprotected. Latitude 25° 30′ N Longitude taken from the Islands of the *Blest* 93° 24′. (Cf *Āīn-i-Akbarī* [Jarrett] III 60) Houses well and substantially built with flat roofs

It has four gates, and there was a Christian family of Armenian stock who had built a palace, and a chapel where a Jesuit father said mass The fortress was built upon a mountain having two peaks or spurs running parallel North and South

He considers it must have been impregnable in old times before the invention of gunpowder " pour le malheur du genre humain et la ruine des villes."

A good supply of water is furnished by a large tank paved and flanked with stone He also speaks of a magnetic iron ore from which they procure iron by smelting for export in various forms, and a flint of a whitish colour and marvellous hardness used for flint locks.

2 Of Bardār and Bijnor (*Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*). In the text instead of

the ford of Miāpūr[1] and hugging the skirt of the mountain, reached the banks of the river Rahab,[2] and having taken much booty and made many prisoners, giving themselves up to rapine and making prisoners,[3] invaded the country of 92
Kaṭihar[4] going to Badāon and from thence to Oudh, and hastened to the capital. And after some time news arrived that certain of the Amīrs, namely Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, and Arsalān Khān and others, in concert with Malik Jalālu-d-Dīn, the brother of the Sulṭān, had commenced hostilities in the vicinity of Tabarhindah. The Sulṭān thereupon marched from Dehlī, and in the neighbourhood of Tabarhindah and Kuhrām and Kaithal,[5] by the intervention of a party of Amīrs, the Amīrs agreed to peace, and with many protestations and oaths suing for pardon came into submission to the Sulṭān, and the Sulṭān conferred upon Malik Jalālu-d-Dīn the Governorship of Lahore, and proceeded to the capital And in the year 653 H the feelings of the Sulṭān underwent a change with respect to his mother Malika-i-Jahān. He gave Qutlugh Khān, to whom Malika-i-Jahān was married, a *jāegīr* in Oudh,[6] and a short time after turning against him also[7] sent him to Bahraij. He took fright at this and came to the hill country of Sir Mūr, and Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kashlū Khān and certain other Amīrs made common cause with him and laid the foundation of revolt, the Sulṭān

کوه پایهٔ لشکر اجور which is manifestly wrong I read کوه پایهٔ بجدور لشکر as in MS (A).

[1] Here again the printed text is hopelessly wrong. MS (A) reads as follows —

و از آب گنگ بگذر میا پور گذشته which is intelligible and tallies with *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* Where the reading جوالا پور in the text comes from, it is hard to say

[2] MS (A) The text reads تالب آب راست رسید *see* Alburūnī (India) (Sachau) II 261 also Elliott, I 49 as regards the Rahab.

[3] و بتاراج واسر داده MS (A)

[4] The Calcutta text of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Naṣirī* calls this کایتهر *Kaithar* Our text has کتیهر *Kaṭihar*, MS (A) has کتیهر (?) MS (B) کشمیر (!) *see* Raverty 696, *note* 4

[5] *See* Elliott, II p 354.

[6] The printed text gives در اوردة It should be در اودة *MS.* (A)

[7] This should read و در اندک مدت اورا نیز تغیر نمودة not as in the printed text.

accordingly detailed Ulugh Khān Balban with a large army[1] to oppose them, and when the two forces had arrived within a short distance of each other the Shaikhu-l-Islām Saiyyid Qutbu-d-Dīn and Qāẓī Shamsu-d-Dīn of Bharāij and another party of men incited Qutlugh Khān to come into Dehlī, and inspired him with a desire to possess that country;[2] the inhabitants of Dehlī joined in this instigation. Ulugh Khān represented this at the Sultān's court, and the Sultān issued an order for every individual of that party to go separately to his own place, and Qutlugh Khān and Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kashlū Khān after this defeat, traversed the distance of a hundred krohs[3] in two days and came from Sāmāna to Dehlī, but did not find the party
93. which had been the cause of their being summoned. Qutlugh Khān and Kashlū Khān also were separated, and Ulugh Khān following them arrived in the Sultān's presence.[4] And in the year 655 H the Sultān issued an order for the expulsion of certain nobles and grandees from the city of Dehlī, and at the end of this year the Mughūls arrived on the boundaries of Uchh and Multān, Kashlū Khān Balban made common cause with them and the Sultān came up in hot haste against them. The Mughūls were not able to stand against him and turned back towards Khurāsān. The Sultān also raised the banner of return towards the capital and having bestowed a robe of honour upon Malik Jalālu-d-Dīn Jānī marched towards Lakhnautī.[5] And in the year 656 H (1258 A.D.) ambassadors came to the Sultān from Turkistān, and he sent them back loaded with presents, and in this year Ḥaẓrat Makhdūm Ganjshakar,[6] *may God magnify his power and exalt his*

[1] This account differs from that given in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (*See* Raverty p 703 and *seqq*)

[2] و تطميع دران ملک گردند MS (A). The word تطميع is omitted in Calcutta text.

[3] About 180 miles, see *Āīn-i-Akbarī* II, p 414, also Cunn A G I, p 571. The ancient *Krosa* of Magadh was about 1¼ miles, the *kos* of the Gangetic provinces was rather more than 2¼ miles. The Akbarī *kos* was rather less than 1¾ miles and this is the standard referred to above.

[4] These Maliks (Qutlugh Khān and 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kashlu Khān) retired towards the Siwālik territory foiled in their object (*Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*)

[5] Compare the account in *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* according to which these events took place in the year 656 H not in 655 H

[6] Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-shakar was the grandson of Farrukh Shāh of Kābul, and son of Kamālu-d-Dīn Suleimān who came from Kābul to

memory,[1] left the lodging house of separation and disappointment for the home of nearness and fulfilment.

And in the year 657 H. elephants and great treasure and jewels and cloths without number, arrived from Lakhnauti as presents, and in Rajab of this year Malik 'Izzu-d-Din Kashlu Khan Balban earning relief from the turmoil of this transitory world, hastened to the next world, and in this year Ghausu-l-'Alam Hazrat Shaikh Bahau-d-Din Zakariyai[2] the Multani, *may God sanctify him*, raised the tent of[3] close union with God Almighty, and a celebrated poet wrote this couplet to record the date

> By the arrow of the love of God one was wounded (*zakhmi*) the other perished (*khun*).[4]

Multan in the reign of Shihabu-d-Din Ghuri He was one of the numerous disciples of Bahau-d-Din Zakariya, and died two years later than his master, according to Firishta (see also *Ain-i-Akbari* [Jarrett] III. p 363)

His tomb is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (I 325) as being at Ajudhan (Pak Patan or Patan-i-Panjab).

There is, as will be seen, considerable discrepancy in the dates, Badaoni gives 656 H as the date of Faridu-d-Din Ganj-i-shakar's death and 657 H as that of the death of Bahau-d-Din Zakariya, while according to Firishta the latter should be 666 H and the former 668 H The *Ain-i-Akbari* gives 668 H as the date of the death of Faridu-d-din Ganj-i-shakar and 665 H as the date of the death of Bahau-d-din Zakariya

[1] MS (A) اجل الله قدره و اعلى ذكره. The printed text is wrong here.

[2] Shaikh Bahau-d-Din Zakariya was a famous Muhammadan saint of Multan He was the grandson of Kamalu-d Din 'Ali Shah Qureishi who left Mecca for Khwarazm and thence came to Multan, the Qubbatu-l-Islam, and resided there, and became acknowledged by the people as their teacher and guide Shaikh Bahau-d-Din was the son of Shaikh Wajihu-d-Din by the daughter of Husam-d-Din Tarmadi and was born in the fort of Kot Karor in 587 H He died at Delhi about the year 666 H, while engaged in devotion in his chamber an angel bearing a sealed missive having appeared to his son Sadru-d Din 'Arif with a command to give the missive to Bahau-d-Din. He did so and retired, but returned on hearing voices in the room saying درست بدوست رسيد "The friend has joined the friend" when he found his father lying dead

This account is abridged from Firishta. The account of the saint given by Beale differs from this but the source of the information given there is not stated See also *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) III 362 and *note*

The tomb of Bahau-d-Din Zakariya is in Multan

[3] MS (A) در جوار قدس ذو الجلال

[4] The word زخمي gives the date 657 H the word خون gives the date 56 H *See page 133, note 1*

94. And in the year 658 H. Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd, chastised the country of Mīwāt[1] and the rest of that district, and when he was fully established as Malik in the year 664 H he fell sick and closed his eyes on the world of dreams and fancies, and went to the eternal kingdom[2] He left no heir; the duration of his reign was nineteen years, three months and a few days His tomb is well known in Dehlī, and every year crowds flock to visit it.

Verse

Come and cast one thoughtful look upon this dust,
For it is the dust of the resting-place of trusted kings.

And of the number of those who sounded the drum of poetry and attained the rank of Maliku-l-Kalām (*Lord of Eloquence*) during Nāṣiru-d-Dīn's reign, one was Shamsu-d-Dīn Dabīr[3] whose manifest excellencies and perfection are beyond description and need no narration and praise, and Mīr Khusrū,[4] *may God sanctify him*, who tested the genuineness of his own poems by the touchstone of their acceptability to that other (Shamsu d-Dīn) used to boast of them, and in the preface to the *Ghurratu-l-Kamāl* and at the end of the *Hasht Bihisht* greatly embellished his words in the mention of the praiseworthy qualities and in spreading

[1] *The Tabaqat i Nāsiri Cal Text, p 227* reads -

خان معظم الغ خان اعظم بر طرف جبال دهلي براي دفع فساد متمردان
ميوات كه ديو از ايشان در هراس باشد نهضت فرمود

Khān-i-Mu'azzam Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam marched towards the hills of Dehlī to quell the insurrection of the robbers of Mīwāt who would be a terror to devils

For a full account of the province of Mīwāt see Hunter, *Imp. Gaz*, Vol IX It includes the British districts of Muttra and Gurgāon, part of Ulwar and Bhartpur See also page 129, *note* 2, of this Volume

[2] On the 11th Jamādīu-l-Awwal, as he came to the throne on the 23rd Muharram 644 H his reign was *twenty* years three months and some days, not as stated in the text He left no issue, his only son by the daughter of Ulugh Khān having died in infancy

[3] There is no mention of this poet in either the *Majma'u-l-Fuṣahā* or the *Atashkada* There are some highly laudatory verses at the end of the *Hasht Bihisht* in praise of one Abu Hanifah, possibly referring to Shamsu-d din

[4] Amīr Khusrū (who has already been mentioned at page 96, *note* 2), son of Amīr Maḥmūd Saifu-d-Dīn was born at Patiali 651 A H and died at Dehli in 725 A H (Beale, 151)

abroad the excellencies of (that friend of his). And Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban having at the end of his reign appointed him Secretary for the countries of Bangāla and Kāmrūd had left him in the service of his elder son Nāṣiru-d-Dīn[1] Bughrā Khān, and these few couplets are from an ode of his.

Oh thou[2] of whom this work of my heart is unworthy though my ignorance; thou gavest me last night a false promise of entertainment.

All night I kept my eyes awake and[3] I did not know that that was longing of that kind which you know to be vain.

I keep my heart[4] exercised thinking of thy face, and wondering why thy colour is so ripe and thy forehead like virgin silver.

The date assigned for his birth seems unlikely as he would only have been thirteen when Nāṣiru-d-Dīn died. The *Majma'ul Fuṣaḥā* gives no date for his birth but says his father came to Dehlī from Turkistān in the time of Changīz Khān's invasion, and obtained great distinction in the court of Sulṭān Maḥmūd ibn Tughlaq Shāh and was killed in a rebellion of the infidels, when his son Amīr Khusrū was appointed as his successor in his Amīrship, which he eventually gave up and acquired great skill and distinction as a poet. He died in 725 H and was buried in the tomb of Shaikh Shakarganj (Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganjshakar see note 1, page 133)

He was the author the celebrated *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain* the poem which was written to commemorate the meeting of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn with his son Sulṭān Kai Qubād on the banks of the Ghāgra, and of several other works (*see* Elliott, III. pp. 523 and *seqq*).

1 MS. (A) reads correctly سلطان ناصر الدين Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān second son of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban He was placed in charge of Bengal after the revolt and defeat of its governor Tughral.

He married a daughter of Sulṭan Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh by whom he had a son and successor Kai-Qubād. (*See* Raverty, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* 716 n.).

In Thomas, *Pathan Kings of Dehli* there is given a copy of an inscription of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd which was engraved over the doorway of the minaret at Aligarh bearing the date 10th Rajab A H 652, and the author mentions in rather too mild terms the wanton Vandalism which allowed a record of this kind to be destroyed in 1861.

Thomas advances the opinion that the original design for this inscription both in matter and form was the work of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn himself. (*cf.* Thomas *op. cit* 129–130).

2 MS. (A) اي.

3 MS. (A) و

4 MS. (A) بنفقه دارم دل

95. I am overcome with idleness though it urges me on to strenuous endeavour—but there is a loose bond between me and distraction.

Do not make me prepared with (the fire of) thy love[1] since I am thy guest, because it is a great virtue to offer sacrifice of unprepared flesh

We said "no Muslim will eat raw flesh," but look! thy grief has devoured me raw Is this your religious devotion.

[2] You call me "raw," if I cut open my own breast, I will shew you that the heart which thou considerest raw, is ready.

So amazed am I at thy beauty and the glory of the king that my imperfect work remains raw from my amazement.

Since the king is a second Khusrū, my work will never remain unfinished, by reason of the kingdom of the second Khusrū—

Conqueror of the world[3] and of religion, he in view of whose sovereignty the desire of Emperors for the Kingdom of Sulaimān was vain

The king Muhmūd Shāh, that Sultān from whose father's glory the cauldron of one single[4] desire, by reason of his empire, is not left unfilled

If the Sun of his benevolence shines in the direction of the garden no fruit issues from the branches of the garden unripe.[5]

What resource has the Sky if it does not support the burden of thy dignity—how can you expect a raw baggage animal to bear a heavy load!

Thy enemy deserves this that you should sew him in a raw hide[6]

[1] MS (A) عشق

[2] MS. (A) حام میخوانیم ار سینهٔ خود بشگافم
پخته بنمایم ان دل که تو میخوانی خام

[3] MS. (A) ناصر دنیا The text has ناخبر which is meaningless and spoils the scansion

[4] دیگ یک ارزویش MS (A).

[5] MS. (A) ناید از شاخ

[6] This was a favourite mode of punishment in olden times the unfortunate victim was sewn up in a raw hide which as it dried, shrunk and inflicted terrible tortures

Vide page 12, *note* 2. Muhammad Qāsim, (Elliott and Dowson I. 209)

for on the body of an inexperienced man of what use is it for you to fit a raw-hide [1]

Thy enemy bathes in blood,[2] instead of the collar of his garment the prisoner places on his neck every moment a raw-hide. 96

Every deed of thine is like [3] perfected gold, and those who wish thee evil are imperfect in their work from frivolity and the assurance of shame.

Thy enemy is that naked demon [4] who has a skin made of the whole of the Earth, and that too, if you take it off him is a raw-hide.

If thou dost not spread thy table every day twice before the people, they will perforce eat raw grain, since the hand of despair from lack of bread has no other resource.

If thy enemy becomes ruined [5] what fear is there? although he advances in a futile attack, like the lion of the flag he is helpless though impotence [6]

Of what avail [7] is the sorcery of Fara'ūn since the dragon of your standard will swallow the fictitious serpent.

Oh Khusru ! Shamsu-d-dīn [8] is thy secretary, strong and well proved in speech—he is not like the worthless Scribes an inexperienced scribbler.

He himself is experienced [9] and his verse is like purified gold —his words are not like the best sayings of Khāqānī still in the rough

The sky has prepared a perfect kingdom [10] for thee —Oh Lord

1 MS (A) چه دشاني خام

2 MS (B) agrees with the text MS (A) reads

غل خصم است بجوں جای زه پیراهں

The textual reading is adopted with زه in place of زره

3 MS (A) چو

4 MS (A) ان غول که از کل جهان

5 مرداد MS. (A)

6 کسحان - بمعدی دبوث (Burhān-i Qāti')

7 MS. (A) چه دارد چو .

8 شمس الدین دبیر See page 134 n 3

9 MS (A) هست اورا پخته و

10 MS (A) بهر تو ملکت دارد The line as it stands in the text will not scan.

in thy favour grant that his perfect work may never revert to imperfection.

And the King of Kings and of Speech Amīr Fakhru-d-Dīn 'Amīd Lūmakī[1] writes in a Qaṣida of which this is the opening couplet

When my loved one takes[2] the lute, and binds the plectrum on her fingernail
Her nail strikes Nāhid[3] with a hundred wounds in the heart through envy

97. Through envy of her harp fever seizes upon Nāhid at that instant
Her nail becomes altogether blue from the effect of that fever.[4]
Consider the henna on her nails to be like blood, which at the time of the springing of the strings from the harp dry as a reed, has spurted forth and made the nail moist.
If in play my nail has scratched your lip, do not be vexed[5] at that,
Because now and then they dip the nail into sugar by way of tasting it.
Keep the point of your nail as sharp as a glance my love, for the harp has no confidence in the fingers save for the sharpness of their nails
Bring me consolation by the tenderness of thy kindness,[6] because compared with thy face, the bride of the moon has brought blood to its nails through envy
Give me wine red as the blood of a hare at the remembrance

[1] Fakhru-d-Mulk Khwāja 'Amīdu-d Dīn, commonly known as 'Amīd Dailami or 'Amīd Lumakī said to be a native of Sannām and eulogist of Sulṭān Muḥammad Yamīn.

[2] MS (A) reads ...... چو بردارد نگارم چنگ و بندد زخمه بر ناخن MS. (B) reads چنگ نوازد i e plays the lute

[3] Nāhid. The planet Venus زهره, zuhra whose seat is in the third heaven (Burhān-i-Qāṭi'), called also رقاص فلک raqqāṣ-i-falak. (the dancer of the sky) Astrologers say that this planet is of a pearly hue, of beneficent aspect, and with the quality of excessive moistness.

[4] از تاثیر آن تب MS (A). This reading is preferable to that of the text.

[5] مرنج مشکن MS. (A).

[6] بیاور ده بلطف مهر دلداری MS. (A) MS (B) is like the text.

of the assembly of the king, for his wrath has forced off the claws from the paws of the male lions.

Shāhanshāh Nāṣir-i-Dunyā wa-Dīn Maḥmūd, by whose equity the partridge with its beak has torn off the claws of the swift-flying[1] hawk.

By the fate-like oppression of his enemy he has fallen in danger of ruin,[2] just as one's nail is in danger in the hands of an unskilled barber.[3]

His head is in danger of severance[4] by the sword of the daring, like the nail at the time of paring, in accordance with the Ḥadīs[5]

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1 MSS (A) (B) زباز تیز تر

2 MS. (A) آیمه. امه is the better reading as in the text.

3 Compare the Arabic proverb. في رأس اليتيم يتعلم الحجام. *In capite orphani discit tonsor.*

There is also a Hindī proverb to the same effect, which runs:—

سیکهیگا ناو کا کٹیگا بٹاو کا

The barber's son will learn and the traveller's head will be cut.

4 MSS. (A) (B) سرش بر دروز قتلست The reading in the text is a copyist's error

5 MSS (A) (B) تقليم الاظفار تقليم. In the جامع الاخبار *Jāmi'u-l-akhbār* of شيخ صدوق we find تقليم الاظفار يمنع الداء الاعظم ويزيد في الرزق

"Paring the nails prevents the worst of all diseases (i. e., poverty) and increases the means of subsistence" Also,

من قلم اظفاره و قص شاربه في كل جمعة ثم قال بسم الله وعلى سنة رسول الله اعطى بكل قلامة عتق رقبة من ولد اسمعيل -

'He who pares his nails and trims his beard every Friday saying, "In the name of God and in accordance with the ordinance of the prophet of God," every paring shall be counted to him as the manumission of a slave of the sons of Ismaʻīl'

Special rules are laid down for cutting the nails They must be cut on Friday, and Muḥammad said, He who cuts his nails in alternate order will never be afflicted with blear eyes It is also said in a Hadīs by Hamīd ibn 'Abdu-r-Rahmān,

من قص اظفاره يوم الجمعة دخل فيه شفاء وخرج منه داء

"He who pares his nails on Friday is filled with health and sickness leaves him" The preferable time for paring the nails is Thursday after the evening prayer In the case of the right hand one should commence from the little finger, proceeding to the middle finger and thence to the thumb, thence to the ring finger and lastly to the forefinger The order in the left hand is (1) thumb (2) middle finger (3) little finger (4) forefinger (5) ring finger

From the dread of the falcon of his equity it behoves that they should take to flight [1] when the eagle with lancet-like talons casts his feathers and talons (through fear).

Such a quarry do they see,[2] that from their absence of claws and their distress, their claw demands as a loan from the small-clawed partridge its claws.

98. For this reason that in the presence of his power, the sky scratches his head for envy, and each month, because of that power, displays the body of the [3] moon in the shape of a nail paring (crescent).

Compared with the perfumed dust raised by his charger the dust-like grains of the musk-bag have become valueless as the dust which is found under every nail.

You would say his arrow is a finger from the hand of victory because it appears as though his nail were like a willow-leaf-bladed soul-destroying spear.

A finger which if he so wills it, like an Indian spear embeds its nail in the mind of iron and the heart of separation.[4]

The sword of his wrath has imprinted such a scar on the cheek of his enemy as remains on the cheek of the mother from the anger [5] of the infant

Grudging the life of his evil disposed enemies, lo! the boars of Fate have sharpened their tusks, and the lions of Destiny their claws.

Power of the world! when the point of thy sword scratches the hearts, it has carried away from the paws of the oppression of the dog-natured sky its claws.[6]

How can thy enemy be at all like thee, how can he approach thy dagger, whereas when he brandishes his dagger it becomes at that moment [7] like a finger nail

1 چو پر ناخن The text should read thus

2 چنان ببیند MSS (A) (B)

3 MS (B) writes چرم قمر

4 This line should read. نشاند درضمیر آهن وقلب حجر ناخن. MSS (A) and (B)

5 Text ازسوزپسر MSS (A) and (B) have از سوز سپر which must be wrong

6 The text is wrong, we should read برد ز پنجهٔ دور سپهر سگ سیر ناخن MSS (A) and (B)

7 The text it appears should read بگاهی MS (A).

If his pride so misleads him that he finds fault with you, the tip of his finger becomes as dust in his hand and his nail as nothing.[1]

The edge of thy sword protects the face of the world,[2] if there had not been the nail as a shield behind the back of the finger tip it had not been well.

If the envier of the nail of thy bravery bears a grudge against thee, perchance poor fellow it is because he does not know that the nail is poisonous.

I have brought in the word nail (*nākhun*) as *radīf*[3] in this 99.
poem which is like a charm Verily it is as useful in magic, as the hair of the head or the tip of the nail.[4]

Oh king, do not desert me, so long as the spiteful heaven strikes every moment one nail upon another by way of producing the notes of my fate.

Inasmuch as the mention arose of 'Amīd, who was controller of all the states of Hindustān, it is essential to reproduce some thing from poems of his which are rarely met with :

Arise 'Amīd, if thy heart is not cold and dead

Leave thy love-poems, and speak the praise of the Lord of the world

Praise the Court of Heaven, for he has raised on high many an azure dome without the irksome aid of tools ;

[1] MS (A) و هنر ناخن

[2] MS (A) پناه روی عالم

[3] ردیف *Radīf* The name given to a syllable or word following the rhyme but in no way essential to it Thus in this poem the word ناخن *nākhun* is the *radīf*, the rhyming letter or قافیه *qāfiyah* being ر (r). In MS (A) these verses are in the order given here

[4] In Persia it is the custom to bury the parings of the nails, and the cuttings of the hair, lest some harm should happen to the owner should they fall into the possession of a malicious person with magical power. The butchers also make a hole or a cut in the blade bones of sheep for the same reason, as they are considered a powerful instrument of magic In the list of charms given in Gaster's translation of the "Sword of Moses" we find "69, to send plagues, take (parings?) from seven men and put them into a new potsherd and go out to the cemetery and there say No. 69 and bury it in a place that is not trodden by horses and afterwards take the dust from this potsherd and blow it into his face or upon the lintel of his house" J.R A S, Jan. 1896, p. 185.

He has appointed two kings (the Sun and Moon) to travel over this blue dome, and has allotted to them the planets as attendant cavaliers on all sides.

The tiring woman of his skill has displayed a hundred beauteous stars at nightfall from behind the curtain of nine folds [1]

He has ordained for the lady of the world, in Night and Day two able handmaids with the titles of Rūmī and Hindū (i e, fair and dark)

Without any shop-keeper in the small shop of the sky, he has suspended in one corner a pair of scales with two pans.[2]

His skill has caused the crimson anemone [5] to grow upon the summit of the mountains, his bounty has caused the Sūrī [7] and Rāhū [7] to blossom in the garden.

[1] The nine heavens, beginning from the lowest are —

1 فلک القمر Falaku-l-qamar (Moon)
2 فلک العطارد Falaku-l-uṭārad (Mercury).
3 فلك الزهرة Falaku-z-Zuhra (Venus)
4 فلک الشمس Falaku sh-Shams (Sun)
5 فلک المریخ Falaku-l-Mirrikh (Mars)
6 فلک المشتري Falaku l-Mushtarī (Jupiter).
7 فلک الزحل Falaku-z-Zuḥal (Saturn)
8 فلك الثوابت Falaku-s-sawābit (Fixed stars)
9 فلک الاطلس Falaku-l-Aṭlas (The plain sky)

N B – اطلس Means an unstamped coin)
See the *Ghiyāsu-l-Lughāt*
See also *Āīn-i-Akbarī* III (Jarrett) 37, *note* 1.
See also Kashshāf Bib Ind Vol II, p 1134 and seqq.

[2] The constellation Libra, called ترازوی چرخ (*tarāzu-i-charkh*) or فلک ترازوي (*tarazū i-falak*) or میزان (*mīzan*).

[3] سوري "A beautiful red rose of an odoriferous and exhilarating flavour" (sic) Steingass In the *Hasht Bihisht* of Amir Khusrū, we find لب پر از خنده چون گل سوري راهو A full smiling lip like the flower of the Sūrī None of the dictionaries give this word nor can I ascertain what the flower is.

شقائق النعمان *Shaqa'iqu n Nu'mān* so called because of its redness as being likened to the flashing شقيقة of lightning or from النعمان in the sense of "blood", as resembling blood in colour so that it signifies "pieces of blood," (Lane) *s v.* شقيقة

At one time with the point of the compasses of his bounty he has limned the form of the mouth : at another with the pen of his favour he has delineated the two eyebrows.

The face of day by his bounty has become a blaze of whiteness 100.

The locks of the night by his skill have become a marvel of blackness.

The kings of the earth [1] with submission and humility, in search of honour have rubbed their faces in the dust of his threshold.

Every month has its moon upon the plain of the sky, at one time curved like the *chaugān*,[2] at another round like the ball

So just is he, that at the time of dispensing justice he has never injured any one even an hair's breadth by oppression.

That one who sought his food in the heart's blood of grapes he made on the morrow black with disgrace like the cheek of the plum [3]

The partridge with its (weak) claws could attack a hundred hawks if so many heads of ants give such power to the partridge.

The morning breeze bestowed out of his all-encompassing bounty upon Chīn and Khaṭā [4] the perfume of the bag of the musk deer.

Hear from me oh friend, since you have heard the declaration of unity, a piece of advice to hearing which both your ear and mine are attentive

Beware of giving an ear to the sound of the strings of the harp.

Beware of turning your attention to the flagon fashioned of earth (wine flask)

Those who in this way live on good terms with their lovers, such as you, do not say, Where is one of that company ?

1 سلاطين مجازي (*Salāṭīn-i majāzi*) So-called kings, as opposed to سلاطين حقيقي (*Salāṭīn-i-haqiqi*) true kings, i e , the prophets.

2 چوگان According to the *Burhān-i-Ẕatı‘* this name is given to any stick with a bent end, especially to the bent stick with which they play the "duhal" and "naqqāra" (kinds of drums). Also applied to a long pole with a curved end from which is suspended a steel ball as one of the insignia of royalty. Here it is a "polo" stick

3 Wine is forbidden to Muslims by their religion, Cf. Qur'ān, II. 216 and V 92

4 خطا *Khaṭā* Cathay vid. D'Herbelot, II, 431 Khathai.

Do you yourself behold every morning, for the dove on the garden bough by its song of Kū Kū [1] bears witness to this beneficent one.

101. Cast thine eye upon the ground that thou mayest see poured out there many a friend of kind aspect, and many a sweet-natured loved one

Do thou 'Amīd again lay hold of the thread of confession of unity

And hang it upon the rosary of thy prayers as it were pearls.

Oh Sovereign Lord! world-possessing Deity who art ever-living

Yet without (the intervention of the vivifying) spirit,[2] and eloquent without a (material) tongue.

[1] کوکو. The song of the dove, Where? Where?

رباعي

آن قصر که بر چرخ همي زد پهلو

بر درگه او شاهان نهادندي رو

ديديم که بر کنگره اش فاخته

آواز همي داد که کو کو کو کو (Omar Khayyām).

You palace towering to the welkin blue
Where kings did bow them down and homage do
I saw a ring dove on its arches perched
And thus she made complaint Coo Coo, Coo Coo (*Whinfield*).

The pious Muḥammadans in India say that the ringdove's note is سبحان تيري قدرت سبحان تيري قدرت *Subhān terī qudrat, Subhān terī qudrat.* Praise be to Thee for thy power.

[2] روح *Rūh* is the vital principle the "breath of life" (Gen ii 7) as distinguished from the نفس *nafs* or conscious manifestation of life, or the consciousness itself Thus we find in the Qur'ān XV 29

وَنَفَخْتُ فِيهِ مِن رُوحِي *wa nafakhtu fīhi min rūhī*, "and breathed into it of my spirit," and again in Qur'ān V 116

إِن كُنتُ قُلْتُهُ فَقَدْ عَلِمْتَهُ تَعْلَمُ مَا فِي نَفْسِي

In kunto qultuhu faqad 'alimtahu ta'lamu mā fī nafsī

"Had I said so verily thou wouldst have known it, thou knowest what is in my soul"

It is said in a tradition that God created Adam and put into him a نفس *nafs* and a روح *rūh*

It would seem as though the word نفس *nafs* connotes the same idea as the word *mind*, using this word in the sense of the phenomena produced by

By thy order three daughters have come forth from the soul [1]
Without the pangs of childbirth, and without the intermediary influence of a husband.
Compared with thy ancient order what is Kisrā [2] and what is Qaiṣar
In face of thy decree what is the Khāqān and what is Halākū ?
Without thy command no ant can draw a single breath of its own will,
Without thy knowledge no sleeper turns from one side to the other.

the action of the روح rūḥ or vital principle upon matter: the highest form of matter, with which we are familiar, namely, the nerve structures of the human brain, admits of certain phenomena which in their totality we call mind the existence of a higher form of matter capable of higher manifestation than those which come within our present experience is obviously possible. A force apart from matter may, for anything we know, exist in a way that we cannot figure to ourselves for want of some example Such a force self-existent would be روح Rūḥ

1 These three daughters here referred to are the three divisions of نفس *nafs* نفس *nafs*, is by Arabian metaphysicians divided primarily into two divisions (a) نفس العقل *nafsu-l-'aql* which is also called النفس الناطقة *annafsu-n-nāṭiqah* the reason, mind, or discriminating faculty and (b) نفس الحياة *nafsu-l-ḥaiyāt* the breath of life.

The first of these is again sub-divided into two, that which commands and that which forbids. thus they say فلان يوامر نفسيه *fulānun yu'āmiru nafsaihi*. Such an one consults his two minds, i e, weighs the *pros* and *cons*.

See Lane article نفس and روح, also *Ghiyāsu l-lughāt*, and *Kashshāf* art. نفس.

2 كسرى The Chosroes. Qaiṣar قيصر Cæsar; an Emperor.

خاقان A Turkish word meaning Emperor. The name given to the Emperor of China and potentates of Chinese Tartary (*See* de Courteille *Turk Orient Dict* خاقان). Khāqān. Originally the title Qaān was given to the supreme sovereign of the Moguls, while the subordinate princes of the Chaghatai and other Changīzī lines were styled only Khān

After a time the higher *Qaan* lost its peculiar distinctive dignity and was used by many besides the sovereign (see *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* (Elias and Ross), p. 30 n 1)

هلاكو Halākū, descendant of Changīz Khān.

Although I like a harp am hump backed and head downwards,[1]
Yet in the assembly of thy hope I play the air of Yā Huwa.[2]
On that day when out of awe of thee all the assembly of the prophets own their allegiance on bended knee,
Oh Lord do thou of thy clemency bestow upon me, wretched man that I am, forgiveness, for I am defiled with disobedience and engulfed in it on all sides

His also is the following in praise of the prophet *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him* [3]

I fashion now a garment of song the embroidery of whose sleeve, flows gracefully from the[4] adornment of the soul as the ornament of its divine Creator
102 I choose the path of thy forming by the ornament of straightforward praise,
Because the two worlds are an indication[5] of the embroidery of its sleeve;
Rose of the garden of the prophetic office, than whose spikenard[6]

1 The word چنگ *chang* in its original sense means *bent* or *curved*, hence it means a hook, and especially the hook called also "gajak کجک" with which elephants are driven Another secondary meaning is the bent hand and fingers of man, or the claws of animals and talons of birds Also the name of a musical instrument (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*) The چنگ was played with a plectrum called زخمه *Zakhma*, and from its description as کوز *Kūz* and سرنگون *sarnigūn* was like the عود *'ūd* of the Arabs, and very similar to the mandolin of our times.

2 یاهو *Yā huwa*. An invocation to the most High—equivalent to "*My God and my Lord*"

3 These words are not in MS (A) which has no introduction to the poem. MS. (B) has وله قصيدة فى النعت

4 MS (A) بپجرید. MS (A) بجرید.   5 MSS. (A) and (B) كنايه

6 سنبل Sumbul (*Nardostachys jatamansi* N. O. Valerianaceæ) *νάρδος*, or spikenard of the ancients, a perfume held in high esteem (S. John xii. 2).

In the *Bahru-l-Jawāhir* it is stated that there are two kinds of Sumbul—Sumbul-i-Hindi, and Sumbul-i-Rūmi

It is laxative and a tonic to the brain . ...useful in dropsy, in flatulence and as a hæmostatic in metrorrhagia

The perfumed sumbul is the variety called Sumbul-i-Hindi while the Sumbul-i-Rūmi is also called Nardīn

See also Ibnu-l-Baiṭār (Sontheimer), Vol. II., pp 58 *et seqq.*

the morning breeze has never borne from Chīn to Māchīn[1] a rarer odour from the fragrant musk.

Head of the created beings of the world, by whose glorious advent, the heaven has brought forth a pearl of great price from the shell as an offering

The heaven has placed its two standards firmly planted in the seventh of its citadels, throughout the length and breadth of the world in the five stated times of prayer[2]

His onyx-like[3] eye has not cast one glance upon the signet of

[1] Cf Tieffenthaler III 107. Abul Feda (Reinaud) II II, 122 D'Herbelot Vol II. Art Khatāi. Māchīn or Mahā Chīn see *Āīn-i-Akbari*, II 118 and *note* 2. "Japhet is credited by Orientals with the paternity of Chīn who received the Celestial empire as his inheritance and begot Māchīn his first born"

[2] The phrase تنورۀ مسدس means literally the six-sided oven-shaped (world). The six sides or divisions of the world are—

عالم الانس *'ālamu-l-ins*, the world of mankind.

عالم الجن *'ālamu-l-jinn*, the world of the jinn or genii.

عالم الملائكة *'ālamu-l-malā'ikah*, the world of angels.

عالم الحيوان *'ālamu-l-haiwān*, the animal world.

عالم النبات *'ālamu-n-nabāt*, the vegetable world.

عالم المعدن *'ālamu-l-ma'ādin*, the mineral world.

The five stated times of prayer are known as—

ظهر *zuhr* عصر *'asr* مغرب *maghrib* عشاء *'ashā* and فجر *fajr*.

The two standards علم *'alam* are the sun and moon, *cf* Qur'an, XXXVI., 38, 39

[3] M S. (A) reads جزعش His onyx-like eye, &c

This must be taken to refer to a saying of the prophet Muhammad "The cornelian for me and the onyx for my enemies" According to the *Nukhbatu-d-dahr* (p 69), he said this "because the onyx causes its wearer to become ill-tempered, rash, precipitate, and litigious .... There are several varieties of onyx..... the best is that in which the markings are of equal breadth ... . The whiteness of the onyx increases as the moon waxes, and diminishes as it wanes The onyx softens when boiled in oil, sparkling and emitting light ... The people of China (صين) where the onyx is found, will not approach the mines on account of the unluckiness of the stone, so that only the poorest class will work there.

One property possessed by the onyx is that of curing scald-head in children: it also acts as a sialagogue causing them to dribble when it is hung round their necks"

See also Lane Art. جزع where it is stated that the wearing of an onyx in a signet induces anxiety, disquietude of mind, grief and terrifying dreams

Solomon[1] because there is the stamp of his seal upon everything from the moon above to the fish below.[2]

Fate and Destiny are his guardians, Eternity and Hope his helpers,

Earth[3] and the time are his advocates, angels and heaven pledged to him

His lip is honey and his cheek a rose, what an advantage to both worlds,

His gulangabin[4] (confection of rose and honey) relieves the tremor of disobedience,

The mouth of the shell is full of the pearls of his pearl-like words,

The belt of the horizon is bejewelled with his widespread faith,

The prosperity of the body of the faithful is in his left hand, and the good fortune of the face of those who follow the path of his religion is in his right hand.

The pages of the seven heavens are but an atom of his being,

The two worlds, compared with the stream of his might, are but a sweat drop from his forehead,

The tongue of a green lizard[5] is one of the marks of his seal,

The web of the spider was a curtain which concealed his relation,[5]

[1] Solomon's power lay according to tradition in the signet of his ring, on which was engraved the "most mighty name"

See Lane *Arabian Nights* introduction n 21 and Chap i *n* 15 This stone was supposed to shew Solomon every thing he wished to know

See D'Herbelot art. Solimān.

[2] Called يهموت Yahmūt upon which the world is said to rest. *See* page 15-, *n* 2

[3] MS (A) زمي و زمان

[4] گلنگبين The properties of the rose are said in the *Bahru-l-Jawāhir* to be laxative, expectorant, and an aphrodisiac while honey is said to be a light dew which falls upon flowers and is collected by bees, it is hot and dry in the second degree It relieves dimness of vision and is a stomachic tonic, is a laxative and expectorant *Sadidi* further says that honey is beneficial to old men, but injurious to youths and people of hot temperament, is aphrodisiac when heated with pulp of roses, and cures the bites of snakes and of dogs. Neither book mentions its use in the treatment of tremors specifically, but Sadidis statement that it is good for old men may refer to senile tremors.

[5] This line should read. بزبان سوسماري رقمي ده سجلش See page 110,

In the moon-bedecked heaven, one glance of his cleft the heart of the moon the beloved of the sky into two halves as though it were a piece of cloth [1] 103.

Both beasts of prey and birds have girded the loins of faithfulness to him.

Both young babes and old men have opened their lips in his praise.

The rose and the thorn of fragrant flowers are the fruits of his love and kindness

The (sweet) sugar and the (bitter) colocynth are both reminders of his love andwrath

The garden, in submission [2] to his creative power, like the violet has scratched its cheek (with vexation), Look! there is a blue mark upon its jasmine cheek.

His body is composed of spirit of divine sanctity, which is the purification of [3] the spirit of the human. One cannot reach to his essential constitution, for his composition is of light.

ote 3, for the story of the lizard When Muḥammad was fleeing from Mekka to Medina in company with Abu Bakr as Siddīq, his father-in-law, they came to a cave in the Jabal Saur and took refuge in it from their enemies In order to conceal their whereabouts a spider was directed to spin its web over the entrance, which led the pursuers, who had followed them thus far, to conclude they had not entered the cave

Ḥayātu-l-Qulūb. See also Muir's Life of Mah II 257 *note*

Compare the following lines by Ya'qūbu-l-Manjanīqī, quoted by Ibn Khalliqān

ايها المدعى الفخار دع الفخر لذى الكبرياء و الجبروت
نسج داود لم يفد ليلة الغار وكان الفخار العنكبوت

Oh thou who art so vain glorious! leave glory to him who is the lord of might and of power

David's weaving would have been of no service on the night of the cave The honour was all given to the spider

See Ibn Khalliqān (de Slane), Vol IV, p 375.

According to another account immediately after Muhammad and Abu Bakr had entered the cave, an Acacia tree grew up at the entrance and a pair of pigeons had already nested in it, while a spider's web closed what remained of the entrance D. Herbelot II 231 *art* (Hegrah).

1 MS (A) چو قرارۂ.

2 MSS (A) and (B) چمن از بیار خلقش

3 MSS. (A) and (B) که صفاء روح انسی

When Barāq the lightning fleet came under his stirrup he leapt towards the highest heavens so that the curved crescent moon was like the hinder part of his saddle.

When his courser trod the face of the plain of the earth he placed his foot in such a way that the heaven became like the earth to him.

One step of his reached to the extremity of the earth from the house of Ummahānī,[1] the second step reached to the Sidra[2] from the earth like the angels

The orb of the sun, the untamed steed, was led along in his cavalcade.

The moon having stamped a brand upon its quarter with its horseshoe shaped crescent

Consider the goodness of his nature in that for our sakes in the next world, he has long pleaded the cause of his followers with a heart full of pity

Wisdom, by his favour, is drawn out from the well of superstition by the rope of the cord of Chastity[3] which was his

104. mighty title

Asad Ullah leaving his lair, with his polished spear has torn out the heart of the envious cur-hearted ones like the tongue of a dog.

A band[4] like the ants of the ground travelling fast[5] along a path slender as a hair

Shining like the lightning from the brilliancy of the torch of his religion[6]

A band (of men lost) like a hair which has fallen into leaven[7] by reason of his wrath fell into the fire from the bridge, with their waists bound like the ant in their hostility.

1 See note 2 page 105 See Qur'an Sur XVII

2 A tree in the seventh heaven having its roots in the sixth "After that I was taken up to Sidratu-l Muntaha and behold its fruits were like water pots and its leaves like elephants ears" (Mathews) Mishkatu-l-Masabih, Vol. II. p 694

See also Hughes Dict of Islām (Sidratu-l-Muntahā)

3 رسال عصمت MS (A) (3) Qur'an Sur III 98

4 MS (A) گروهی This alludes to the Muslims

5 MS دونده

6 MS (A) شمع دینش

7 MS (A) and Text خمیر MS (B) تیر. These are Kāfirs, infidels.

On the surface of the board of his sincerity who can raise his head in deceit[1] since not even the heaven survives the throw of his two dice[2]

Seven pillars are established by his four friends, for the seven heavens which are firmly fastened to the pole.

Of these four stars[3] there are two conjunctions both of which are fortunate. The Moon and Jupiter[4] are in conjunction, each one with its own partner.

In the two ears of the four elements how happy is my earring. From the two earrings[5] sprang eight Paradises with the two lights which give sight to the eyes.

'Amid has devoted his powers in all directions to sing his praises, if perchance the good and bad of his words may gain some currency.

How can I boast of my descent, here, when I from my heart supplicate the intercessor of the day of judgment whose religion God approves.

From the embroidery of my eulogy, what legality[6] is evident, in my magic? It is like wine whose pure brilliancy is enhanced by the crystal cup.[7]

From the sugarcandy of his sayings the lips of the parrots

1 دغا MS. (A) (B).

2 MS (A) (B) کعبتین که نه چرخ *Ka'batain.* The temples of Mekka and Jerusalem

3 The first four Khalifs the "rightly-directed" MS (A) reads دو قران

4 Both the Moon and Jupiter are fortunate *See* Ibn Khaldūn Proleg (De Slane) II 217 and seqq

5 دو قرطه ; Hassan and Husain. هشت جنت Their eight children. دو نور 'Alī and Fatima

6 See Ibn Khalliqān (Slane) III 344 n. (8) Magic was held to be unlawful except the magical effect of eloquence such as in poetry which is called السحر الحلال *As-sahru l halāl* Hāfiz says,

معجزست این شعر یا سحر حلال
هاتف آورد این سخن یا جبرئیل

Is this poem a miracle, or is it lawful magic?
Has a heavenly messenger brought this message or was it Gabriel himself?

See Hughes' *Dict of Islām* article Magic, *also* Lane *sub voce* سحر

7 This couplet is omitted in MS (B)

MS (A) reads چو عین که صرف صفوت چو پیاله شد معیانش.

are imbued with sugar as though from the tray of eloquence they have eaten the crumbs of his wisdom.

105. What person am I, what parrot am I, I that sing these verses? When I sing his praise it is like the buzzing of a fly. May the breath of the parrots of my soul not fail for a single moment from the singing his praise and proclaiming his triumph.

ANOTHER QASĪDA.[1]

Oh thou from awe of whose order the heaven is bowed in submission, the proclamation of thy might is this, Thou standest alone thou hast no companion.

Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, thy dominion is the dominion of uprightness.

Thy empire is no changeable empire. Thy rule is not a divided rule.

The rays of the brightness of thy holiness are the portrayers of the sun and moon. The recluse of thy kingdom is in the highest altitude of Simāk reaching even to Samak.[2]

At one time thou givest to the partridge of the day wings and feathers of fiery hue, at another in the liquid cage of the heavens thou makest the moon-tailed pigeon of the night[3] as an angel.[4]

Thou hast broken the cup of the moon at the head and foot of each month.[5] Thou hast bound thine all-encompassing contemplation around the star Parak.[6]

1 MS (A) has the words ايضا له. *Aizan lahu* Also by him.

2 The fourteenth house of the houses of the Moon. There are two Simāks one As-Simāku-r-Rāmih, the lance-bearing Simāk (Arcturus), and the other As-Sīmāku-l-A'zal, the unarmed Simāk (Spica Virginis) Both of these are in the feet of the constellation Leo. The word Simāk is said by the Arab commentator on Ulug Beg to denote great altitude, in derivation from the root Samaka *to rise, to be exalted*. See Ibn Khallıqān (de Slane) Vol I *note* 11.

Samak, the fish, which is below the Earth bearing on its back a cow which bears the earth on its horn. (*Ghiyāsu-l-Lughāt*)

3 مه دم *Burhān-i-Qāti'*. A bird having claws, with a black and white tail from which they make feathers for arrows. *Also* a pigeon all black with a white tail.

4 MS (A) reads غلک which seems to have no meaning. The text reads غلك with a variant ملک which we find in MS (B).

5 Both in the new moon, and in the last quarter, the moon has a defective form, crescent or decrescent.

6 پرک Parak. The star Canopus. *Burhān-i-Qāti'*.

Thy power is the gardener, the four quarters of the earth are his tilth. Thou hast cast around that as the shelter of an eyelid, the bounty of the seven oceans.[1]

From the midst of the oven of the east, thy order bringeth forth the loaf of gold of the west after the silvery loaf.[2]

In the garden full of thy skilled works, the hand of the tiring woman of the morning-breeze rubs on the rouge of adornment like the beauties [3] do over the patches.[4] 106.

The rose with the mark of the mole on its cheek, displayed its buds. Like the cheek of the beauty the moon displays its face from the heavens.[5]

On the extremity of the plain of spring, issuing from the door of thy creation, the tulip sits with a shield, the willow stands with its arrow.

The jasmine and the rose proclaim thy skill with lip and cheek.

Thy care preserves the sugar of the confection with salt.[6]

Except thy eternal existence how can any caravan arrive at secondary existence.[7]

In the eye of truth there is *kuhl* [8] (of ornament), in the eye

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1 These are according to the *Burhan-i Qāti'*.

بحر جرجان *Bahr-i-Jurjān*	بحر طبریة *Bahr-i-Tabariya*
بحر نیطس *Bahr-i-Nītas,*	دریای روم *Daryā-i-Rūm,*
دریای مغرب *Daryā-i-Maghrib,*	دریای چین *Daryā-i-Chīn.*
بحر خوارزم *Bahr-i-Khwārazm*	

2 MSS (A) and (B) read خبك

3 ترک مثال MSS. (A) and (B)

4 خال - خجک "A patch" for the face (*Burhān-i-Qāti'*)

5 I read here چون رخ ترک مه که آو روی نماند از فلک This seems the best reading Both MSS (A) and (B) lend countenance to it The reading in the text is impossible

6 That is to say the sweet lips of his beloved are so piquant that it seems as though they were tinged with salt Conserve of roses is called پرورش *parwarish.*

7 قِدَم. (*qidam*) Existence from all eternity. For حدوث (*hudūs*) see *note* 4, page 1.

8 The کحل. *kuhl* was used as a collyrium میل کشیدن (*Mil Kashidan*) is to put out the eyes میل *mil*, called also ململ *mulmūl*, is the bodkin or style used for applying the *kuhl*.

of infidelity and doubt there is the probe (of destruction). Whoever has the inscription on his ring in accordance with thy way[1] verily is saved, but whoever has on his forehead the brand of opposition to thee verily he is lost.

In the glory of thy approbation why should any one take to craft? Why should the saw of Nûh ibn-Lamak[2] cut down every tree?

The parrot of my life at the remembrance of thee has remained safe from the snare of grief,[3] just as in the ocean of Jupiter the Fish is safe from the net[4]

Like an Ethiopian and a Greek, the day has taken away from thy threshold a gold embroidered mantle, the night has despoiled thee of a dress distinguished by a plumed[5] cap.

One draught of thy kindness is equal to the display of several rows (of cups).

A morsel of thy favour is for the accountants[6] several laks.

107. As long as thou drawest him as by the end of the cord, no one turns away his face from the door. It were better that the neck of the heaven should be in the noose of the Milky-way.

Thy wrath drives out the pride of tyrants[7] from their heads, by means of the point of the sting of a mosquito[8] not by the advanced guard of an army

[1] MS (A) reads دهش but this is an error.

[2] نوح بن لمک The text and both MSS read نوح بن ملک See Genesis v 28–30 Noah the son of Lamech, also Gen vi 14

[3] زدام غم MSS (A) and (B) The text reads wrongly زدغ غم

[4] When Jupiter enters the constellation of Pisces he is in the ascendant.

[5] MS (A) كلل كلك [MS (B) كل كلک Text فلک کلک] کلل کلک = کلاه پردار *kulah-i-pardār* (*Burhān-i-Qāti'*)

[6] MSS (A) (B) اهل جریده

[7] MS (A) جبابرة [MS (B) حبابرا Text حباب را]

[8] پشهٔ MS (A)

In the *Nasikhu t-tawarikh* of Lisānu-l-Mulk we find the following account of this incident —

'The cause of the death of Nimrod was this, that after despairing of his ability to burn Abraham, in consequence of his protection by the Almighty, the idea of entering into conflict with the Most High entered his head, and

If the drops of the bounty of thy nearness distil upon the palate of my heart say to the clouds of supplication "Do not rain" and say to the tear of hope "Do not fall."

I am fulfilled with thy bounty like a pearl in the cloudy weather.[1]

Not like the wine flask which comes forth from the assembly after yielding the benefit of its fulness[2]

I have attained the dignity of eloquence from thy consent. By thy help it is that this joyful sound[3] has been placed in my hand by destiny.

How long shall I utter cries of grief round the carpets of Emperors, because at thy door there is a sustenance-gaining world free from vexation[4]

Wine which gives you a headache is better cast on the ground. A carpet if it be of silk[5] is more fit to be burnt than thorns.

he ordered Abraham to be brought before him; then turning towards him he said, Oh Abraham, bid your God to come with his army, and array himself against me in battle so that the one who conquers may have the upper hand Tomorrow, that is Wednesday, we will arrange the battle field before this city, and test man with man.

Then having reviewed his army he came out from the city with a countless array, and drew up in line on the battle field.

The prophet Abraham came out alone and unaccompanied, in face of that vast host, and stood there Suddenly, by the command of the Almighty, the face of heaven became darkened by a cloud of mosquitos, which are the most contemptible of all creatures, and they at once began to sting the army of Nimrūd, and put them to flight, and most of those worthless ones died. Nimrūd, on seeing this, in fear and shame turned his back upon the whirlpool of death, and fled into his fort Suddenly a single mosquito entering after him stung his lip, and reached his brain. For forty years the mosquito fed upon his brain, after which Nimrūd died in abject misery"

As the mosquito is known to be the intermediary host of certain parasites and may be the means of conveying infective disease, there may be a substratum of truth in this fable

1 در عقیان MS (A) The text reads wrongly در عشیان

2 That is to say my fulness is one which is permanent, like that of the pearl which remains hidden in the shell; not transitory like that of the wine flask which leads to emptiness

3 حمک *khumak* literally means the sound of clapping the hands from joy.

4 MS (A) فی کلک

5 By the laws of Islām, cloth made entirely of silk is not permissible for use either as clothing at times of prayer, or as a prayer carpet Cloth woven of silk and cotton mixed is permissible and is called مشروع *mashrū'*,

Oh Lord, with that rose of benevolence from the exhalations of whose excellence the olfactory sense of the angels is refreshed while the musk of Chin remains dry as a husk,

Let me refresh the olfactories of my soul every moment, until I am on the brink of the grave, that my dust may be like a rose garden far removed from the pricking of thistles.

The possession of sincerity, and true equity, the root of modesty, and the secret [1] of truth, the house of religion is founded on all of these both by bond and deed.

On the heaven of his prophecy, for the travellers along the high road of the sacred law, each of these four pillars [2] is a sign of the injunction Go on thy way and be pure [3]

96 May every breath of my life be praise and glory, until the breath of the morning, that each breath may then be a worthy present for the soul

Think that the pupils of my two eyes are four in affection, (i e, four Khalifs).

Otherwise thou wilt fail to gain Paradise, and art ready for the door of hell.

What good will apostasy do you when 'Ali is independent of you? How can gold shew its perfect purity if the touchstone does not shew the shine of it?

What blame is it to the body of the lute if during the tune [4] either its silken string breaks, or its bridge slips down.

Go, and open the letter of the Prophet in all sincerity, that it may efface from your mind the suspicion as regards "Faddak." [5]

1 MSS (A) (B) شعرحق.

The term رافضي *rāfizi* is applied by Sunni Muslims to any of the Shi'ah sects. *See* Hughes *Dict of Islām* Art. Rāfizi

2 The four khalifs

3 *Hadis* مثل اصحابي كالنجوم بايهم اقتديتم اهتديتم My companions are like the stars, whichever of them you follow you will be led by it.

4 بنغمه در MS (A)

5 *Faddak* was an estate near Medina which Muhammad left to his daughter Fatima

After the prophet's death Abu Bakr took it and Fātima demanded it of

And he who like the ill-omened owl [1] boasts of being a Khāriji [2]

him, he replied : "Thy father said that we who are prophets do not leave hereditary legacies, all that I leave is for Moslims.

نحن معاشر الانبيا لانورث ما تركنا ها صدقة

The Shī'ahs say that Abu Bakr seized Faddak by force. The poet denies this assertion in the above verse

[1] بوم شوم. The ill-omen attending the owl is common to all countries, probably from the habit it has of frequenting ruined buildings. The Arabic proverb indicates the estimation in which the owl was held.

لو كان في البومة خير ما تركها الصياد

Si in ulula bonum fuisset, eam venator non reliquisset. Freytag *Meid. Prov* II p 572.

The story told by Mas'ūdī about Bahrām points in the same direction. *See* Ibn Khaldūn (de Slane) Prolegomenes, I. 107.

In the *Ḥayātu-l-Ḥaiwān* there is a story told of Al Mā'mūn who in the course of his peregrinations one day saw a young man writing something on the wall with a piece of charcoal. He ordered his servants to see what the man was writing and it was as follows :

يا قصر قد جمع فيك الشوم واللوم   متي يعشش في اركانك البوم
يوم يعشش فيك البوم من فرحي   اكون اول من نعيك مرغوم

Oh palace ill-luck and curse are assembled in thee ;
When will the owl make her nest in thy pillars ?
Happy the day when the owl builds her nest in thee !
I shall be the first to announce thy downfall.

He explained this before Al Mā'mūn by saying that he was in great distress and hoped to benefit by the ruin of the palace.

[2] The name Khāriji was given to any one who denied any one of the true Imāms (see Cureton's Shahrastānī *Milal wa Nihal*, page 85.)

See the article Khawārij in Hughes, *Dict of Islām*.

The Khāriji heresy was that any man of no matter what nation or tribe may be appointed Khalīfah provided that he was a good man and was elected by the whole body of Moslims.

See for a fuller account of this sect. Sale's Qur'ān. Preliminary Discourse, p 123 (Ed of 1857) (Badger *Imāms and Seiyyids of Omān*, Appendix, pp. 374, and *seq*) (Osborn, *Islām under the Arabs*, p 116). The last mentioned gives a full account of the origin of this heretical sect when 'Alī and Mū'āwia met at Siffīn from which the following is an extract " The valour of 'Alī was brilliantly seconded by that of his favourite lieutenant Malika-l-Ashtar, the Marshal Ney of the Arabian Army. A tremendous charge by Malik at last forced a wing of the Syrian troops to give ground. Gradually the whole line was forced back, the retreat became a rout."

However at this critical moment Amron ibn al-'Ās knowing the fanatical character of 'Alī's troops, ordered a number of Syrian soldiers to advance

compared to the confidant of the cave[1] is like the night-flying bat[2] in comparison with the standard of the day (the Sun).

Put aside your desire of rebellion, say not a word save in respect, how can a dog contend with a tawny lion.[3]

What power have you to decide between the companions of the Prophet, you who from foolishness like a blind man, seek the softness of ermine from the stoat.[4]

It were better that the skirt of the time was freed by skilful management, from the impurity of those abomination-working sects before that this sound reaches their ears *What brought you into hell?*[5]

Oh Lord! although for a long time my heart has been afflicted by the darlings of Chigil, and held fast by the rosy-cheeks of Yamak[6]

towards their line bearing copies of the Qur'ān fixed to the heads of their lances. "Let the blood of the Faithful cease to flow" they cried "let the Book of God decide between us"

'Ali's soldiers thereupon turned upon him headed by certain men whom Ash-Shahrastānī names, and insisted upon 'Ali recalling Malik Al-Ashtar from fighting against the Moslims "or" said they "we will assuredly deal with you as we dealt with 'Usmān" and insisted upon the matter in dispute between 'Ali and Mu'āwia being settled by arbitration.

1 *Abū Bakr* —The sole companion of Muḥammad when he fled from Mecca to Medinah, cf. Qur'ān ix. 40.

إِلَّا تَنْصُرُوهُ فَقَدْ نَصَرَهُ اللَّهُ إِذْ أَخْرَجَهُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا ثَانِيَ اثْنَيْنِ إِذْ هُمَا فِي الْغَارِ

Unless ye help him, and God did help him when these who disbelieved drove him forth the second of two, when they twain were in the cave (of Jabal Ṣaur).

2 شپرک MSS. (A) and (B) have شپ ترک which seems to have no meaning.

3 Kizil Arslān is the Turkish for "red lion" He was son of Ildighiz the first of the Atābaks of Āẕar baijān whose dynasty commenced in 555 H. and ended in 632 H. Muḥammad the elder son of Ildighiz succeeded his father and was in turn succeeded by Kizil Arslān who was assassinated in 587 H. (D'Herbelot) (Beale)

4 فنک. *fanak* The animal commonly known by the name دله *dalla*, weasel or stoat.

5 Qur'ān lxxiv. 43, فِي جَنَّاتٍ يَتَسَاءَلُونَ عَنِ الْمُجْرِمِينَ مَا سَلَكَكُمْ فِي سَقَرَ.

In gardens shall they ask each other about the sinners—what drove you into hell-fire?

6 *Chigil.* The *Burhān-i-Qāti'* says A city in Turkestān where inhabitants are exceedingly beautiful and are unequalled in archery.

Yet in the beginning of the *nūn* and *dāl* of my age (54) after the year *khā* and *nūn* and *hā* (655 H.),[1] thanks be to God that the bird of my ambition has burst the bonds of this net and gone free. 109.

I have washed my hands of the one, and have freed my foot from the other, springing out of both snares like the clay pellets from a pea-shooter.[2]

At thy footstool henceforth my constant cry is "I repent," my supplication is to thee, my secret thoughts and open dealings are with thee.

Thou shewest me mercy at that time when by the intoxication of the wineskin of death both my chin and jaws are cold and shrunken.[3]

When my breath is bound upon the balista of my body like

Yāqūt says A city lying beyond the river Sīhūn in Turkestan near Turrār. Thence sprang Abū Muḥammad 'Abdur Rahmān ibn Yahia ibn Yūnas Aljīgili the Khatīb of Samarqand in the days of Qadar Khān he died in Sha'bān 516 H.

Yamak. Name of a city and country celebrated for the beauty of its people. *Burhān-i-Qāti'.*

Yāqūt does not mention this.

[1] The above shews that 'Amīd Lūmakī was born in the year 601 H. The mode of reckoning is that always adopted. There does not appear to be any intended *double entendre* here, though the word ند which stands for 54 means good guidance no meaning can be attached to the خنه which stands for 655. See page 99 *note* 4.

[2] تفک *tufak* is a long tube for throwing clay balls through by the force of the breath *cf* تفنگ. Steingass' *Dict.*

It is also called پفک *Pufak.*

cf English pop-gun, traced by Skeat (*Etym. Dict.*) to the base *Pu* expressive of the act of blowing. *Skt* bukk.

پف کردن *puf kardan* to blow out—to puff

چراغی را که ایزد برفروزد
هرآنکس پف کند ریشش بسوزد

A lamp which God has lighted
He who attempts to blow it out burns his beard

[3] و must be added in the text after the word سکرات MS (A). This appears to mean that when he is at the point of death he finds mercy. The intoxication is the unconsciousness resulting from approaching death, and the retraction of the chin and lower jaw in the death struggle is believed to be the effects of the wineskin.

a missile, then the stone of the balista [1] of death strikes my body breaking it as though it were an earthen jar [2]

Grant me a place at the banquet of thy pardoning mercy,
At that time when the Angel of Death says to me "Take and eat," [3]

Shewing his helplessness Amid thy slave offers these verses in praise of thy excellence to the best of his power.

Accept these few brief words from this vile cur, [4]
For this mangy cur is a partner of your journey.

Thy praise is written on my heart, afterwards comes the praise of the Prophet. May every word besides these be erased from my heart.

An Eulogistic Qaṣīda

Oh thou upon whose jasmine-like face are the countless toils of the violet-hued locks
By whose ruby lips the brilliant pearls are imprisoned.

Thy locks are an armourer who every moment brings forth
Fragrant chains to fetter thy lily-like face.

Thy lily face is better confined by the links of thy spikenard-hued locks.
Bid the morning breeze as it breathes not to remove the chains (of thy hair) from thy rosy (cheeks).

Thy mouth is like a delicate bud which bursts into smiles;
Loosen the folds of that bud even if with the point of a thorn.

Thy rose-petalled cheeks are adorned by the bonds of thy dark and fragrant locks.

[1] This appears to be the author's meaning The convulsive breathing is compared to the jerking action of the balista

[2] If we read کژک for کزک the meaning will be "strikes it with the elephant goad" There is some uncertainty about the meaning of the word کژک One meaning is according to the *Burhān-i-Qāti'* "an earthenware vessel which is used for holding dates."

[3] قُتُق گزک should be the reading MS (A) MS (B) read فتک کرك.

قُتُق (*qutuq*) is a Turkish word signifying any thing eaten as a relish
گزک (*gazak*) is the Persian equivalent of قتق (*qutuq*).

[4] This translation is admittedly inelegant, but it is inevitable.

Save on thy rose who has ever seen so becoming a bond ?

Perchance thou didst say, thy face is like the rose and tulip to look upon, the fragrant down on thy cheek is like the edging of a bed of tulips.

Thy cheek was not fit for this, why does it bear its chain, like me who bear my chain in the time of the reign of this monarch.

The world conquering king Naṣīru-l-Haqq (ally of the truth), he who places upon the hands and feet of meanness a thousand fetters by his generosity.

Wālā Muḥammad Balban, who entangles rebels in the time of war, in the noose of his wrath [1]

Oh king of the age, by whose auspicious fortune the treasurer of Fate has undone the fastenings of the shell of the mine of prosperity.

Beneath the saddle of the confusion of thy enemy on the day of fighting, each girth of thy saddle becomes sixty-four [2] thongs to bind him

He is like the opium, provoking quarrels and suspicion,

If his opium remains enclosed within the poppy head.[3] 111

When the aromatic odour of thy good qualities removed the bond from the wrinkled mouth of the musk bag of Tātār, ambergris gained a fresh odour [4] from its fragrant breeze, and the rose bud too was loosed from its prison by the newly arrived spring.

[1] These couplets are transposed in MS. (A) as given above

[2] شصت و چار بند I do not understand this, nor can I get any adequate explanation of it

[3] MS. (A) افيونش گر بماند. The *Bahru-l-Jawāhir* sums up the properties of opium thus قليله ينفع وينوم و كثيره يقتل *qalīluhu yanfa'u wa yunawwim wa kasīruhu yaqtulu*

In small doses it is beneficial acting as a soporific, in large doses it kills

No mention is made of its quarrel provoking properties, and from the second-half of the couplet it would seem as though the quarrels are provoked by its cultivation rather than by the drug

[4] نسيم ترش MS. (A) The text reads بسدم سرش

The heaven every moment casts the fetter of intoxication on those who are drunk with the cup of thy favour, by the obstruction of their brain [1]

Thy kingdom is a rivulet flowing from the spring of satisfied desire, safety, enjoyment and pleasure are the banks of this stream

In such a way open the road of equity for the ends of victory,

That by thy justice no fetters may exist in the world save the locks of lovers' hair

You see one who has assisted injustice in his soul in whose path

Destiny places countless [2] obstacles

Like Naushīrwān when thou knockest at the door of justice,

Thou keepest not the chains firmly fastened on bad and good

In thy reign, it behoves that no one in his lifetime should see any fetter, save on the foot of the cypress and the finger-bearing leaf of the Chinār [3]

The knot of the dragon's tail and the dragon's head [4] is a fetter on the sky, come and relieve the distressed heaven from its bondage.

That the sun and moon may become relieved of the affliction

[1] Both MSS (A and B) have هرکه افکند I am not satisfied with this rendering but can suggest no better

[2] بیشمار باد MS (A) reads صد هزار بند

[3] *Platanus orientalis* The oriental plane has a broad palmate leaf It is the Sycamore of the ancients according to Balfour

[4] عقدهٔ گردون *met* caput et cauda (راس و دنب) pro quo etiam dicitur عقد تین (dual) qui est term, techn astron *Bh* "Caput et cauda draconis, i e, nodus ascendens et descendens" Vuller *sub voce* عقد The *Istilāhātu-l-Funun*, says that the *'Uqdatu r-Rā's* is also called *'Uqdatu-sh-shimāliya* and the *'Uqdatu-z-Zanab* is called *'Uqdatu-l Janūbiya*, and the two together are called *Jau*[illegible] جوزهر These terms are fully explained in the Article الفمر p 510 Vol. I [illegible] also L [illegible] s v. تنّين where the terms are explained as [illegible] the [illegible] and descending nodes of the planet.

of eclipse [1] in the knot of the dragon's tail,[2] like me who am in the bond of distress.

Thou hast ordered that the learned should be imprisoned,

Beware that thou layest no bond upon the learned.

Woe is me! Honour them rather out of policy, and on the newly wedded bride of eulogy bind the princely pearl taken from the casket of my heart 112.

Has ever any monarch placed a bond on literary men out of love of empire and usurpation?

I, at all events, am a talking parrot, not a hunting falcon, the hawk's jesses are not rightly placed on the legs of parrots.

Why do you imprison me, as from my secret heart there is an evident fastening (of grief) fixed upon the door of my heart's fortress.

Loose my bonds, and by way of conquering the fortress, fix

[1] As regards the word كسوف *kusūf* it is generally held that this word is more specially applicable to an eclipse of the sun while خسوف *khusūf* is applied to denote an eclipse of the moon. The *Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt* applies it to either: while the *Kashshāf Iṣṭilāḥāt-i-Funūn* lays down that كسوف should be used to denote a total eclipse, and خسوف a partial eclipse; كسوف moreover indicating only a change of colour, while خسوف denotes a total loss of colour. *Lane* however says they both mean the same, or that "in the common conventional language الكسوف is the partial loss of the light of the sun, and الخسوف is the total loss of the light thereof," and it is said in a tradition.

ان الشمس والقمر لا ينخسفان لموت احد او لحياته

As ك is a much earlier letter than خ it is probable that originally at all events كسوف stood for an eclipse either of the sun or moon, the meaning being subsequently modified for convenience.

[2] Compare the Hindū mythological monster Rāhu.

The name Rāhu by which the ascending node is designated is properly mythological and belongs to the monster in the heavens which, by the ancient Hindūs, as by more than one other people, was believed to occasion the eclipses of the sun and moon by attempting to devour them. Burgess, *Sūrya Siddhānta*, p. 50.

Mythologically Rāhu is a Daitya who is supposed to seize the sun and moon and swallow them thus obscuring their rays and causing eclipses. Rāhu and Ketu are in astronomy the ascending and descending nodes. Rāhu is the cause of eclipses and is used to designate the eclipse itself. (Dowson *Dict. of Hindu Mythology*, p. 252.)

the bond of thy heart upon the mercy of the threshold of the Creator.

My heart was wounded by the tyranny and oppression of the heaven, now the chain wounds my leg as well as my heart

No one has seen half a dāng weight of gold in my possession,

And, even if he has, I would not willingly undergo imprisonment for the sake of it [1]

Gold has no value in my sight, how can I pledge it like a usurer so as to get twelve for every ten

I have eloquence like pure gold, another man has gold itself,

Open your hand in bounty to me, and keep him imprisoned

Do not keep me so long in suspense waiting for my release,

My imprisonment has turned my blood to water in this weary waiting

At least kill this hapless innocent with the sword of thy wrath,

113. But do not imprison me, for imprisonment kills me [2] with its perpetual agony.

My name has become famous for eloquence from east to west,

Is it fitting to put fetters on the feet of such a famous poet?

Wisdom said to me long ago by way of advice,

Chain thyself at the threshold of the victorious king.

I was indulging in these hopes, when the king himself shewed kindness and imprisoned this miserable one as though he were a murderer.

You may be quite sure that imprisonment is not required in that place in which the seal of the treasury was opened by his generosity

First thou didst fasten, then thou didst loosen,[3] Oh! noble bounty! I carry the fetters from thy door into the presence of the Almighty as a memorial

It was the sword of royalty [which loosened them] by the

[1] MS (A)

در بند من نه دیده کسی نیم دانگ زر

ور دید بهران نکسم اختیار بند

In MS (B), the first line is like the text, the second like MS (A)

[2] MS (A) مي‌کشیدم

[3] MS (A) بازکشاده

mercy of the Most Bountiful; had that not been so the imprisonment would have utterly ruined me.

Since[1] you 'Amīd girt the loins of loyalty in the service of the throne, therefore by his care the days of your imprisonment were brought to a happy termination

As long as the young and sprightly maidens to the distraction of their lovers, have purposely bound their cheeks with the chain of youthful bloom.

So long may the door of good fortune be closed in every direction to your enemies,

And by the sword may the bars of both fortresses be opened.

QAṢĪDA.

My eye is the boundless ocean, the thought of my heart is a bark,

In sorrow my bark sets forth on the floods as they flow from my eyes.

Night and day I float in the flood of tears, how can my bark live in the midst of the raging billows of blood? 114

How can I expect to win my desire from the vile wörld?

How can I launch my bark on the surface of a gutter?

Although my bark in this ocean, now sails on and now lies at rest, sailing with the seven sails,[2] and resting on the four anchors.[3]

1 MS. (A) چون

The text as it stands must be translated, If thou hadst girt . . . would have been brought &c.

It is evident from this Qaṣīda that 'Amīd Lomakī was imprisoned, but I can find no reference to it in the account of him given in the *Majma'u-l-Fuṣaḥā*.

2 The seven sails here appear to mean the seven members of the body, known as the هفت اندام *haft andām* (1) the head, (2) the chest, (3) the back, (5) and (6) the two hands, (7) the feet *or* (1) the brain, (2) the heart, (3) the liver, (4) the spleen, (5) lungs, (6) gall bladder, (7) stomach.

This name was also given to a vein by section of which it was supposed that blood was withdrawn from the seven members first mentioned.

3 The four anchors are the four "humours," according to the old humoral pathology الدم *ad-dam* The blood البلغم *al-balgham* The phlegm. الصفراء *aṣ-ṣafrā'*. The bile السوداء *as-saudā'*. The black bile.

The four anchors may however be taken to be the four elements, earth, air, fire, and water

Of what use to me are those sails and those anchors,
If my bark is suddenly overwhelmed by the billows of death?
In this age I sought fidelity from the tyrannical,
Who has ever seen a boat on the Jihūn in the month of Mehrgān[1]
In front of the claws of this crab[2] and the revolution of the nine heavens, loosen[3] thy four anchors and then launch thy bark
The sea-monster of avarice of my soul turns back, otherwise[4] one might drag the boat to the shore by some contrivance.
With the exception of the philosophers how can anyone

1. "In former times (says Albīrūnī) this day (Mihrajān) used to coincide with the beginning of winter" at which time the Jihūn would be frozen and unfit for navigation owing to the intense cold. Yāqūt states that in the winter the Jihūn freezes so hard that the ice is five spans (about 40 inches) thick, that the people dig wells through the ice with pick-axes to get water, and that caravans and carts cross the ice, which become like a high road covered with dust. This continues two months. Concerning the word Mihrgān, the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* says, "Mihrgān is the seventh month of the Shamsī year, which corresponds with the position of the sun in Libra, which is the beginning of autumn. The feast of Mihrgān is the next greatest feast among the Persians to that of Nauroz, and, like this latter feast, is divided into two, *Mihrgān-i-khaṣṣa* and *Mihrgān-i-'āmma*; the feast of Mihrgān lasts for six days beginning from the sixteenth of the month. It is said that God Almighty laid out the world on the 21st and endowed bodies with souls on that day. They say also that Farīdūn ascended the throne on that day. The meaning of Mihrgān is *the binding of affection* (محبت پیوستن) and it was so called because for the above reasons the people were treated kindly by their rulers on that day.

Others again say that there was a king of the Persians named Mihr who was a great tyrant and was consigned to hell in the middle of this month, so that they called it Mihrgān in the meaning of *death of a tyrannical king*. (*Burhān-i Qāṭi*)

According to others Mihr is the name of the sun, who is said to have for the first time appeared to the world on this day. This is indicated by the custom of the Kisrās of crowning themselves on this day with a crown on which was worked an image of the sun and of the wheel on which he rotates.—(Albīrūnī).

See also Albīrūnī (*Chron. of Ancient Nations*), p. 208 and seqq.

2 At the commencement of spring when the Sun enters Cancer; *i.e.*, March 21st

3 بگشا و

4 MSS (A) and (B) have, ورنه

guide the ship out of the whirlpool of this world to its final haven of refuge.[1]

Do not set thy heart upon the ebony[2]-like world, because a ship built of ebony is overwhelmed in the sea of this worthless world

Do not seek for safety when loaded with boastfulness

For an overloaded ship is speedily wrecked.

Seek security from sorrow at that time when you have been wise enough to make, as I have, a ship from the planks of the praise of thy lord.

The centre of kingship of land and sea Tāju-l-Haqq, who made a ship of safety for traversing the ocean (Qulzum) of sorrow. 115.

Sinjar[3] who is like the sky in dignity, in fear of whom sedition navigated its ship in the direction of the crossing of the ocean of Qairawān.[4]

1 سوی حاصل عقبیٰ.

2 He compares the world to ebony because of its blackness indicating misfortune Ebony آبنوس is said in the *Burhān-i-Qāti'* to be "a black wood which when placed upon the fire emits a pleasant smell like the عود ('ūd) or aloes, when rubbed down with water and used as a collyrium it relieves night blindness, given internally it dispels calculus of the bladder."

The *Bahru-l-Jawāhir* says that ebony "is a black wood which sinks when thrown into water," hence the poet assumes a ship built of ebony would sink.

3 Abul Hāris Sinjar Ibn Malakshah ibn Alp Arslān was Sultān of Khurāsān, Ghazna and Māwarāu-n-Nahr. He was the sixth of the Seljūq Sultāns,

He was excessively liberal, and was supposed to be wealthier than any of the Persian kings. He was defeated and taken prisoner by the Ghuzz tribe in 548 A. H. (1153 A.D.) but eventually escaped and was at the time of his death in 555 A H on the point of recovering his throne He was born according to Ibn Khalliqān in A H 479, in the environs of Sinjār whence he received his name. One authority places his death in the year 552. He died at Merv See Ibn Khalliqān (de Slane) I. 600

See also D' Herbelot art *Sangiar*. Vol. III, p 202, *et seqq.*

4 Qairawān, Long. 10° E. Lat. 36 N. is situated in the North of Africa, in the province of Tunis It is the ancient Cyrene, the modern Kairwān. At the commencement of the Musulman occupation it was the capital of Africa *See* Abul Feda (Renaud) II. i 198 The ocean of Qairawān is the Mediterranean.

In Abul Feda (Annales), we find that Qairawān was founded in the year 50 H. (665–666 A.D.) and was completed five years later

From the breeze of his smile in the ocean, the ship produces from every dry stick the branch of saffron.[1]

When his auspicious prow turns towards the ocean the ship looks like a pearl emerging from the sea.

The heaven offers itself as his ladder when, arriving near the shore, the ship stands in need of a ladder.

At that time when his ship floats over the crimson tide of the blood of his brave enemies,

If we look, it appears as though his ship crosses over the dry (sparkling) water of the points of daggers and spears

Thy enemy saw his life like a snare (from which he must escape) and the ship of his desire shattered to pieces by thy bond-loosening arrow.[2]

By the good fortune of thy arrival the ship sails along on its breast, on the tops of the waves to the very highest heavens[3]

Thy dagger lays open the breast of thy envious enemies just as, by means of its keel, the ship opens the lips of the waves and the mouth of the ocean,

At that time when, in pursuit of the punishment of thine enemies, the morning breezes hasten their march and thy ship goes with slackened rein.

116. From this lake Khusrū demanded a ship (ode),

Saying such and such a ship is fit for this wide ocean.

I obediently set it sailing over the face of that ocean,

Although that ship was not fitted for such a sea.

When the sea of my mind burst into waves in thy praise, I made the word کشتی (*kishtī*) the *radīf* by way of trial.

If the ship had not been like a fish, tongueless in its essence

It would not have addressed me except as "Ocean of benevolence and mine of eloquence"

Among the profoundly learned is there anyone better than

[1] See page 1., *note* 2

[2] MS (A).

زتیر بند شگافش حیات را دشمن
چودام دید همهٔ رخنه ایرمان کشتی

MS (P) has the same with the exception of رخن for رخنه in line 2

[3] MS. (A) and MS (B) both have wrong readings of these lines.

'Amid who has launched his ship from the Nile of excellence into this Clysma[1] of eloquence.

Always, as long as in the shape of the crescent moon, with each new month, the ship appears on the bosom of the ocean of the sky,

May thy boat of wine, bright as the sun, and liquid as fire, float upon the water of delight for ever and ever.

QAṢĪDA.

Happy art thou! at the sight of whose maddening glances the stag is intoxicated

The snood of whose musk-fragrant ringlets puts the stag to shame.

The eye of the narcissus is embarrassed by thy glances

The stag is harassed by envy of those muskladen locks.

Though the stag roamed round the garden a hundred times he saw no bed of violets to equal the bloom on thy cheeks.

What magical power is there in that eye which, with one
glance,[2] captivates hearts from within and hunts the stag 117.
from without.

From envy of the musk-coloured spot[3] which stands like a drop of dew upon thy rose-like cheek, the stag without respite nurses a lacerated heart in his breast.

[1] The بحرقلزم *Bahr-i-Qulzum* Clysma The Gulf of Heroöpolis, or Western Gulf of the Red Sea, through which the Israelites passed on dry land. It is the modern Gulf of Suez, and it is probable that Suez occupies the site of the ancient town of Clysma Epiphanius mentions *τὸ κάστρον τοῦ κλύσματος* as one of the three ports of the Red Sea, the others being Elath and Berenice.

There was in ancient times a fork or arm of the sea of which the "Bitter Lakes" are remains The canal of Trajan beginning at Babylon entered the Red Sea at Clysmon.

[2] MS (A) (B) از غمزۀ

[3] *Cf.* يا حياتي حين يرضى و مماتي حين يسخط
آه من ورد على خديک بالمسك منقط
بين اجفانك سلطان على ضعفي مسلط

Thou my life art when thou smilest
But my death when thou art angered.
Ah! thy cheek like summer roses
With the grains of musk be sprinkled!

Needs must that with those two love fascinated eyes,
The stag should endeavour to protect himself from the snares of thy locks
When the story of thy fragrant tresses reached him,
The stag curtailed his narration of the bag of musk.
The stag suffered from the effects of the intoxication of thine eyes,
And he got rid of his headache by drinking of the cup of the assembly of the world-subduer.
The auspicious lion, protector of the crown of true religion, Sinjar,
In whose estimation the fierce lion of the sky is but a stag
The stag thought right to carry a fragrant ball of camphor [1] taken from the dust of his threshold, to Khitā as a memorial.
Perhaps it was from the dust of his dignity which became [2] the ornament of the sun, that the stag obtained superiority over the wild beasts by reason of his musk-bag.
Happy art thou star-arrowed one, whom the demon-hearted fear and shun as [3] the stag avoids the lion.
An enemy who falls into thy clutches does not escape;
Who has ever known the stag to escape from the claws of the lion?
At that time the stag prided himself upon being fleeter than
118 thy charger, now in sooth the stag is ashamed of his slow-footedness.
At the time of attack, how can the stag in spite of all his efforts, reach the dust which is thrown up by thy charger's hoofs?
Think it not strange if from the abundance of his bounty, the lynx goes slowly on foot, and the stag swiftly like a horse man.

'Twixt thine eyelids reigns a Sultān,
Helpless, lo! I bow before him.

This comparison of the mole on a cheek to grains of musk is one of the commonest similes among Persian poets.

[1] The sun is called شمامهٔ کافور *shamāma-i-kāfūr*.

[2] بود MS. (A).

[3] MS. A. چو.

Compared with the fragrance of thy goodness how can the stag boast [1] of the dried blood of his navel in Tātār.

By the side of thy words which are like an antidote, I have no fear, even though the stag shall become like to one that feeds on snakes [2]

His food is the snake, but afterwards like the elk, besides the antidote, the stag offers in every direction the bag of musk.

In the land in which thou art, by reason of thy great justice the lynx sits sorrowful, and the stag stands to comfort him.

The day that thou pursuest him he shews only his right shoulder when the stag rushes from the right to the left of thy army.

In reliance upon thee if a stag were to cherish a young lion in its bosom it would be no wonder.

What power have two hundred enemies against thy prowess?

What does the hunting leopard think of a head of a thousand stags?

Thy enemy will be able to engage in conflict with thee.

At that time when the stag's horns are capable of fighting the lion.

1 MS. (A) نازکند.

2 The elk is said to feed on snakes and the water which collects at the corners of the eye (inner canthus) is reputed an antidote for all poisons. (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*).

The following is abridged from the *Ḥaiātu-l-Ḥaiwān* "The stag is fond of snakes which it eats wherever it can find them, commencing from the tail of the snake. Sometimes the stag gets bitten by the snake in which case its tears flow down, and fill two hollows beneath its eyes large enough to contain the finger, here they congeal and become solid like wax. This wax is used as an antidote against the poison of snakes and scorpions, and when given by the mouth is useful as a remedy for other poisons. The stag also eats crabs, and hunts for fish by walking along the margin of the lake or river, when the fish come out of curiosity to see it, this fact is made use of by fishermen who are wont to dress in the skin of the stag.

The horns of the stag, which are shed yearly, are of great service to mankind, more especially as a remedy for impotence, and to facilitate parturition. If a portion is burned and administered mixed with honey it acts as a vermifuge, and when used as a dentifrice removes discoloration of the teeth. Used for fumigation it drives away reptiles and other venomous animals. If a portion is hung round the neck, the wearer will not sleep so long as it remains there. A draught of the stag's blood dissolves stone in the bladder."

119. In the meadow of thy favour the stag has never seen his quarters and sides as thin as his legs.

Conqueror of the world, I have bound "The stag"[1] with thirty-three couplets in thy praise by way of experiment as though it were a camel.

It is fitting that the word "musk deer" should be repeated as *radif* a hundred times since thou hast sent me in thy kindness a stag twice.

Formerly the stag thought of nothing but the musk-bag, now he makes the glory of thy praise his constant occupation.

'Amīd has opened the musk-bag of wisdom in singing thy praises, like the musk-bag upon which the stag prides itself.[2]

Always, as long as men search for musk on the surface of the ground, and no musk deer lays aside its power of producing musk,

May the perfection of thy justice reach such a height that the stag may extract musk from the hunting leopard

Mayest thou roam at large and enjoy thyself in the meadow of fortune, just as the stag roams over the meadows in spring time

Fasting has made his form which was like the Nārwan[3] slender as a reed, and has made his face which was red as the Arghawān[4] pale like the saffron.

1 The word آهو *āhū* stag, occurs in every couplet of this qaṣīda.

2 مشک *mushk* is said to be the congealed blood of the navel of the stag of Khitā (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* and *Makhzanu-l-Adwiya*). The latter work says "It is very difficult to procure genuine musk, it is only brought as a great rarity as a present to kings and great rulers mixed with saffron and a little camphor as a remedy for headache, and is used alone or with other drugs such as the testicles of the beaver (Castoreum) as a stimulant snuff in paralysis and other cold diseases of the brain, for which it is also used by inunction Smelling it removes the evil effects of poisons, especially of *bīsh* (aconite) and *qurūnu-s-sumbul* (?) It is also very useful as a collyrium in many diseases of the eye.

It is a cardiac tonic removing palpitation, and faintness, relieves dysentery and globulent distension A suppository of musk assists parturition"

See also Ibn Baiṭār (Sontheimer) Vol II pp 513 *et seqq.* for a full account of the statements of various authors regarding musk.

3 ناروَن The Nārwan is described in the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* as a very graceful tree with abundance of leaves, called also گلنار *Gulnar.*

4 ارغوان The Arghawān according to the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* is a tree with

How can it be saffron for it has not made me smile.[1]

Fasting has made my cheek yellow like the Zarir[2] through weeping, and my tears red as the Arghawān.

How can it be a tulip, for fasting makes his cheek like the Khiri[3] 120.

How can it be a cypress, when fasting makes it weak and tremulous?[4]

brilliant red flowers, a drink made of which removes the effects of intoxication The wood is burned and used as a pencil for the eyebrows which it causes to grow and become black. Ibn-Baiṭār (Sontheimer) says, (Vol. I. p 28)

"The tree is very abundant in Iṣfahān and bears brilliantly red flowers which are edible, having a sweet taste which is communicated to wine. The wood is soft and when burnt yields a black ash which is used as a cosmatic The decoction of the root bark when drunk is a certain emetic" Sontheimer does not give the botanical name. See *note* 4 page 109.

[1] *See* p 41, *n* 2

[2] زرير *Zarīr* The *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* says this is "a herb with which they dye clothes, it is called also *asparag* (اسپرگ) According to some however it is the leaf of *Zard choba* (turmeric) some other authors say it is a flower. It is also the name given to the bile, and also to jaundice (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*)

In Vullers we find اسرگ (*Asparaq*) herba flava tingendo inserviens, alias زرير (*Zarīr*) or ورس (*wars*).

According to Ibn Baiṭār, (Sontheimer) ورس *wars* is Memecylon tinctorium—N O Melastomaceæ, regarding which Drury in his *Useful plants of India*, page 291, says, "The leaves are used in dyeing affording a delicate yellow lake they are also good for dyeing clothes red ..by itself it gives an evanescent yellow.

[3] خيري A flower of which there are many varieties

خيري خطائي *Khīrī-i-Khiṭā'ī* — is dark purple

خيري ميرديني *Khīrī-i-Mīrdīnī* — is violet. It is also called هفت رنگ *Haft rang*

خيري صحرائي *Khīrī-i-Ṣaḥrā'ī* — is red and white; called also خيري خرامي *Khīrī-i-Khirāmī.*

خيري شيرازي *Khīrī-i-Shīrāzī* — is yellow, called also گل هميشه بهار *Guli hamesha bahār* and in Arabic عصفير *'Aṣfīr* (*Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*).

See also Vullers.

According to Ibn Baiṭār (Sontheimer) this plant is the wall flower *Cheiranthus Cheiri* N O Cruciferæ

[4] MSS. A and B have توان. The text reads نوان which is a better reading

His form stately as the Nārwan is bowed like the reed,

Has any one ever seen fasting proceed from the Nārwan and cypress of the garden?

Till his face, which was like a full-blown rose, drew back again into the bud there was no certainty that the rose and the garden had commenced their fast.

Till his full moon once more became a crescent moon[1] who had clearly seen fasting overtaking the sun and moon of the heavens.

The shaft of grief is broken in my heart, for his stature has been brought by fasting from the straight form of an arrow to the shape of a bent bow

It is two days since I have seen jar upon jar of sugar[2] in that very moment when fasting set its seal upon his lips.

I am in astonishment at her sugar-distilling lip which is like the pistachio, for there is sugar in the jar on each side and fasting in the middle.

Because of her love her mouth is less than an atom, nay even less than the minutest atom, can any one imagine that a minute particle such as this can endure fasting.

Look! how marvellous it is with what skill she imprisons fasting between those particles of ruby which scatter sweetness.

With a glance she drinks my heart's blood because she thinks that by taking a draught of blood she will openly break her fast.

121. This heart of mine is faint with longing for her lips.

In this desire that I may break my fast with the seeds of the pomegranate.[3]

1 The text has هلاک MSS. A. B. have هلال which is right.

2 Nizāmī Ganjamī says.

تنگ شکر tangshakar, means the lip of a mistress, and also a sugar jar of special form having a very narrow mouth.

تنگ شکر زتنگي شکرش

تنگ دل ترز حلقهٔ کمرش

The heart of the jar of sugar from the tightness of her honied lips, is more tightly bound than is the cincture of her waist.

3 Cf. Nizāmī (*Sikandarnāma*).

Haply she has hung the amulet on her silvery mouse-like neck, so that wisdom like a fasting cat has been compelled to remain fasting.[1]

My tongue has become dry like that of one fasting in advising her.

For thy form is like a fresh blown rose, fasting is the autumn wind (which withers it).

Although thou openest thy lips like a bud which had been closed by fasting, just as I broke my fast at the table of the praise of my Lord;

The ocean of benevolence champion of the truth, round the table of whose bounty men and genii broke their fast;

Muḥammad whose vanguard is like destiny, the joints of whose spear broke their fast with the blood of the enemies (trickling down) from the point

He, whose right hand is like that of Isfandiyār, has also, from the liberality of his hand, caused the age[2] to break its fast on this side of the seven stages.

Before the generosity of his heart, the ocean and the mine, have, in their utter povérty, considered fasting to be their bounden duty.

Hail O King! in whose just reign the wolf, as though it were a shepherd, has kept its fast to secure the safety of the flock.

Thou art like the two first fingers,[3] a close companion of the heavens, just as fasting goes hand-in-hand with prayer.

Thy existence is the twin brother of kingdom, just as fasting is the twin brother of *Zakāt*, *Ḥajj* and '*Umrah*.[4]

لب از ناردانه دلاویزتر
زبان از طبرزد شکر ریزتر

A lip more alluring than the seed of the pomegranate
A tongue far sweeter than the whitest sugar.

A favourite simile with Persian poets.

1 These couplets occur in this order in MSS. A and B.

2 MS (A) reads دهر كشاده which is the reading adopted here.

3 وسطى سبابة The forefinger and middle finger which are most commonly used together to oppose the thumb

4 زكوٰة *Zakāt* or almsgiving is one of the five foundations of practical religion, Qur'ān ii 77. وَقُولُوا لِلنَّاسِ حُسْنًا وَأَقِيمُوا الصَّلَوٰةَ وَآتُوا الزَّكَوٰةَ.

"And speak to men kindly, and be steadfast in prayer and give alms"
The proportion to be given varies with the different kinds of property.

122\. The breeze of thy good qualities like the fragrance of the perfume of the breath of the faster,[1] has carried fasting as a special offering to the garden of Paradise.

Thou hast cast out the custom of tyranny from the kingdoms under thy sway, inasmuch as thou hast relieved waste countries of taxes, and excused the feeble from fasting

The spirit of man is often broken by the vicissitudes of the heavens[2] just as his bodily fast is broken by bread

In this time no one, from the time of Jamshīd till now, remembers fasting at the table of such a host as thou art

At the smell of the table of thy bounty the guest has considered it incumbent upon him, whether in the feast or in the fray, to fast from food of all kinds

The bird of thy arrow has broken its fast, like the gnat of Nimrūd on the brain of thy enemy in the cup of the skull (the cup of vapours).

For the maintenance of thy kingdom, young and old have fasted, both the old and the new creation

The revolution of this six-storied world is full of the mention of thy glory, just as fasting fills the seven members of the body in this darkness

Hajj The Pilgrimage to Mecca which is incumbent upon all Muslims who have the necessary means

'*Umrah* The lesser pilgrimage, which may be performed at any time except during the 8th, 9th, and 10th days of Zūl Hijjah *See* Hughes (*Dict. of Islām*)

1 نسیم خلق تو چون طیب مشکبوی خلوف *Text.* (MSS A and B read چون طشت مشکبوی خلوق

خُلُوف *khulūf* is defined as the smell of the breath of one who fasts

A Hadis says

خُلُوف و فم الصائم اطیب عند الله من الطیب.

The breath of one fasting is sweeter in the sight of God than sweet smelling savour

See also Lane *Art* خلف It became altered (for the worse).

The Qāmūs, says

وخَلَفَ فم الصائم خلوفاً وخلوفةً تغیرت رائحته

2 Both MSS (A) and (B) agree with the text. I take the word اباهات *abāhāt* to be a plural formed by Badāonī on the analogy of امهات *ummahat*, and to stand for the نه آبای علویه *nuh ābā-i-'ulwiya*, the nine heavens

On this earth, the worlds children (have fasted) with such endurance that the spiritual beings will never be able to break the fast.

I stood before thee with my loins girt in honest service, as though fasting, because fasting is not one of my objects, neither openly nor in secret.[1]

My manliness actuated by ambition bowed the knee to me[2] and said, 123

Imagine that both your pen and your finger tips are fasting

The claims of thy generosity caused me to break my fast[3] and consume my time, had it not been for that I would have speedily imposed a fast upon my words.

Had not the praise of thee been the sustenance of my powers of speech how could the point of my tongue have broken its fast by breaking into poetry?

Like the parrot, my first morning food[4] is the sugar of gratitude to thee, not like the *humā* do I break my fast upon bones

Who is able to break his fast in this way at the time of bringing in the "*radīf*" better than 'Amīd, with the draught of trial.

He has broken his fast with a feather from the wing of the bird of praise, because at this time fasting is the best nest for the bird of praise

MS (A) reads زبایزید نه پیدا ونه نہان روزہ MS (B) reads ....زبانوید.... the reading in the text is

زمانہ بری وپیدا ودی نہان روزہ

All of these readings appear to be corrupt and the following reading seems reasonable, and has been adopted in the translation

زماںرید نه پیدا وی نہان روزہ

[2] The text reads شمار برد but MSS (A) and (B) read نماز برد

[3] مفطر MS (A)

[4] "The following is the routine of a fast day About half an hour after midnight, the gun sounds its warning to faithful men that it is time to prepare for the *Sahūr* (سحور) or morning meal" (Burton's *Mecca* I. p 110 note) see also Lane's *Modern Egyptians* for the observances of the month of Ramazan

Always, as long as fasting brings as its reward from the bounty and mercy of God, a hidden treasure worth a hundred princely treasures,

Mayest thou be famed [1] for generosity and kindness in this world, for fasting points the way to the highest heaven.

Another Qaṣīda.

I, who have made my dwelling in a corner like the Simurgh [2]

I have made my nest beyond the axis of earthly sphere.

Why do I bear the shame of every bird in this ill-omened land? [3]

124. I have gone like the 'Anqā [4] and have made my resting place in the mountains

[1] MS (A) reads نشانه instead of فسانه as in the Text

[2] The bird of the mountain of Alburz which nourished Zāl when he was abandoned there by order of his father Sām, and taught him the language of the country On restoring Zāl to his father she gave him a feather from her wing and said "Whenever thou art involved in any difficulty or danger put this feather on the fire and I will instantly appear to thee to ensure thy safety" See *Shāh Nāma* (Atkinson) p 75 *Shāhnāma*, Turner Macan, Ed. I. pp 97 *et seqq.*

[3] There is a play on the word بوم here which cannot be preserved.

[4] Another name for the Sīmurgh, and a synonym for anything rare and unattainable (See *Burhān i-Qāti'* under the name عنقای مغرب)

There is a long account of the 'Anqā in the *Hayatu-l-Haiwān* where it says on the authority of Qazwīnī that the Anqā is the largest of all birds which can seize an elephant as easily as a kite snatches up a rat It once lived among men, but caused them so much annoyance that by the prayers of a holy prophet it was banished to an uninhabited island in mid ocean beyond the Equator, full of enormous animals When the 'Anqā flies there is a sound like thunder and floods It lives 2000 years, and pairs at the age of 500 It is said that the claws are made into large drinking cups A description of the mode of capturing the 'Anqā is also given but is too long to quote

Among the proverbs of the Arabs one is حلقت به عنقاء مغرب which is said of any one of whose reformation there is no hope "May the Anqā fly away with him"

They also say الجود و الغول و العنقا ثلاثة اسما اشيا لم توجد و لم تكن Liberality, the Ghul and the Anqā are three names of things unattainable and non-existent

To dream of the 'Anqā is also said to ensure marrying a beautiful woman or if already married, to ensure having a brave son.

Until the bird of my ambition swoops down upon the harvest of the lower world, I have made the harvest field of the sky full of grain-like stars.

Why does the moon display the halo-harvest when it does not shew a single grain to any one, whereas I with one single grain of manliness have bound many a sheaf.

By the light of the knowledge of God, I have made the newly wedded virgin bride of reality to shine in the chamber of wisdom with the brilliancy of the day.

The course of the heavenly bodies in the columns of the almanac of the Creation, I have proved one by one by comparison with the astronomical tables[1] of intellect.

In the bridle of four rings, that is the trappings of the four elements, great is the training which I have given the unruly steed of my passions.

I have made the parrot of my soul, whose cage is the form of this uncouth body which is like a midden, every moment to rival the nightingale of the verdant[2] garden

The parrot has left for the garden, the kite of lust which is following it circling round and round my nature I have detained within the midden of the body

In many an art for which[3] the scientists had no taste

I have made as great progress, hundred fold as they are, as a man who follows but one art

My intellect has served to light the lamp of the treasure of science, I have made my skill the oil which supplies the light to the wick.[4]

The jewel of the secret of reality has been acquired in such 125
a (perfect) way that I have made my mind the storehouse of the treasury of secret knowledge

Once by way of vaunting in the rose-garden of desire,

1 The text (and also MS. B) has an absurd reading بردریج the real reading is نزد زیج as is seen in MS (A)

2 سبز گلشن MS. (A) There is a verbal antithesis between گلشن (*gulshan*) garden and گلخن *gulkhan* dust heap in the Persian which I have attempted to imitate by the words *garden* and *midden*.

3 MS (A) کزان The text and MS. (B) read گران.

4 MS. (A) and (B) both read درمغیلش The text has درمدبلش

I displayed the brilliancy of my skill particoloured like the peacock.

The falcon of the Divine indignation smote me with its talons from its hiding-place, so that I took refuge in a corner like the pigeon.

They would have shewn me the way (and have bidden me walk) in this solitary windowless tower

Had not my ambition carried me far beyond the seven windows (of the sky)

A tower, narrow, ay! at that time even narrower than my heart, (so narrow that) you would say I am a cord and have given myself a place in the eye of a needle.

It is the constellation of the Archer, and I am like the Sun, and have by my cold sighs changed the bright spring of the world into the bitter cold of winter.[1]

This was not all, the good tidings of my bad fortune brought to me the blacksmith, to whom I said—Strike off my head in return for the blood which is upon my head.

The splendour and comfort of the golden-throned sun is my desert,

Whereas I am resting upon a (hard) iron (prison) seat

The seven-headed dragon (*The Sky*) hides its head (in astonishment) to see that I have brought this two-headed serpent (*night and day*) under my skirt

They determine for me an imprisonment like that of Bizhan in the well of tyranny I have not seen Manizha[2] nor have I committed the crime of Bizhan

[1] The Sun enters the constellation of Sagittarius in the commencement of the winter

[2] The daughter of Afrasiyab When Bizhan undertook to clear the country of Armān of its plague of wild hogs, after fulfilling his task he was led by the machinations of his companion Girgīn, who was jealous of him, to intrude upon the retirement of Manizha, the beautiful daughter of Afrāsiyāb, and press his suit, which he did with such success that after some time their amour was discovered and Gersiwāz was sent by Afrāsiyāb to put Bīzhan to death by the intercession of Pīrān the punishment was averted, but Bīzhan was imprisoned in a deep pit At first Manīzha was condemned to undergo the same punishment but her doom was changed and she was allowed to dwell near the pit, all the people being forbidden by proclamation to supply her with food Eventually, by the help of Rustum, Bīzhan was freed and he and Manīzha went to Irān together. (See Atkinson's *Shāh Nāmah*, pp 300 and *seqq*) See also page 116 *note* 5

Patience has the strength of Rustum,[1] as one may say,
I have entrusted the strength necessary for my release to the arm of Rustum-like patience.
All of my companions are free to follow their occupations while I am fast in prison,
God forbid I should be the only one of all mankind to have committed this fault 126.
The times are out of joint, if not how can the following of the Ishrāqi philosophy[2] which I followed so excellently have thrown me into misfortune?
The shaft of the tyrannical heavens passed through and through from the back, although I had armed my breast with the cuirass of patience
My body longs for food in the captivity of sorrow, and I have prepared for its support my blood as its drink, and my heart as its meat
Once I was like the tulip in complaining, but then afterwards I made myself like the lily ten-tongued (but silent).[3]
Like the violet I have let my head fall forward (in sorrow) from dearth of benefactors, and though like the lily I have ten tongues I am become dumb in thy praise
I am suffering the punishment of my words, because in my

[1] Rustum extricated Bīzhan from the pit by drawing him up with his *amand* or lasso

[2] اشراقية The Illuminati A sect of Philosophers, of whom Plato was one, who, instead of following the precepts of any revealed law, looked to their own proper inspiration and mental illumination, which they held to be the result of spiritual meditation Haji Khalīfah, III p. 87, writes as follows. "*Philosophia illuminationis (Hekmet el-ishrâk) sive Neo Platonica inter veteres disciplinas philosophicas eundem locum tenet quem Theosophia inter doctrinas Islami simili modo, quo philosophia physica et theologica inter illas disciplinas locum tenet quem theologia dogmatico-scholastica inter has.*

In the شرح منظومة by حاجي ملا هادي سبزواري we find Philosophers are of four kinds,—those who arrive at wisdom simply by meditation, those who arrive at it simply by purification of the mind by seclusion and retirement, those who arrive at it by combining these two These last are called the Ishrāqī sect.

See Ḥājī Khalīfāh علم الحكمة See also de Slane, *Proleg* Ibn Khal III 167.

[3] The MS (A) has حيشتن را ده زبان The text follows MS (B).
See *note* 1 page 101.

lying flattery I have made every beggar a king,' and have made the (worthless) Lādan [1] into frankincense.

At one time I have proclaimed Suhā [2] superior in brilliancy to the moon,

At another I have scorned the river as being inferior to the drippings of a sieve.[3]

I have made friends with Avarice, like 'Amīd from the lust for blood, and for that reason I have made contentment my enemy.

I have subjected my spirit, which is like a high mettled horse, to the burthen of labour, because of the tyranny and meanness of the heavens, see now what a jade he has become

7. I have made barren my truth-adorning heart and my jewel-producing nature, without the help of *Qitrān*,[4] not now only but long ago.

1 لادن *Ladan* The resinous balsamic juice of *Cistus creticus* and other species, according to the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* it is called also عنبر عسلی *Honey-ambergris* and is used in medicine. It is the juice of a plant growing in sandy soil, of which goats are very fond, and their hair becomes covered with the exudation, the best is collected from their beards, *si femina quædam, cui in utero fœtus mortuus sit, vaginam suam vapore ladani vaporaverit, fœtus ille mortuus illico excidit* See also Ibn Baiṭār (Sontheimer) I p 499

It is the לֹט of Genesis xxxvii 25 and xliii 11, where it is translated in our version *myrrh* The Greeks called it στακτή. The true *myrrh* (Ar. مُر *murrun*) is different.

The اشهب *Ashhab* is the white ambergris which was accounted the best.

2 A small obscure star in the Lesser Bear

3 MSS (A) and (B) have فیض عزیزان but فوبزان is a better reading.

4 *Qaṭrān*, the exudation from species of mountain pines, black in colour, used according to the *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* (and *Qāmūs*) for inunction of camels affected with mange It is, according to these, the exudation of the tree called عرعر *'ar'ar*, (Juniper) the properties of which are thus enumerated in the *Makhzanu-l-Adwiya* Deobstruent, diuretic, emmenagogue, relieves cough and chest pains, and pain in the spleen, relieves flatulence, hœmorrhoids, flatulent colic or uterine pains Sitting over a hot infusion of it causes uterine spasm, while a poultice of it is antisudorific I can find no mention in either of these books of its use as an abortifacient It is perhaps *Juniperus Sabina* (Savine) which is powerfully ecbolic According to Ibn Baitār (Sonth) II. p 94, it is *Pinus cedrus*, but this appears to be incorrect *See* also II. p. 189, *sv* عرعر 'Ar'ar.

The word سترون is derived in *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* from استر and ون i.e. mule-like, because mules have no offspring

This one poem[1] of mine is worth a whole *Dīwān* and a hundred caskets of jewels, nay more, every verse of it have I made better than particoloured hair[1]

Imprisonment has brought me to lamentation, and from the delicacy of my speech you see the joy which I have given in the very midst of my lamentation.

Oh Lord, give me my sustenance from the date-tree of thy favour, I have made the bird of my heart to sing the praises of thy Unity

Present me with the robe of honour of thy protection, for thy court is my original refuge, lo I have fled to my refuge.

Keep far from the darkness of infidelity,[2] hypocrisy, hatred and enmity, that heart which I have embellished with the light of sincerity to Thee

Keep thou the Sun of Divine knowledge shining within my heart, for I have made my heart the mine of the jewels of true belief.

SULṬĀN GHIYĀṢU-D-DĪN BALBAN-I-KHURD

Who had the title of Ulugh Khān, by the consent of the Maliks and Amirs adorned the throne by his accession in the Qasr-i-Safed

1 شعر The word شعر here has its double meaning Saifi in his prosody says, 'A bait (poem) is called *bait* for the reason that *bait* means a house and they compare the *bait* of poetry (شعر) with the *bait* of hair (شعر) and he quotes the verses by Abū-l-Alā Ma'rrā

الحسن يظهر في البيتين رونقه بيت من الشعر و بيت من الشعر

The brilliancy of beauty is shewn forth in two tents
The tent of poetry (sha'i) and the tent of hair (shi'r)

2 شرک *Shirk* "Idolatry paganism polytheism" Ascribing plurality to the Deity Associating anything with God

The Wahhābī writers define *Shirk* as of four kinds:

شرک العلم	*Shirku l-'ilm*	Ascribing knowledge to others than God.
شرک التصرف	*Shirku-t-taṣarruf*	Ascribing power to others than God
شرک العبادة	*Shirku-l-'ibādah*	Offering worship to created things
شرک العادة	*Shirku-l-'ādah.*	The performance of ceremonies which imply reliance on others than God.

Hughes. *Dictionary of Islâm*, p 579, Art. *Shirk* 9. v.
See also Qur'ān. xxxv. 88 and xlvi. and 3. and various other places.

(the White Palace) in the year 664 H.[1] He was one of the "Forty Slaves" of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn, each one of whom had attained to the dignity of Amīr. Inasmuch as the reins of government had been in his hands even in the days when he was merely Ulugh Khān, the affairs of the State very quickly came into his grasp. He would not allow people of low origin to have the slightest authority. It is said that a man named Fakhr, who had for years served as chief of the Bāzār, had recourse to one of
128. the Sulṭān's more intimate attendants, and offered a very large sum[2] on the condition that if the Sulṭān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban would speak with him once only, he would give him all this money and valuable property.[3] When this request was represented to the Sulṭān he would not entertain it, and said 'to converse with people of low and mean extraction will lower my prestige.' He was altogether opposed to oppression, and, in the early days of his reign, punished certain of his Amīrs on account of some tyranny which they had practised upon their subjects, and having handed over one or two of them[4] he permitted the complainants to exact retaliation, and after that these Amīrs had paid the blood money, for shame they could never come out of their houses as long as they lived, and at last they left the world.

Verse

Reputation arises from equity and justice,
Oppression and kingship are as the candle and the wind.

And all his praiseworthy qualities may be estimated from this, that he used never to omit the ceremony of purification, and on going into an assembly where one was preaching he used to

1 Of the six years which intervened between the events recorded as having occurred in 658 H. and the accession of Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban there is no known historical record. The *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* of Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Baranī only begins from Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban.

2 MS. (A) has the word مال between تقبيل and بسيار

3 MS. (A) reads نقد و جاس گرانمند

4 بكدوي راسدة According to Firishta one of these was Ḥaidār Khān the Amīr of Oudh, who had killed a man in the fury of intoxication. Balban after enquiry had the Amīr publicly flogged, and delivered him to the widow as a slave. He bought his release with a sum of 20,000 silver tankahs but never left his house afterwards and died from shame. (*See* also Elliott, III. 101.)

display emotion, and weep much, while as regards his treatment of sedition and revolt he used to shew himself a merciless repressor.

> He laid claim to the glory of an Emperor, because of this
> That he adorned the world with wisdom and equity,
> In days of retirement he would wear a blanket;
> And he strove in prayer and supplication
> His eyes fixed upon the ground, his heart boiling like a cauldron;
> A heart eloquent of speech, but a silent tongue,
> Till his heart perceived with the eye of secret knowledge
> All that was visible of these intricate matters.

In this same year of his reign Tātār Khān the son of Arsalān Khān sent from Lakhnautī sixty-three elephants as a present; and in this year the Sultān proceeding to Patīalī [1] and Kanpila, built the forts of Patīalī, Kanpila, Bhojpūr, and certain 129. other forts, and with five thousand cavalry crossed the Ganges on the pretext of making preparation for an expedition to the Jūd hills In two days after leaving Dehli he arrived in the midst of the territory of Kāthar [2] and put to death every male, even those of eight years of age, and bound the women, and inflicted such chastisement that up till the reign of Jalālu-d-Dīn the territory of Badāon and Amroha remained safe from the ravages of the Kātharīs,[3] and he threw open all the roads of Bihār and Jaunpūr, and all the roads of the Eastern part of India which were closed, and made over the territory of Miwāt, which lies in the Doāb, to strong handed governors, with orders to put to death the rebels, which they did, imprisoning some. Then he made an attack in the direction of the country at the foot of the Sintūr

[1] MS (A) پتیالی Patiālī The printed text has بیتالی Betālī.

Patiālī In Aliganj tahsil, 22 miles north of Etah, a ruined fort still exists (Hunter *Imp Gaz*)

Kanpila In Farakhabad district, celebrated in Mahābhārata—(*Imp. Gaz*)

Bhojpūr. The residence of the Ujjainiah Rajahs, west of Arrah and north of Sasseram, a *pargana* in the Sirkār Rohtās Bihār

[2] So also *Tārīkh-i-Firoz Shāhi*. Firishta reads کتیہر Kateher. MS (A) reads کانتہر Kānthar. The district of Rohilkhand is meant

[3] Who Firishta says were notorious robbers and brigands

hills,[1] and built a fort on those boundaries, and having called it Ḥiṣār-i-Nau (New Castle) proceeded to the Jūd hills, and brought an army[2] towards Lāhor, and rebuilt the castle of Lāhor which had been laid waste by the Mughūls in the reign of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d Dīn Bahrām Shāh. Here he became ill, and the news of his illness[3] reached the confines of Lakhnautī, and Tughral, Nāib of Amīn Khān, who had been appointed to succeed Sher Khān in that district, laid the foundation of rebellion, and fought with his master Amīn Khān and came off victorious, and having imprisoned him gathered round himself the paraphernalia of royalty, and gave himself the title of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn, and completely defeated some imperial troops which had been sent to oppose him. Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn brought up an army against Tughral but he went towards Jājnagar and Tārkīla (Nārkīla)[4] and Malik Ikhtiyaru-d-Dīn Beg Birlās[5] was ordered to pursue him, the Rāī of Sunārgām named Dhanūj[6] offering his services to the Sulṭān engaged to bring Tughral, and Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn proceeding by forced marches found Tughral, who had fled into a a jungle,[7] walking about off his guard, and having put him to
130. death sent his head to the court The Sulṭān conferred that kingdom with a canopy and baton of office on his younger son Bughrā Khān, Governor of Sāmāna, who eventually received the

[1] MS. (A) reads كوهاية سنبوز *Kohpaya-i-Sanbūz* This seems to be a copyist's error, but I cannot suggest the true reading. The Kumāon hills must be meant.

[2] حصار نو نام نهاد MS (A)

[3] Neither Firishta nor Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Barnī mention this.

[4] MS. (A) reads در بجرة سرو نشتة and ناركيلة

[5] MS. (A) ملک اختيار الدين تنكرس را Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Tangras *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* calls him Malik Bārbak Bektars Sulṭānī *See* Elliott, III 117, *note*

[6] Called Danūj Rāī in *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* *See* Elliott, III 113, *note*

"The Jājnagar here mentioned was evidently east of the Brahmaputra and corresponds to Tippera. The Sunārgaum, presently mentioned as on the road to Jājnagar, is described by Rennell as being once a large city and now a village on a branch of the Brahmaputra 13 miles S E of Dacca"

It is marked in Rennell's Map given in Vol III of Tieffenthaler "Sonnergong" *See* Map N 6 *See* J A S B, 1874, p. 82.

[7] The printed text and MS. (A) both have كه در جنگلي گريخته مى گشت The above appears to be the meaning.

title of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, and then left for the capital. Since, after the death of Sher Khān (who was uncle's son to the Sulṭān and one of the "Forty Slaves" of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn, and Governor of Lāhor and Dībālpur, and had read the *Khuṭbah* in Ghaznīn in the name of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, the Mughūls during his governorship not daring to invade Hindustān) the road of communication had become opened[1] to the Mughūls, accordingly Sultān Balban, to remedy this, despatched his elder son Sulṭān Muhammad, who is known as the *Khān-i-Shahīd*, and *Qāān-i-Mulk*, (having first conferred upon him a canopy and baton of office, and the signs and insignia of royalty, and having made him his heir-apparent, and giving over Sind with its dependencies to his care) with full equipment towards Multān, and the country right up to Tattha and the seacoast was in his possession Amīr Khusrū and Amīr Hasan of Dehlī remained in his service for five years in Multān, and were enrolled among his intimate companions. On two occasions he sent large sums of gold from Multān to Shīrāz and begged that Shaikh Sa'di,[2] *may God have mercy on him*, would come to live with him. The Shaikh did not come, excusing himself on the score of old age, but commended Mīr Khusrū to the care of the Sulṭān, writing in excessively laudatory terms concerning him, and sent a collection of autograph poems. Sulṭān Muḥammad used to visit Multān every year to see Sultān Balban, and used to return distinguished with robes of honour and all

1 The Calcutta text exactly reverses the meaning by reading وانشده بود Thus losing all the sense of the passage Cf MSS (A) (B)

MS (A) has, correctly, واشده بود

2 Shaikh Sharfu-d-Dīn Muṣliḥ ibn 'Abdu llah as-Sa'dī He was a native of Shīrāz where his family for generations had been famed for eminence in learning He is said to have lived to a great age, accounts differing between 102 and 112 years (Beale says 120) He spent 30 years in acquiring sciences, 30 years in travelling (he made the Hajj fourteen times) and 30 years in quietude He died in the year 691 H (1291 A D) He was the contemporary of many great men, among them Amīr Khusru of Dehlī who entertained him. His Kulliyāt are of world wide reputation. The *Majma'ul Fuṣaḥā* (I 274) from which the above is taken does not give the date of Sa'dī's birth, and gives the date of his death as 791 H which is wrong According to the account given by Beale Sa'dī was born "about the year 571 A H" The above account would however place his birth in either 589 A H or 579 A H Of his works the Gulistān and Būstān are the best known

For a full account of Sa'dī see the preface to Platt's *Gulistān*. *See also Atashkada*, p 284.

possible rewards and distinctions, and on the last occasion on which they were able to meet, the Sultan instructed him in private with excellent counsels and pleasing discourses, which are mentioned in the books of the Histories of Dehli, and having granted him permission to depart sent him to Multān, and in the same year Itimar[1] the Mughūl with thirty thousand horsemen having crossed the Rāvi by the ford of Lāhor caused great commotion in those districts, and the Governor of Lāhor sent a
131. petition to Khān-i-Shahīd[2] telling him of what had occurred. He while in his assembly read 30,000 as 3,000 and, marching with a large force, by rapid and continuous marches arrived at the boundaries of Bāgh-i-Sabz,[3] on the banks of the Lāhor river where he engaged the infidels and attained the dignity of martyrdom. This event took place in Zu-l-Hijjah of the year 683 H,[4] and Mīr Hasan[5] of Dehli composed a prose lament and sent it to Dehli. It is copied here in its very words.

The Lament of Mīr Hasan

It is an old story that the tyrannous sphere, though it may for a time knit the knot of complaisance, and make a covenant of mutual sincerity, turns from its promise, and that discordant time, although it professes to shew acquiescence, and makes specious promises of fidelity, fails to perform them.

The wanton-eyed heaven, the pupil of whose manliness is sullied by the defect of the mote of meanness, at first like a drunken man, gives some bounty in a case where there has been no favour received to demand it, but in the end, like the children, takes the

[1] I'timar. Both in the printed text and in MS (A) Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Barnī calls him Samar. Firishta calls him Tīmūr Khan.

[2] Called *Khān-i Shahīd* or the "Martyr Prince" because he fell in battle opposing "the accursed Samar, the bravest dog of all the dogs of Changīz Khān" (Elliott, III 122.)

[3] MS (A) باغ سبز MS. (B) باغ سر the text reads باغ سرير Bagh-i-Sarīr with a footnote variant Bagh-i-Sard.

[4] Ziāu-d-Dīn Barnī says 684 H.

[5] Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Barnī attributes this lament to Amīr Khusrū. (Elliott III. 122) Firishta also states that Amīr Khusrū escaped when the Prince was killed, and wrote a lament. It seems probable therefore that the lament should be attributed to Mīr Khusrū. The *Hasan* which occurs in Text and both MSS. (A) (B) may have had its origin in a copyist's error.

gift back again without any treacherous conduct having been committed. The habits and customs of the oppressive times are cast in the same mould, whether by experience or by hearsay, we 132
see or hear that whomsoever it perceives coming to perfection like the moon, it desires to darken the face of his fulness with the blot of defect, and whomsoever it finds rising like a cloud him it strives to tear to pieces, and to scatter his substance to the extreme boundaries of the horizon As in this orchard of amazement and garden of regrets, no rose blooms without a thorn so no heart escapes the thorn of sorrow. Alas! for the newly sprung verdure which has become yellow, withered in the bloom of its beauty by the autumn of calamity. Alas! for the many fresh-springing trees which have been laid low in the dust of the ground by the fierce blast of Death

Consider the winds of Autumn, how chill they are and cold,
The cowardly blows they have dealt alike at the young and old

One of the examples of this allegory is the death of the late Emperor Qâ'ān-i-Mulk Ghāzī,[1] *may God make manifest his demonstrations and weigh down the scale of his excellencies*, on Friday the last day of the month of Zū-l-Hijjah in the year 683 A H, when the moon, like kindness in the heart of infidels, could nowhere be seen, the Sun with the company of the army of Islam came forth to smite with the sword, and the great Prince who was the Sun of the heaven of the kingdom with the light of holy war shining on his noble brow, and the unchangeable determination of "jihād" firmly planted in his illustrious mind, placed his auspicious foot in the stirrup By night they submitted to his judgment which solved all difficulties, that Itimar with the whole of his army had advanced into the plain at a distance of three *farsangs*. When morning broke, he commenced to march intending to leave that place, and at a distance of one *farsang* coming face to face with those accursed ones,[2] elected to draw up their forces in a place on the outskirts

[1] Qāān-i-Mulk Ghāzī The eldest son of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban who was Khān of Multān. See page 187 *ante*.

[2] آن ملاعين را MS. (A)

of Bāgh-i-Sarīr[1] on the banks of the river of Lāhor. Accor-
133. dingly he very strongly fortified a large village which was close to the river, and made such dispositions that when the infidels came against it, both rivers[2] should be in the rear of his army, so that neither could any man of his own army turn in flight nor could any injury be inflicted upon his army by that troublesome horde[3] and in very truth that choice of position was the acme of caution and the very height of skill in that world-conquering Khān, but since when Fate is adverse the thread of all plans becomes tangled, and the orderly row of enterprises becomes disordered,

He who falls in with evil fortune by the way.
His affairs fall out just as his enemies desire
His Fortune like a mad man loses the right way,
His senses, like the nightblind, fall into the well.

By chance that day the Moon and the Sun, which may be compared to kings, were suspended in the sign of the Fish,[4] and Mars, whose blood-red aspect is entirely due to the blood of the princes of the people, had drawn out from the quiver of that sign the arrow of disappointment and the dart of disobedience against that Orion[6] (white) girdled Khān, who was like Leo coming forth from a watery sign, the house of fear and calamity and the proofs of sedition and signs of harm thus became evidently

[1] باغ سرير MS (A) باغ تيز Probably the باغ سبز before mentioned

[2] The Rāvī and Satlaj This battle was fought close to Multān, and is described by Firishta, who states that after having routed the Mughūl army, the Prince and some of his retainers were resting by the bank of the river when they were attacked by one of the Mughūl chiefs who was lying in ambush with 2000 men, and the Prince was killed with many of his followers, the army which had taken the alarm returning just in time to see him die.

[3] I read مخاذيل شاقة MS (A)

[4] MS (A) reads درنشانة ماهي

جاء القضا ضاق الفضا Lit When Fate comes, the plain becomes narrow

Other proverbs of this kind are the following —

اذا نزل القضاء بطل الحذر When Fate comes, caution is useless

اذا نزل القضاء عمي البصر When Fate comes the eye is blind

[6] The three stars in Orion's belt See Lane s. v. الجوزاء

manifest, while the hint and indication of the proverb "*In face of Fate wide becomes strait*" became written on the consecutive pages (of his history) In short, at midday just as the courier of the heaven reached the country of noon, and the day of that world-conquering Emperor was approaching its decline, suddenly a band made its appearance from the direction of those infidels. The Khān-i-Ghāzī at that same moment mounted his horse and issued an order in obedience to which all the cavalry and the body servants and retinue and retainers, in accordance with the mandate 'Kill the infidels all of them',[1] drew up in a line a hundred times stronger than the rampart of Sikandar[2] After ordering the right wing and dressing the left wing, he himself of noble qualities, stood in the centre like the moon and the host of the stars, ready for the *jihād*, while the Tātār infidels, *let confusion and dismay come upon them*, crossed the river of Lāhor, and confronted the ranks of the Muslims. Thereupon these wild- **134.**
loving desert-born savages, placing the feathers of the owl[3] upon their illomened heads, while the Ghāzīs of Islām, kings of Turkestan and Khilj and notables of Hindustān, and all the soldiery made the battlefield a place of prayer—as the Holy Apostle, *may the blessings and peace of God be upon him*, declared that the holy war was closely allied to prayer, saying *We return from the lesser holy war to the greater holy war*,[4] reciting the *takbīr*[5]

[1] *See.* Qur'ān IX 5.

فَاقْتُلُوا الْمُشْرِكِينَ حَيْثُ وَجَدْتُمُوهُمْ

[2] The thick wall said to have been built by Alexander the great to restrain the wild natives of Northern Asia commonly known as the wall of Gog and Magog *See* D'Herbelot Vol. I p 640, II p 282. Ibn Khaldoun, *Proleg* · I 162

[3] The owl called by the Arabs غراب الليل is a bird of ill omen and is held to be unclean, Muslims being forbidden to eat its flesh (*Hayātu-l-Ḥaiwānāt*).

Hence the proverb لَوْكَانَ فِي الْبُومَةِ خَيْرٌ مَا تَرَكَهَا لِلصَّيَّادِ

Had there been any good in the owl the hunter would not have passed it by. *See* also page 157, *note* 1. *See* also J. A S B 1877, p. 81.

[4] According to Sūfi writers there are two *Jihāds*. *Al-Jihādu-l-Akbar* or "the greater warfare" which is against one's own lusts. and *Al-Jihādu-l-Asghar* or "the lesser warfare" against infidels (*See* Hughes. *Dict of Islām* art *Jihad*)

[5] (saying) *Allāhu Akbar* الله اكبر God is Almighty. *See* *Mishkātu l-Maṣābīb* \, .

raised their hands in prayer, and in the first attack they put to the sword a considerable number of ablebodied men of the Mughūl cavalry, and the lances of the Maliks of the Court so wounded the limbs of their enemies that above each of them the blood spurted up like a spear, while sixty selected Turks interweaving their arrows like closely-woven cloth, made it appear as though the weft (of existence) of the Tātārs was being torn to shreds.[1]

In the beginning of the fray the arrow of the king leapt forth
The Tātārs were all laid low.
As often as the great Lord, lion-hearted, wielding the sword,
with a blade as bright as his own faith, sallied forth to attack from the midst of the ranks.

You would say that the sword was trembling in that battlefield at the excellencies of the monarch, and becoming in its entirety a tongue was saying to him, Up and make an end of these accursed ones, and entrust their discomfiture to thy servants, but do thou thyself refrain from personal action, for the sword is double faced and the scimitar of Fate pitiless in its wounding—no one can tell what may happen to any one of us from the decree of the All powerful I close my eyes against the fatal eye[2]

Go not, that I may bind thy dust upon mine eyes.
Act not, for I greatly fear the evil eye.
The heaven has never seen such a brilliant countenance,
I am as rue upon that fire to guard that eye[3]

As long as he strenuously performed the duties of fighting and
۱۵۵ [illegible], each of the weapons as it were entered into colloquy with
him—the spear was saying, Oh King! refrain your hand from me

[1] There is a sequence of plays upon words in the original which cannot possibly be preserved in a translation تیر *tir* is a kind of cambric or lawn. It also has the usual meaning of "arrow"

[2] عین الکمال An eye supposed to have the power of killing with one glance The Arabs says فقا الله عنک عین الکمال May God blind the fateful eye to thee

[3] سپند According to *Burhan-i-Qāti'*, a seed which is burned to avert the consequences of being "overlooked" by the evil eye. *See* Vüller's Lexicon

For an interesting account of charms against the evil eye see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*

this day, for the tongue of my point by reason of constant fighting and slaying is blunted, and I have no power left of opposing the enemy with thrusts, I fear lest I should leap up and should commit some untoward act. The arrow too was saying,

> Thou, the knot of whose bowstring opens the knot of the Jauzhar, do not advance to meet this danger.[1]

I myself in rushing forth to destruction cast dust upon my head, lest the close-eyed beauty of the heaven,[2] who sits on the fifth roof near the door of the eighth mansion,[3] sitting in ambush, out of temerity and spite, should discharge against you the shaft of error from the bow of fraud and malice; the lasso was saying, to-day the thread of planning should not be let go from the hand of deliberation, for I am contorted with anxiety at this precipitate conflict and ill-considered battle; wait a while[1] for Islam and the Muslims are like the tent ropes connected with the tent of your favours. Oh God! in dealing with this people, do not so long delay putting the halter round their necks.

> I have willingly put my neck in the noose for thy sake
> Thou art my lassoer, who takest me with the noose of thy locks.

In short, that mighty king, the defender of the faith, the uprooter of infidelity, from mid-day till eventide attacked that impious crowd with the whole main body of his army, cheerfully and willingly, while the shouts of the victors in the fight, and the clamour of those eager for the fray[4] deafened the ears of the world and of the sky,[5] and tongues of fire which leapt from the heads of

1 MS (A) has فسدة as has the text MS B مدة Neither is intelligible Possibly we should read مفسدة *mafsada* *Jauzhar* the head and tail of Draco, see *Burhān-i-Qāti* also *'Āin-i-Akbari*, II (J.) p 9, also *Kashshaf*, I. 202.

2 مبادا ترک تنگ چشم فلک MS (A)

3 I read نزد در خانهٔ هشتم MSS (A) and (B) have ترادرخانه which makes no sense unless we supply a word such as رسانندة for which there is no sanction The text reads و نو but it seems to me نزد is more likely to be right It might easily have become ترا by copyist's error

4 MS (A) و غوغای عالدان وعا و غلبان طالبان غزا This is a better reading than the text.

5 MSS (A) and (B) read صماخ سما for اسماع سما in the text

the flashing spears, and tongues of the swords made not a single mistake in even in a letter in transmitting the message of destruction. In that uproar like the day of resurrection every one thought of this Āyat *A day when a man will flee from his own*
136 *brother*,[1] the surface of the earth, like the eyes of old men who have lost their sons[2] was full of blood, and the face of the sky like the head of sons who have killed their fathers, full of dust.

Alas! my father why dost thou submit to the steel of the fire-like sword
Oh! dost thou wish to inflict the wound of orphanage on my heart

In the very midst of this weary conflict, and amid all this pain and anguish, suddenly an arrow shot by Fate struck the wing of that falcon of the field of foray, and the bird of his life took its flight from the cage of the body of that noble one to the gardens of the Compassionate and meadows of Riẓwān[3]

Verily we are God's and verily to Him do we return.[4]

At that same moment the backbone of the religion of Muḥammad, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*, broke like the heart of sorrowful orphans, and the rampart of the religion of Muḥammad fell in like the grave of poor people of low origin, and the assistance which the arm of the king alone could give slipped from our grasp, and the confidence which the army of the Muslims had possessed[5] was lost Exactly at the time of sunset,

[1] Qur'ān Sur lxxx 34.

[2] MS (A) پسر بباد داده The text has بصر بباد داده which is bald and destroys all the antithetical force of the sentence.

In MS (B) the word پسر is omitted

[3] MS (A) گلشن جنان وروضهٔ رضوان *Riẓwān*, the name of the door-keeper of the garden of Paradise The word means "Pardon" "forgiveness"

[4] The formula of resignation to the Divine will uttered by pious Muslims in all times of adversity, more especially bereavement or in presence of death In the Qur'an II 150, 151 we read, "We will try you with something of fear and hunger and loss of wealth and souls and fruit, but give good tidings to the patient who when there falls on them a calamity say, 'Verily we are God's and verily, to Him do we return' these, on them are blessings from their Lord and mercy, and they it is who are guided." (Palmer)

[5] بیضهٔ إسلام see Lane, Ar Dict. بيضة الإسلام. The place which comprises El Islam (meaning the Muslims) like as the egg comprises the young bird, or the congregation or collective body of the Muslims.

the sun of the life of that king whose sun was setting sank into the west of extinction, and the heaven, after the habit of mourners, dyed its raiment blue, while falling tears began to course down both its cheeks. Saturn, by way of fulfilling the requirements of fidelity and the demands of mourning, turned its robe to black and bewailed the people of Hindūstān because of his death. Jupiter, in pity for that dust besoiled body and blood-stained mantle rent his garments and cast his turban in the dust.

And Mars, may the hand of his power be tightly closed as the eye of the beauties, and the face of his sustenance be dark as the locks of Ethiopians, sore wounded by compassion for that calamity, with a rankling thorn [1] which brought forth his heart's blood, was trembling like the Fish [2] before the Sun, and like the Ram [3] in the hands of the slaughterer, while the Sun, for shame that it had not striven to avert this calamity and prevent this disaster, came not forth, but sank below the earth, and Venus when she saw what violence the heavenly bodies were undergoing at the hands of Time, played her tambour more vehemently,[4] changed 137.
the tune of the drum, and commenced music in a fresh measure, and because of the death of that slave-cherishing king, others in place of uttering musical strains began to weep, and Mercury [5] who in forage and conquests in accord with the scribe, used to write many records of victory, in that tyranny [6] was blackening his face with the contents of his inkhorn, and was clothing himself in a garment of paper made of the sheets of his own records, while the new moon in the shape of a crescent on the horizon, with bowed stature, in that day of judgment which had visited the earth, was striking its head on the wall and performing all the customary mourning duties.

1 خارعقرب. *Khār-i-'Aqrab* The thorn of Scorpio Mars is called خارعقرب.

2 حوت *Hūt*. The sign Pisces.

3 حمل *Hamal* The sign Aries.

4 زاد في الطنبور on the analogy of يزيد في حديثة said of a liar

The طنبور *tanbūr* is a kind of mandolin with chords of brass wire played with a plectrum. The word was originally ذنب برة from its being likened to the tail of a lamb. (Lane).

5 Mercury is called دبير فلك *Dabīr-i-Falak* The scribe of the sky

6 تظلم *tazallum* MS. (A) MS. (B) The textual reading نظم must be wrong.

Thou placest thy cheek in the dust, alas, I wish not this for thee
Moon of my days, I do not wish thee to pass beneath the Earth.
If thou goest out to the chase (*i e* diest) thy dust is my life:
My life[1] is the solitude of thy dust pleasing to thee? I do not wish it for thee.

May God, *be He exalted and blessed*, raise the purified and sanctified soul of that warrior prince to lofty heights and high dignities, and give him, from time to time, cups full of the brilliancy of his beauty and glory, and make all the kindness, and clemency, and affection, and care which he evinced towards this broken down worthless one, a means of increasing the dignity and wiping out the faults of that prince Amen, Oh Lord of the worlds!

And Mīr Khusrū[1] also on that day fell a prisoner into the hands of Lahorī, a servant of the Mughūl, and had to carry a nosebag and horsecloth upon his head. He recounts this circumstance in these words—

I who never even placed a rose upon my head,
He placed a load on my head and said "It is a rose"[2]

And he composed in poetry and sent to Dehlī two elegies written in *tarkīb-band*[3] which are found in the anthology known as

[1] میر خسرو For an account of Mīr Khusrū see index reference

The poet, relates some of his experiences as a captive—"At the time that this learner of evil, the author was a captive in the hands of the Mughuls—may such days never return '—travelling in a sandy desert, where the heat made my head boil like a cauldron, I and the man who was with me on horseback arrived thirsty at a stream by the roadside Although the naphtha of my life was heated I would not inflame it with oil by drinking a draught of water Both my guard and his horse drank their fill and expired immediately." Elliott, III, Appendix, p 545

[2] جل means both *horsecloth* and also *rose* There is a difference in the readings MS (A) reads, تو دره درسر نهاد وگفتا جل MS (B) is like the text.

[3] ترکیب بند. In this class of composition a certain number of verses having the same metre and rhyme are followed by a couplet in the same metre but having a different rhyme—then the original rhyme is reverted to for a certain number of verses, and is again followed by a fresh couplet having the same metre, but a rhyme differing from both the original rhyme and that of the first interpolated couplet—and so on In Tarjī'band as

Ghurratu-l-Kamāl.[1] For a space of a month more or less, folk used to sing those *tarkīb-bands* and used to chant them as threnodies over their dead from house to house.

The following is one of them .—

Is this the Resurrection day or is it a calamity from heaven which has come to light? 138.
Is this a disaster or has the day of Judgment appeared upon the earth?
That breach which has appeared this year in Hindustān has given entrance to the flood of sedition below the foundation of the world
The assembly of his friends has been scattered like the petals of the rose before the wind
Autumn the leaf scatterer has, one would say, appeared in the garden,[2]
Every eyelash, in the absence of friends, has become a spear-point to the eye, and each point of the spear has brought blood spouting forth to a spear's length
The heart writhes in agony since Time has broken the thread of companionship,
When the string is broken, the pearls are scattered far and wide.
Such a flood of tears has been shed by the people on all sides that five fresh rivers have appeared around Multān[3]
I wished to bring my heart's fire upon the tongue in the form of words,
When lo! a hundred tongues of fire appeared within my mouth

has been stated elsewhere, the plan is similar to the above, but the interpolated couplet is always the same This interpolation occurs not more than seven times both in Tarkīb-band and in Tarjī'band.

1 *Ghurratu-l-kamāl* The longest of the four Dīwāns of Amīr Khusrū. It contains poems written from the 34th to the 42nd year of his life, for an account of this and the other "Dīwāns" see Elliott, III Appendix. See also Hājī Khalīfah, IV 311.

2 MS (A) reads گلستان for بوستان.

3 MS. (A) agrees with the text MS. (B) has a worthless reading

هیچ دیگر اندر مولتان آمد پدید

I dug deep in my breast, empty of all desire, and tears burst forth from both my eyes, when the earth is hollowed out then springs of water make their appearance.

Weeping has taken the bloom off my cheek, and disgraced me, because by reason of it, the skin has left my cheek and the bones have come in sight.

The planets are all conjoined in my eyes [1] perchance it portends a storm, since in a watery constellation a conjunction of planets is seen.

I only wish for that same collection (of friends) and how can this be!

139 It is essentially impossible—how can this *Banātu-n-Na'sh* become the Pleiades [2] (How can mourning become joy)

With what omen [3] did the king lead his army from Multān and draw the infidel-slaying sword in order to slay the infidels.

[1] The text has در چشم we should read در چشمم as in MS. (A).

The astrologers state that when a conjunction of all the planets shall take place in one of the watery constellations (Scorpio, Pisces, Aquarius) a deluge like that which destroyed the world in the time of Noah will occur again.

[2] This couplet differing as it does in rhyme, but being in the same metre is characteristic of ترکیب بند *tarkīb band*, *see* p. 196, *note* 3.

بنات النعش *Banātu-n-na'sh*, this name "The daughters of the bier" is given by the Arabs to the constellation *Ursa Major*. *See* Lane, *s. v* نعش.

The origin of the name "The daughters of the bier" is said by Sedillot in his Notes to the Prolegomenes des Tables Astronomiques d'Oloug Beg, to be that "the Arab Christians called the "Chariot" or the four stars composing the body of the Great Bear نعش لعازر *Feretrum Lazari*, and the three stars (the handle of the plough) of the tail *Maria, Martha ac ancilla*" The Persians have a superstition that if two people are together and one of them points out this constellation to the other, one of the two will die within the year.

The allusion to the Pleiades is explained by the following verses of Ibnu-l-Amīd (*see* de Slane, *Ibn Khall* III. 263)

"I have seized on one of the opportunities which life offers to form with my companions a part of the band of the Pleiades, and, if you do not aid us to maintain our rank in that choir by sending us some wine, we shall be sad like the daughters of the hearse"

The Pleiades is considered a fortunate asterism (cf.) Job xxxviii. 13, "The sweet influences of Pleiades"

[3] MSS (A) and (B) read تاچه طالع.

When they brought him tidings of the enemy, with that strength which he possessed, ruthlessly he displayed his wrath and unfurled his standards.

That army which was then present sought for no second army,

For this reason that Rustum must not be indebted to an armed host.[1]

One assault took him from Multān to Lāhor, saying

In my reign can any one rebel against me?

Am I not such a lion, that my sword which is like fire and water

Has by its slaying turned every year of theirs to dust and ashes?

Such torrents of blood often have I set flowing over the earth,

That the vulture flies[2] over the surface of blood like a duck over the water

In this year to such an extent do I stain the earth with their blood,

That the evening twilight reddens with the reflection of the earth.

He was bent upon this enterprise and did not know that the Destiny of heaven had drawn the line of fate across the writing of the page of intention

His eyes were smitten by the stars, if I have the power I must heat a needle, and like a shooting star thrust it into the eye of the seven planets.

The first day of the month became Muḥarram[3] for him, not for him only but for all people. 140.

[1] These verses are transposed in the text. MS. (A) and MS. (B) give this order.

[2] MSS. (A) and (B) read نرسر خون پر کشید

[3] MS. (A) reads غرهٔ مه شد محرم

The Martyr Prince was killed on the last day of Ẕūl Hijjah the morrow of which was the sacred month of Muharram.

The 'Āshūrā (the tenth) is a voluntary fast day observed on the tenth of the month of Muḥarram. We read in the *Mishkāt* (VII) Ibn Abbās said I did not see his highness intend the fast of any day which he considered more noble than the 'Āshūrā and the fast of Ramaẓān" Again "the fast of

Since at the end of Zūl Hijjah he drove his dagger into the neck of his enemies

That the day of 'Āshūra might arrive he entered the ranks of holy war like Ḥusain, the dust of his steed served as collyrium for the eye of the brilliant moon.

What an hour was that when the infidel reached the van of the army!

One upon another his squadrons passed over the river and came upon them unawares [1]

Thou didst see the king's steed,[2] casting the cloud of dust to the sky

The wind-footed courier charging the infidels worthless as dust.

He raised a turmoil among the stars by the shouts of his army.

He produced an earthquake in the world by the rushing of his cavalry,

From the roll of the drums, the neighing of the horses, and the shouts of their riders, he caused a quaking of the plain and desert and mountain

His horses were reeking (with sweat), with shoes as hot as fire, so that the hoofs of each fiery-shod steed struck sparks [3]

What awe was there! at one time drawing up for battle,

What terror was there! at another time raising the battle cries [4]

141 From the flash of the sword in his hand he scattered heat and oppressiveness around him

he day 'Āshūra I am hopeful will cover the faults of the coming year" (Matthews, Vol I p 402)

"It is the only day of Muharram observed by the Sunni Muslims, being the day on which, it is said, God created Adam and Eve, heaven and hell, the tablet of decree, the pen, life and death" (Hughes, *Dict of Islām*)

[1] MS (A) reads آن چه ساعت and جوق جوق آب را بگذشت و ناله در رسید.

[2] MS. (A) reads حنگ instead of جاگ as in the text.

[3] MSS (A) (B) read وز سم هو آتشین نعلی

[4] MS (A) آن چه هیبـــت بود گاهی کارزار آراستن
وان چه دهشت بود گاهی تیرو دار انگیختن

MS. (B) reads the same as (A) repeating هیبت in the second line.

While the very thought of his spear pricked the heart like so many thorns.
The brave-hearted were attacking, bent on consuming their enemies,
The faint-hearted were plotting intent upon flight.
[Whiles, the king the cherisher of brave men, in that field of battle,
Was doing deeds of bravery and urging on the warriors].[1]
Striking manfully blow after blow upon the ribs of the unmanly cowards,
And sending forth flames of fire from his well tempered sword.
Raising aloft like Jamshīd the standard, to restrain the demons,
Urging on his steed, like the sun, to capture kingdoms.
Bringing the sky into supplication from that affliction.
Making the sun perform the *Tayammum*[2] with that dust.
[At that time when there was a distinction between brave and coward,
Many a one there was whose lips were dry and his cheeks pale].[3]

[1] These lines are omitted in the text but are in both MSS.

گاه شاه مرد پرور اندران میدان کار
کار مردان کردن و مردان کار انگیختن

[2] تیمم *tayammum* This word signifies "Intention" and is restricted to the *Wuzū* or ablutional ceremony performed with sand instead of water, which is permissible under certain circumstances, as for instance when water cannot be procured without incurring undue risk or labour Qur'ān V 9. "If ye cannot find water then take fine surface sand and wipe your faces, and your hands therewith" This like so many of Muhammad's injunctions was excellent as a sanitary measure.

[3] The text and MS. (B) are both wrong here, repeating the preceding *band* as though this poem were a *tarjī'band* The following is the correct reading as given in MS (A)

اندران وقتی که فرق از مرد تا نامرد بود
ای بساکس را که لبها خشک و روها زرد بود

Consequently in the translation I have omitted the incorrectly repeated lines, and have given these in their place.

The day was cast into darkness when they hurled[1] one upon the other,

The sun became pale when dagger was interweaved with dagger.

The day was nearing its decline, seeing that the swords[2] were weaving a sky of rust over the sun of the army.

The rows of swords in both ranks resembled (the teeth of) a comb,

The combatants are entangled one with the other like hair with hair[3]

142\. The Earth looked like a sheet of water when cuirass was knit with cuirass, the plain resembled a rose garden when shield was woven with shield

The heaven flies away as though flying from an arrow,

The arrows flying above their heads are thick as the feathers of a wing.

When half the force of the infidels had their heads swept off by the sword

Those infidel heads[4] which were matted together like the locks of black hair

Ruby-red drops of blood sprang like tears[5] from the sword

So that the gold-woven standards were besprinkled with the jewels.

Each single head was cleft in twain when the swords blows met.

[1] MS. (B) reads تافتند which is the best reading.

[2] This is the reading of MS (A) که از زنگار تیغ MS. (B) follows the text but with no intelligible meaning. The reading of MS (A) is not quite satisfactory and it seems possible that we should read از جنگار تیغ. i.e. The warriors' swords.

[3] MS. (A) has the following —

شانه را مانند آن صفهای تیغ از هردوسو

MS. (B) has شانه را مانند while the text has this as an alternative reading for شانه را زانست

MS. (B) is the reading adopted for this line, reading however بافتند (text) and MS. (A) for تافتند MS. (B) in the second line.

[4] MS. (A) کافران هرسر.

[5] Insert از before تیغ MS. (A).

The cloven heads became as one again when head was thrust against head.

The slain were lying on all sides of that verdant plain [1]

Like the figures which they weave on the green brocade.

Long had they been striving even from morning till evening, face to face, and hair to hair, and hand to hand.[2]

The king[3] wished to spread the carpet of victory but to what avail

Since the heavens had woven that carpet in another pattern.

[4][His auspicious sword did not cease from contest for one moment.

From the declining day till night in that day of declining fortune].

Oh Lord! was that blood which flowed over the face of the plain 143.

Or was it a river urging its waves toward the lips of the thirsty.

Just as water drops to the earth when you sift it[5] in a sieve

So the blood dript from the limbs of the weary warriors.

The mortally wounded lay in the death-agony writhing on the ground, while from his throat blood burst in billows, spouting in the air.

The arrows drove the bodies over the sea of blood like boats,

Plying their oars madly and urging their course onwards[6]

1 MS. (A) reads کشتگان افتاده در اطراف آن صحرای سبز which is the reading adopted.

2 MS (A) reads روبروی ومو بموی وبسو بسو دریافتند

MS (B) روبرو ومو بمو وسو بسو بر بافتند

3 MS (B) reads incorrectly خواست شد

4 The text and MS. (B) are again wrong here giving in this place the couplet beginning اندران میدان, see page 196 *note* 3, instead of the lines which should follow

یک زمان شمشیر اقبالش نیاسود از قتال

از زوال روز تاشب اندران روز زوال

5 MS. (A) بیزی

6 These lines follow here in MS. (A) in the text they are five couplets later.

The river bore those (the infidel enemies) to hell and the stream bore these (the Muslims) to Paradise, although the blood of infidel and Muslim was flowing side by side.

The chargers were plunging and the heads of the riders falling

The feet of the horses speeding and the heads of the riders bowling along

Every spurt of blood which spurted from the body struck by an arrow

Leapt without restraint like a man who leaps to avoid an arrow.[1]

The arrow of every man who from stoutness of heart had an arm nerved for the fight, fitted accurately to the bow flew straight to the heart of the enemy's army.

And he who from faint-heartedness has lost command of his arms and legs, was running now to the water and now to the plain

The king, the commander of the army, was urging on the charger of his fortune, and it galloped with him in drawing up his line, and planning the scheme of action.

144. The heavens turned Victory backwards seizing it by the hair,

Although Victory was speeding towards us having left the accursed (infidels)

[2][The infidels were expecting the coming of night, to take to flight,

Suddenly the scale of the balance turned against us]

What a night was that! when the sun had fallen from the sky!

And demons were hurling fire upon the earth, and the stars had fallen.

When nothing of day remained for that sun of fortune[3]

[1] These lines follow here in MS (A) which reads چون کسی کز تیر بجهد.

[2] Here again the text and MS (B) are wrong Here should follow as in MS (A).

کافر اندر انتظار شب که تا بیرون شود
ناگهان میزان ما را پله دگر گون شود

[3] These are omitted in MS (B) MS (A) reads آفتاب بخت را
This and the following are transposed in the text.

Some little daylight remained when the sun (of royalty) fell.

Although Ḥusain of the famous Kerbelā[1] was in straits for want of water,

He was the Muḥammad whose end came upon him in the water[2]

The heart of mankind became (full of holes like) a fishing net because, from the craft of the demon the royal signet which was on the hand of Solomon fell into the water.[3]

The infidels were wallowing in blood as the donkey wallows in the gutter, the believers lay in the mud like jewels in the mire.

One army was passing through the water of the flood of disaster,

The other parched with thirst had fallen in with a mirage.

Each one of them was put down on the tablet of the earth for this reason that their affairs had fallen into the account of the day of reckoning

1 A city in 'Irāq 50 miles south west of Bagdad and six miles west of the Euphrates Husain was slain there A H. 61 in conflict with Yazīd ibn Mu'āwia on the 10th of Muḥairam, the name of the place where Husain was cut off from the Euphrates was called Kerbelā *See* Hughes *Dict of Islām* art. *Husain*

2 MS (A) reads كه در آبس نه آب افتاده بود but the text is the correct reading

It refers to the circumstances already related under which the Khān-i-Shahīd, the Martyr prince met his death Firishta relates that having defeated the enemy the "generals of Hindustan discarded all caution and pursued the fugitives while the Muhammad, the Martyr Khān, who had not performed the mid day prayer, went hastily with 500 of his army to the margin of a large tank which then was near, alighted and engaged in prayer when his party were suddenly attacked by one of the Mughul Generals with 2,000 men who were in ambush" (*Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, I 143 *Bombay Edition*) The Prince after a gallant fight was killed by an arrow and most of his men killed It was here Amīr Khusrū was taken prisoner but escaped

3 The following is greatly abridged from the *Qissasu-l Anbiyā*

Solomon's famous signet ring in which lay the secret of all his power was stolen from him by the jinn *Asturjī* who while Solomon was bathing, personated him and demanded the ring from his wife (*Yaminah*) to whom he had entrusted it Obtaining it from her he sat on the throne and ruled the kingdom, Solomon having been cast out as an imposter Solomon entered the service of some fishermen who used to give him two fish daily as his

The skull caps which were lying in the fresh crimson blood looked like cocoanuts engraved and ornamented with vermilion [1]

The wounds of the heart were weeping tears of blood in bidding farewell to the soul, and the bodies were lying desolate owing to separation from life.

Alas! many were the living who were lying among the dead overcome with terror, their bodies blood-stained and their eyes sunk in (feigned) sleep

Look at the deeds of this crafty old wolf (tne sky) for lions were as though bound in chains and elephants in fetters at the hands of (infidel) dogs

[This was not a battle, I verily saw that that was the day of resurrection. If these are the tokens of the resurrection, then I have seen it] [2]

Look at the revolution of the heaven, for it brought about such a change, that it made the centre of Islām to go round and round (in perplexity) like the compasses.[3]

wages, one of which he ate but sold the other to feed the poor. In the meantime Aṣaf recognized that it was not Solomon who was ruling, and brought 40 holy men (راهب) before the throne each bearing an open copy of the Taurāt (Book of the Law) which they read aloud, Aṣtarjī the demon was not able to bear this, rushed up to the roof of the palace, cast the ring into the water and fled Solomon happened to be fishing that day but being tired fell asleep on the bank of the river, a large snake came out of the water and taking the green bough of a tree in its mouth was fanning Solomon as he slept, when the fisherman's daughter passed by, she ran off to her father and begged him to marry her to Solomon Eventually this was settled (though Solomon protested his inability to provide a dowry) and Solomon married the girl. The fish which had swallowed the ring fell into their net on the following day and was given to Solomon with two other fish, Solomon took them and sold two of them and gave the other to the fisherman's daughter to fry She struck a knife into it and the ring fell out, the whole house becoming illuminated, she screamed and fainted, Solomon seized the ring and put it on, thus recovering his lost kingdom.

1 MS. (A) reads کشتگان را سر. The text and MS. (B) read کاسهای سر which seems preferable.

2 The text and MS. (B) are again wrong · the proper lines here are

نی فزع بود آن قیامت را معین دیهٔ ام

گر قیامت را نشان اینست پس من دیدهٔ ام

3 MS (A) reads (variant adopted) دایرات آسمان دن MS (B) is the same as the text except that it reads پرکار in both lines.

Has one ever seen an atom carry off the water of the sun's spring?

Has one ever seen a stone, which has rivalled the princely pearl?

When the king entered the cave of the protection of God, that man is a dog who did not wake the sleepers of the cave [1] with his lamentations

That he entered the secret cave (of death) when fleeing from his enemies, is no disgrace.

The elect of God (Muhammad) fled towards the cave to avoid the attack of his enemies.[2]

And if a spark reached him from the arrow of his enemies this too is right [3] for the wrath of Nimrod at last com- 146.
mitted Abraham to the fire.[4]

And if he went to the holy place (Paradise) do not be vexed and count it as a shame to him [5] for 'Isā through the spite of the Nazarenes devoted his life on the cross.

And if the (infidel) dogs were crafty as foxes to him, say this, that it is of a piece with the dog like behaviour which was shewn to ('Alī) the Ḥaidār-i-Karrār (lion of repeated attacks).[6]

And if the demons caused him to drown, then say this that it is like when a demon drowned Rustum in the ocean.[7]

Every year he used to devote his life and energy to fighting the Mughūls,

At last he yielded up his precious life in this endeavour.

[1] Qur'an, Sūratu-l-Kahf, XVIII. The seven sleepers of Ephesus. MS. (A) reads سکسته آن آدمي كونه. MS. (B) which the text follows reads شكست; and the text reads. گونه for كونه.

[2] MSS (A) and (B) read از رزم خصمان.

[3] The text and MS. (B) are hopelessly wrong here. the correct reading MS (A) is از تیر خصمان هم رواست.

[4] Qur'ān, xxi 52-69.

Said they Burn him and help your gods if ye are going to do so
We said Oh fire! be thou cool and a safety for Abraham.

[5] MSS. (A) and (B) read از ننگ شان دل بدمکن The reading in the text تنگنا is inadmissible.

[6] Abdur Rahmān ibn Muljim slew 'Alī with a sword while engaged in prayer on the 19th Ramaẓān 35 A H in the Mosque of Kūfa.

[7] See Shāh Nāma (Turner Macan), Vol. II., p. 748. l. 8.

This is one of the tricks of fate which at one time sheds blood and at another gives life;[1] we are powerless, it is useless to strive against the all-powerful tyrant (fate).

The mighty lion when stung by the ant roars aloud in agony

The infuriated elephant when pricked by a thorn shrieks from pain

[It was on Friday, the last day of Zūl Ḥijjah that this battle took place

At the end of eighty-three and the beginning of eighty-four].[2]

The sun and moon wept over the face of that one of auspicious features,

Day and night wept over the youth of that short-lived one

Like his orders, tears from the eyes, flowed from east to west

Behold the obedience of the servants[3] who wept without any master.

In his reign birds and fishes were so happy

147. That the fishes wept in the water and the birds in the air.

The heavens with its thousand eyes wept over the people of the earth like vernal showers upon the grass[4]

The dew which falls every morning from heaven and waters the earth, consider that as the tears of the stars who are weeping in the highest heavens.

The people of Multān, men and women, weeping and tearing their hair, in every street, face to face and every where.

No one could sleep at night for the noise of the wailing, and the beating of the drums, for in every house the mourners were weeping bitterly.

1 MS (A) و گه جان دهد

2 MS. (A) has the following lines in place of those in the text

جمعه بود و سلخ ذی الحجه که رفت آن کارزار

آخر هشتاد و سه آغاز هشتاد و چهار.

1st Muharram (684 A H.)

3 MS (A) بنده فرمان بین.

4 This couplet is omitted from MS. (B)

They were preparing to perform the *wazū* in the water of their eyes,
Hoping for pardon for that they wept at the time of prayer.
Their tongues were blistered like the feet of prisoners,
So sorely did they weep for the captives of calamity.
Their eyes poured forth blood upon the earth like the throat of the slain,
So bitterly did each one weep for his own dead.[1]
And if by chance a captive returned from that bond of calamity,
Every one seeing his face wept honest tears of sorrow
[So great was the weeping that the waves of the tears were greater than those of the Jihūn.
This was my own condition, the state of the others how can I describe !][2]
Shall I wring my hands, or shall I with my own teeth make my arm livid,
Or shall I wear clothes of a darker blue than this blue heaven ?[3] 143
Every man of reputation, tattoos his arm with the needle,
But when I make my arm blue with my teeth, the name of the king leaps forth on my arm
Alas ! that he by the tyranny of the blue sky, is sleeping beneath the earth, while[4] because of his sleeping there the whole horizon has become blue (dark)
There was both the blackness of the Hindū and the whiteness of the Turk, whereas now both Turk and Hindū are wearing blue (as mourning)
[5][It was as though the people were tearing the heavens and dividing them among themselves,

[1] This is the order of the couplets in MS (A)

[2] MS (A) گریه چندان شد که موج دیده از جیحون گذشت
حال من این بود حال دیگران تا چون گذشت

[3] Blue was the customary mourning colour in Persia

[4] MS (A) وز

[5] This couplet is not in the text nor in MS (B) MS (A) reads

آسمان را گویا بدرید و قسمت کرد خلق
بسکه اطراف زمین از جامهٔ شد هرسو کبود

To such an extent was the earth in all directions blue with mourning garments]

Now it has become customary to wear blue—so that henceforth it behoves the weavers of white cloth to dye their thread blue in the shuttle.[1]

In every street[2] of Cairo a river blue like the Nile was flowing; to such an extent were blue garments being washed in tears on all sides

The dyers of blue cloth were as happy as if there was a bridal in their houses, because so many brides had their garments dyed blue in mourning for their husbands.[3]

The lovely ones who were smiting their foreheads and shedding tears of blood had their cheeks below their eyes red (with blood) while above their eye-brows it was blue.

The beauties have no need of blue (patches) and redness (rouge) after this,

For the cheeks are torn till they are red (with blood) and the face is smitten till it is blue (with bruises)

In such quantities do they tear their hair from their delicate brows, one and all

That the root of every hair becomes blue from such rough treatment.

113. [How long shall I tear out the hair of my head in this lamentation and mourning?

Nay! will pluck this body of mine like a hair from the head of my life][4]

Alas! that my heart has suddenly turned to blood on account of (the loss of) my friends

The order of the following couplets differs from that of the text as will be seen.

1 MS (A) reads باکو for ماکو the latter is the correct reading

2 MS (A) بهر کوی

3 MS (A) پیرهنهای عروسان

4 MS A موی سر تا چند از این غم زار و گریان برکنم Not in the text

این تن چون موی باری از سر جان برکنم

Alas! for that assembly who were a constant fresh joy to their friends.

The eyes became flooded with water and blood on account of their friends, so long as I saw my friends in the midst of blood and water.

Such priceless blood of my friends has the earth swallowed

That it is my right to demand from the Earth the blood money for my friends.

If it were possible for those who sleep in the dust to arise,

I would devote the remainder of my life to secure the existence of my friends.

It were a pity that the eye should have its pupil always with it, and yet that its friends should be out of sight [1]

How can one bear to look at others instead of one's friends,

My friends are gone! How can I embrace a stranger!

How can I clothe any other person in the mantle of any friends!

I will place their dust in my eyes (as a collyrium) How can it be right that the dust of my friends' feet should be so little valued [2]

In desire for my friends, even though they sever my head (from my body),

Still the desire for my friends will never be severed from my [3] head

Oh my King! whenever thou biddest me I will tear my garment of life to the very edge in mourning for my friends.

My life has been torn to shreds in a hundred places through grief, how can it be right that I should tear a shred into shreds for the sake of my friends [4] 150

My friends have gone of whom are you talking,

Once for all bring your speech to an ending and breathe a prayer for my friends.

1 MS (A) حیف باشد مردمان در چشم و یار از چشم دور

2 MS (A) The order in the text differs

3 MS (A) در هوای دوستانم گر سرم بیرون کنند

4 I follow the text here MS (A) reads

پاره پاره کردن اکنون از برای دوستان

[Always remember the departed, especially at the time of prayer,
Because nothing shews you the way to mercy save the guidance of prayer] [1]

O Lord may the illumination of the sun of mercy light upon their souls,[2]
May their souls shine like the sun from the bounty of thy light

In the day of battle the Great Khān was their leader,
May the same Khān be also their leader to the Garden of Paradise

If an angel flies thither in desire for him it becomes a fly,[3]
May the wings of the peacock of Paradise drive away the flies from them.

The bounty of mercy is the water of life in the gloom of the grave,[4]
Oh Lord, in the darkness of the tomb may they have the water of life.

[When the faces become black from the sun of resurrection
May the wings of the angels cast protecting shade over their heads] [5]

When they give [6] into their hands the record of their deeds taken from the book of punishment,
May the record bear as its heading the words " A book for the right hand "[7]

These lines are not in the text nor in MS (B).

1 یاد می کن خفتـــگان را خاصه در حال دعا
کت برحمت راه ننمـــاید مگــر دال دعا

دال دعا *Dal-i-du'a* *Dāl* signifies the letter with which the word *du'ā* begins, while *Dāll* also means " that which shews the way "

2 MS (A) یارب از

3 MS (A) درهوایس گر ملک پرد گردد مگس

4 MS (A) در ظلمات گور

5 This couplet is omitted from the text

چون ز خورشید قیــامت رویها گردد سـ...
بر سر از پر ملائـــک سایهٔ گردان ... شـــار

6 MSS ... در کف ... دهد

7 ... and ... for him who is given his book in his

May the drops of blood which were shed from their throats
Become the most costly rubies of their crown of pardon.
For the thirsty ones [1] whose souls departed for lack of water,
May the cloud of mercy rain continuously upon their heads
For the captives [2] who were long subjected to hardships, 151.
Oh Lord! may the hope of speedy release make their way light for them.
May the affliction which they suffered in imprisonment, be to those who have escaped from prison (by death) the cause of their eternal salvation,
And those who have survived and have returned from that calamity,
May they experience the mercy of the Author of good,[3] and may the favour of the Sulṯān be theirs.
Since Muhammad has departed may the event be happy for the king May his son Kaiqubād be most fortunate and his son Kaikhusrū be blessed.

And the opening [of another threnody] [4] is as follows:

My heart sit silent in sorrow for no trace of joy remains,
Grief, do thou take away the world, for no joy is left therein

In the following ode too he refers to the same disastrous occurrence

Behold this calamity [5] which has be fallen this year on the frontier of Multan,
The right wing of the believers has been defeated [6] by the infidel ranks.

right hand, he shall be reckoned with by an easy reckoning; and he shall go back to his family joyfully."

1 MS (A) تشنگان را که جانهای شان بنی الی گذشت I follow the text here

2 This is the reading of the text. MS. (A) reads کشتگان MS. (B) تشنگان

3 Vullers. یزدان.

4 These words are not in either MS.

5 MS (A) reads همین بلا نگر امسال. This is the preferable reading.

6 MS. (A) شکست.

How can I explain that day of resurrection, from the agony of which the Angel of Death would have craved respite.

How can I describe the way in which the Ghāzīs, attacked the front of the Khaibarīs, like the Lion of repeated attacks

But what help has anyone against the decree of fate which was ordained by and issued from the Almighty.

152. What was the condition of the battle field? it was one load of dead bodies,

So much blood was spilled and the load was lying upon it [1]

The blood of martyrs, poured out like a libation, was mingled with the earth,

The necks of prisoners bound together with ropes in rows, like rose chains,

The heads strangled in the tight noose of the saddle-cords,[2]

The necks caught in the toils of the head-ropes.

Although my head escaped that game of strangulation,

Still my neck did not escape that noose of torture

I was taken captive, and for fear lest they should shed my blood

My blood dried up, not a single drop remained in my weak and emaciated body

I was poured out like water running without beginning and without end, and like bubbles thousands of blisters appeared on my feet from much travelling

The skin was separated from my feet by the blisters,

Like to the seams of a slipper burst open

My heart, because of affliction, was as hard as the hilt of a sword

[1] MS (A) reads زمین رزم که شد یار کشته بود همه

MS (B) زمین رزم که شد باز گشت بود همه

The real reading seems to be زمین رزم چه شد بار کشته بود همه

[2] دوال بازی See Richardson s. v. دوال پای.

From weakness my body was become wood like the handle
of a club.[1]
Not a breath remained in my wind-pipe by reason of thirst,
My belly was like a drum from the duration of my hunger[2]
My body was stripped naked like a tree in autumn,
And like a rose torn into a thousand shreds by the thorns.
For sorrow the pupil of my eyes poured forth drops
Like the (scattered pearls) of a necklace broken from the
neck of a bride.
A *Quruna*[3] driving me on in front followed along the way seated on a horse, like a leopard on a hill range 153.
Fœtor ab isto ore teterrimus axillæ odori similis,
Capilli oris ejus pubi similes usque ad mentum delapsi[4]
If I lagged behind a step or two through fatigue
He would draw at one time his falchion[5] at another his
javelin[6]
I kept heaving deep sighs and saying to myself
Alas! I shall never be able to escape from this calamity!
A thousand thanks to God Almighty who liberated me
With my heart free from arrow wounds and my body
unhurt by the sword.
When he desired to make my body a brick for the grave,
Water and clay built up for me anew my palace of years.
But what good to me was my escape from that rope
If snapped like the bond between the *Muhājir* and *Anṣār*[7]

1 چقمار *Chuqmār* Pavet-de-Courteille in his Turkī dictionary gives this word as چوقمار *Chūqmār*, with the meanings *massue, gourdin.*

2 These lines are as follows in MS (١)

دمی نمانده نایم ز بودن تشنه
دمی شده شکم من زماندن ناهار

3 I cannot find this word, possibly it is connected with the Turkī قورچي *qūrchī*, an armed soldier

4 See Elliot and Dowson, III. 528

5 طغانه *taghāna* there is a Turkī word طوعان *tūghān* which means a falcon, and another توعانک *taghānak* oiseau semblable à l'épervier (P de C). Hence the above translation by the word *falchion*

6 تخمار *takhmār* a dart having no point (Richardson)

7 The *Anṣār* or 'helpers of the prophet' were those tribes of El Medinah

All those lives were poured out in the dust like roses
By the fierce blast of misfortune, this is Autumn not Spring.
The world full of roses and the assembly emptied of those who can smell their perfume,
How should not my heart turn to blood like the rose bud at this treatment![1]
Not one of my friends of last year remains to me this year,
It is evident that "this year" also will become "last year."
Do thou also like me, oh cloud of the newly born spring
Now wash thy hands of water, and rain teardrops of blood.
154 Give me a cup, that from the depths of my regret
I may empty it of wine, and fill it with bitter tears.
Now that the date is 684 (H.)
To me in my three and thirtieth year comes the good tidings of the thirty-fourth.
Not thirty-four because if my years should be thirty thousand, when one comes to the account of Annihilation neither thirty counts for aught nor a thousand.
I am not a poet, even though I were a magician, still then I shall become dust
I am not a Khusru, even were I a Kaikhusrū, still at that time my kingdom would be but the grave.

And in the preface to the *Ghurratu-l-Kamāl* he writes some epitomised poems relating to this circumstance, the gist of the matter is that they brought Tughral to nothing, and the prince who used to pray with lamentation and tears at the foot-stool of the best of all helpers saying *Make me of thy mercy victorious Emperor* rose to such power in the districts of Lakhnauti and Chatar La'l that his head which touched the stars, reached to the starless expanse of the highest heaven, and

who, while in other respects rivals, united so far as to espouse the cause of Muhammad

The *Muhajirin* were the refugees from Mecca, and to avoid jealousy and strife between them and the *Ansar*, each of the *Anṣār* was made to swear an oath of brotherhood with one of the *Muhājirin* This bond was however broken shortly after the battle of Bedr See Muir's Life of Mahomed, Vol III, p 26, also Palmer's translation of the Qur'an, p xxxiv. and Hughes *Dict of Islam* s v Ansār

[1] These lines follow here in MS (A)

Malik Shamsu-d-Din Dabir, and Qāzi Agir desired to retain me by seizing my garments,[1] but the separation from my friends seized me by the collar. I was obliged like Joseph to leave that prison pit and turn my steps to[2] the metropolis, and under the shadow of the standard of the Shadow of God I remained in the city. In those very same months, the Khān-i-Buzurg Qāān Malik arrived from the conquest of Damrela,[3] and a rumour came to us that my words had reached him,[4] so that he made enquiries regarding the ripe fruit of my words, unripe fruit as it really was I laid it before him, and it was honoured with acceptance in his private hall of audience, and I was distinguished by a robe of honour and rewards, and I girded my loins in his service and wore the cap of companionship, and I gave for five years more to the Panjāb and Multān water from the sea of my comfortable circumstances, till suddenly, by the potent order of the wise ruler, the star of my glory came into opposition with the inauspicious Mars;[5] 155
the time of its decline had arrived when the unlucky cavalcade of those born under the influence of Mars came in sight, and at evening time, the bright sun[6] sank by the revolution of the heaven, a world of brave men struck by arrows had fallen, and the plain of the earth was full of broken cups, and Death itself was saying at that time "Where shall I place my cup and where shall I take my pitcher." The sky fed upon dust and the sun swallowed a bowl of blood.

How can we describe that day of resurrection,
When even the Angel of Death sought protection from the fray.

In that forge of calamity the rope of the infidels seized me also by the throat, but inasmuch as God Most High had lengthened the

1 بلبا سانم دامن گیری بکنند MSS (A) and (B)

2 مصرجامع. See Muqaddasi. DeGoeje's Glossary, p. 207.

3 MS (A) دمریله.

4 باورسید MS (A).

5 مریخ نحس. Mars and Saturn are considered stars of ill omen, and are called in Arabic نحسان *nahsān*. The two misfortunes (See Ibn Khaldūn Proleg ii 218).

6 MS. (A) reads افتاب مشرق MS (B) افتاب مشرف. So also footnote variant to the text. The former is the reading adopted

rope of my life, I obtained release, and by the high road I made for the abode of favours, and attained to the sight of the home of Islām[1] and at the feet of my mother became (as it were) an inhabitant of Paradise, while as for herself, as soon as her eyes fell upon me the fountain of her milk flowed from tenderness towards me.

> Paradise always lies beneath the feet of a mother,
> See two streams of milk flow therefrom, the sign of Paradise.[2]

And I spent some time pleasantly and quietly in seeing my beloved mother and other dear ones in the fort of Mūminpur, otherwise called Patiālī[3] on the banks of the river Ganges."

In short, when the news of this heart-rending disaster reached the ears of the Sultān, having observed the duties of mourning for some days, a great affliction fell upon him, so much so that he could never again gird his loins, but he used to occupy himself
156 in all matters, and sent a despatch addressed to Bughrā Khān who had acquired the title of Sultān Nāṣir-d-Dīn,[4] to Lakhnautī saying Since so great a calamity has fallen upon your brother I desire that you should take his place as you are well able to do, that in looking in your face I may be able to forget the numerous

[1] The reading here is very uncertain, the text reads و آن شاهراه دلارا لازدم which has no evident meaning MS (B) reads و از شاهزادهٔ ندار الا زدم. The word شاهزادهٔ here is clearly wrong MS (A) reads و از شاهراه بدار الا زدم and this is the variant I adopt although the phrase دار الا *house of benefits* is not a very usual one Still, I have thought it better to take this as the true reading than to suggest other hypothetical readings.

[2] This refers to the two springs of Paradise mentioned in the Qur'ān, lv (Suratu r Rahman) وَمِن دُونِهِمَا جَنَّتَانِ .. .. فِيهِمَا عَيْنَانِ نَضَّاخَتَانِ

> And besides these are gardens twain . . In each two gushing springs

The proverb runs بهشت درپای مادران See Roebuck O. P. 484.

[3] Patiāli "Ancient town in Aliganj *tahsil* Etah District, N.-W Provinces situated on the old high bank of the Ganges 22 miles north-east of Etah town" Imp Gaz xi 90 *Tieffenthaler* I 198, places it at a distance of about 75 miles from Dihli and about 20 from Farrukhabād.

[4] See page 186

sorrows which I suffer on his account. Nāṣiru-d-Dīn who[1] had acquired permanent and independent control over that district (of Lakhnautī) put off for some time coming to Dihlī, and even after coming to Dihlī at the earnest solicitation of his father was not able to remain there, "the elephant bethought him of Hindustān"[2] so that forgetting the demands of filial, paternal, and brotherly affection he became so restless from staying in that place that one day without his father's permission[3] together with certain of his kinsfolk he went forth on pretence of hunting, and marching by rapid stages reached Lakhnautī and busied himself with his own affairs

VERSE.

Why should I not betake myself to my own country ?
Why should I not be the dust of the sole of the foot of my friend ?
I cannot endure the sorrow of exile and absence from home,
I will go to my own country, and be my own monarch

Accordingly Sulṭān Balban, who was very depressed and dejected at this occurrence, so that day by day his weakness gathered strength, as he lay on his bed of sickness, being moreover past eighty years of age, conferred upon the eldest son of the Martyred Khān who was called Kaikhusrū, the title of Khusrū Khān, and gave the affairs of Empire into his hands. Multān too was entrusted to him, and he made him the heir-apparent, and made a will to the effect that Kaiqubād the son of Bughrā Khān should be sent to his father in Lakhnautī After he had relieved his mind of anxiety as to the succession of Kaikhusrū, and the other testamentary dispositions of the government having occupied him three days, he removed the baggage of existence from this world to

[1] MSS (A) and (B) ..... نصیر الدین را که. The text and both MSS call him Naṣiru d-Dīn.

[2] His thoughts turned homewards. Another proverb of this kind is دوق چمن ز خاطر بلبل نمیرود, *zauq-i-chaman zi khāṭir-i-bulbul namīrawad*, i e, the desire of the garden never leaves the heart of the nightingale.

[3] بی رخصت پدر MSS (A) and (B). The reading in the text برخصت پدر is at variance both with the sense, and also with the statement of other historians Barnī says "He wanted to go to Lakhnautī so he found a pretext for doing so and set off thither without leave from his father (E. D III 124)

157. **the next. This event took place in the year 686 H.[1] He had reigned twenty-two years and some months.**

> **Oh my heart! the world is no place of permanence and stay,**
> **Keep thy hand from the world—for it has no stability.**

SULṬĀN MU'IZZU-D-DĪN KAIQUBĀD BIN SULṬĀN NĀṢIRU-D-DĪN BIN SULṬĀN GHIYĀSU-D-DĪN BALBAN.

In the sixteenth year of his age, in succession to his grandfather, by the intervention of Malik Kachhan, who was called Itimar, and other Amirs who were disaffected to the Martyred Khān, succeeded to the throne of Empire[2] Then having bestowed Multan upon Khusru Khan with his family and dependents, they sent him off there under some pretext and exiled his adherents, and when the Empire became established he appointed all the officers of the state to their old posts in the kingdom, and Malik Nizamu-d-Din[3] was appointed *Dādbeg*[4] and they gave Khwāja Khatiru-d-Din the title of Khwāja-i-Jahān, and Malik Shāhik Amīr Ḥājib that of Wazīr Khān, and Malik Qiyāmu-l-Mulk obtained the post of *Wakildar* and after six months he left Dihli and founded the palace of Kilughari, which is now a ruin, near the ford of Khwāja Khizr on the banks of the river Jumna, there he held public audiences, and by craft getting hold of the Mughals who had newly become Moslims, put the majority of them to death, and banished a certain number of them. The chief author and cause of this action was Malik Niẓāmu-d-Din 'Alāqa the
158 Wazir (this Nizamu-d-Din 'Alāqa is the same in whose honour Muḥammad 'Aufi composed the books *Jāmi'u-l-Ḥikāyāt* and

[1] 1287 A D.

[2] Ziau d-Din Barni, author of the *Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhi* gives a slightly different account of the means by which Kaiqubad attained the succession He states that shortly before his death Balban summoned to his presence Maliku-l Umara Kotwal of Dihli, Khwāja Husain Basrī the Wazīr and some others and charged them to set Kaikhusrū son of the Martyr prince upon the throne After his death, however, the Kotwāl and his people who for some private reason (از جهتی که آن بکشف احوال عورات دارد) had been unfriendly to the Martyr prince, were apprehensive of danger if Kaikhusrū succeeded, so they sent him to Multān and placed the son of Bughrā Khān, Kaiqubād on the throne with the title of Mu'izzu d-Din (Elliott III. 124).

[3] Nephew of Maliku-l-Umarā Kotwāl of Dihlī.

[4] Chief Justice

Tazkiratu-sh-Shu'arā); and to Malik Chhajū (who eventually became grantee of Karra [1] and Mānikpūr, and whom Mīr Khusrū eulogises in the *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain* in these words,[2]

> Khān of Karra Chhajū, conqueror of countries
> Who hast encircled thy feet with anklets [3] formed from the lips of Khāns)

was given Sāmāna, his daughter was united in marriage to Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād. At the end of the month of Zūl Ḥijjah in the abovementioned year, news arrived that the Tatār infidels whose leader was Ītimar had attacked Lahore and the frontier of Multān. The Sulṭān appointed Shāhık Bārbak with thirty thousand cavalry and giving him the title of Khān-i-Jahān despatched him to oppose them. He pursued the Tatārs as far as the foot of the Jūd hills, and put the greater number of them to the sword, or made them prisoners, and having repulsed them he came to the Court.

Inasmuch as Sulṭān Kaiqubād, during the lifetime of Sulṭān Balban, had not attained the desires of his heart, and learned instructors had been placed in charge of him, at this time when he attained to the Empire finding himself completely unfettered he occupied himself with the full fruition of lustful delights, while the majority of the people took advantage of the luxuriousness of his reign to spend their days in wantonness and license. The ministrants of debauchery, jesters, singers and jugglers were admitted to close intimacy in his Court, in marked contrast to his grandfather's reign, and learning, and piety, and integrity were nothing valued, and Malik Niẓāmu-d-Dīn 'Alāqa seeing that the

1 Not كروا as in the text, but, كرّة MSS. (A) and (B) also Barnī. *See note* 3. Malik Chhajū was brother's son to Balban.

2 MSS. (A) and (B) تعريف كرلا و گفته. See Hājī Khalfa IV 510, 9399, for *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain*.

3 In the original there is a play on the word كرة *Karra* which cannot be reproduced in English. The lines are as follows MSS. (A) and (B).

خان كرة چهجوى كشوركشاى كرلب خانان كرة بستي بپاى

See *Āīn-i-Akbarī* II 167, *note* 2, where Karra is said (as by Ibn Baṭūṭa) to have been the place of meeting of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn and Nāṣiru-d-Dīn. See also *Karra* Imp Gaz of India, Vol VIII but Karra is on the Ganges and lies far away from the line Lakhnauti - Dihli, but so also does the river Sarju

Sulṭān was immersed in luxury and enjoyment, and utterly careless of his kingdom's affairs, stretched forth the hand of oppression and went to unwarranted lengths. The vain desire of sovereignty came into his heart, so that he set about devising the downfall of the family of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn. In the first instance having instigated Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn to murder Kai Khusrū the son of Sulṭān Muḥammad the Martyr, he summoned him from Multān, and in the town of Rohtak raised him to the dignity of martyrdom and sent him to join his father.

159 In the same way he accused Khwāja-i-Jahān of an imaginary crime and had him publicly paraded on an ass through the city, he also imprisoned the Amīr and Maliks of the house of Balban who were related to the Mughals who had recently become Moslims, and deported them to distant fortresses, and destroyed the glory of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn.

Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d Dīn Bughrā Khān, when the tidings of his son's ruinous condition reached him in Lakhnautī, wrote a letter full of hints couched in the language of enigma and innuendo to Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn warning him of the sinister intentions of Niẓāmu-l-Mulk. Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn out of the hot-headedness of youth, did not act on his father's advice, and after much correspondence it was decided that Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn should leave Lakhnautī, and Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn should start from Dihlī and that they should visit each other in Oudh.

From what Mīr Khusrū *may the mercy of God be upon him*, says in the *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain*,[1] and also from the *Tārīkh-i-Mubarak Shāhī*[2] we learn that Bughrā Khān, on his accession to the throne of Bengala with the title of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, was coming with a large gathering to attack Dihlī, and Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn also having collected his forces from the neighbouring districts advanced against him in the direction of Oudh, and since the river Sarū[3] lay between them the son alighted on this side and the father on

[1] *Qirānu-s Sa'dain* The conjunction of the two auspicious planets. Jupiter and Venus, see H K 9399, also E and D. III 524

[2] *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, the author of this work is Yāhyā bin Ahmad bin Abdullah Sirhindī (Elliott IV 6).

[3] The principal streams (of Oudh) are the Sarū (Sarjū) the Ghaghar (Gogra) the Sai and the Godi (Gumtī) In the first mentioned divers aquatic animals and forms of strange appearance shew themselves (*Āīn-i Akbarī*, Vol II 171)

the other side, and neither was able to cross the river. The Amirs and Maliks of Ghiyasu-d-Dīn's party, intervened with advice to come to peaceful terms, and Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn with a party of special retainers crossed the river, as it had been agreed that the son should sit upon the throne, and the father, standing below the throne, should pay the customary dues of reverence and respect to him. Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn from excess of desire forgot that compact, and on the instant his eyes fell upon the splendid presence of his father he came down from his throne and running barefooted, was about to fall at his feet. The father however 160.
would not permit this, whereupon each embraced the other and for a long time they wept bitterly, and in spite of all the father's attempts to take his stand at the foot of the throne, the son forcibly took him by the hand, and led him to the throne and seated him upon it Then he also took his seat, and after a long time the Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn returned to his own camp, and sent as presents to his son a large number of famous elephants and very many extremely valuable presents and curiosities, and priceless treasures from the country of Lakhnauti. The son also sent to his father an equal number of Persian horses, and other kinds of valuable articles and cloth goods, and rare and unique presents such that the accountant of imagination is unable to estimate their number and value, and all sorts of delight and pleasure burst upon the Amirs of Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn and Nāṣiru-d-Dīn and Mu'izzu-d-Dīn, and upon high and low of the armies, and the Maliks of both parties exchanged visits Mīr Khusrū relates in detail this meeting [1] in the *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain*, and in another place he writes in a *qaṣida*.

> Hail ! to the happy kingdom when two kings are as one.
> Hail ! to the happy era when two troths are as one

Āīn-i-Akbarī II. 305 gives an account of the meeting of father and son For the river Sarjū, see Tieff I 250, 259, 260, 291, also plate XIX. facing page 292, in which the confluence of the Sarjū and Ghāgra is shown as it was in 1768.

The *Qirānu-s-Sa'dain* fixes the meeting between father and son as having taken place at Ajūdhya on the banks of the Ghagra.

[1] Ibn Batūta gives a somewhat more fanciful description of this meeting of Naṣiru-d-Dīn and Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Paris Edn. 1855, Vol III. p 177, see also Elliott III p 596

Behold ! the son is a monarch, the father a Sulṭān,
Behold the glorious kingdom now that two kings are as one.
'Tis for the sake of kingship and world enslaving power,
That for the world, two world-protecting kings become as one
One is the Nāṣir of the age, the king Maḥmūd Sulṭān,
Whose edict in the four parts of the world is still as one.
The other is Mu'izzu-d-Dīn the world's king Kaiqubād,
In whose grasp Irān and Turān are welded into one.

And this is his also—

161. Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dunyā wad Dīn Kaiqubād Shāh
Hast thou ever seen one who is the light of the eyes of four kings

On the last day [1] when Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn came to bid farewell in the presence of Malik Nizāmu-l-Mulk and Qiwāmu-l-Mulk, who were both of them counsellors and closely bound up with the Government, he gave Mu'izzu-d-Dīn many good pieces of useful advice on all subjects, with exhortation, and examples and instances, and first of all warned him against excess in wine and venery, then spoke of his carelessness with regard to state matters, and rebuked him severely for killing his brother Kai Khusrū and the other noted Amirs and Maliks of the adherents of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn; then he exhorted him to be continually given to prayer and to perform the fast of Ramaẓān, and to keep all the principal tenets of the Musalmān religion, and taught him certain fixed rules and essential regulations of sovereignty. At the time of taking his departure he whispered in a low tone telling him to get rid of Nizamu-l-Mulk 'Alāqa as soon as possible, "for" said he "if he gets a chance at you it is small chance you will get" this much he said, and they bid one another farewell with great emotion, and Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn for a few days remembered his father's injunctions, and gave up his vicious pleasures, but when he had travelled a few stages the merry courtesans and all kinds of enticing musicians and enchanting jugglers, subverters of piety, skilled and clever, crowded round him on all sides, and enticed his feet from the firm path of fortitude and self-

[1] MS (A) در روز آخرین.

restraint, by all sorts of gallantries and coquetries, and sense-ravishing gestures and allurements.

> The bitter parting advice of his father did not find place in his heart
> For this reason that his heart was inclined to sweets of pleasure.

And the elephant saw Hindustān[1] in its dreams and he broke through his forced repentance, which was as filmy as the web
of a spider, at the first provocation, and used to say, "Which 162
advice?[2] and what counsel?

> I will not give up the delights of to-day for tomorrow
> Let tomorrow bring what it may, say to it "Bring it."

In opposition to this view is the following,

> It befits not a king to be drunken with wine
> Nor become entangled in lust and desire,
> The king should be always the guardian of his people,
> It is a sin that a guardian should be drunken
> When the shepherd becomes full of new wine
> The flock sleeps in the belly of the wolf.

Heavy cups of wine used he to drink from the hands of the light-living cup bearers, and used to snatch a portion from his short ephemeral existence, and in this state malicious time used to foretell this calamity,[3]

> Oh thou whose reign is the reign of faithless friends
> From thy love springs hate, from thy honour disgrace,
> Thou art as full of turmoil, but as empty, as the drum;
> Lasting for one night like the candle, and for one day like the rose.

In this licentious mode of life he made his way to Dihli where he arrived in the year 689 H. (1290 A.D.) There certain of his notable Amirs became suspicious of his intentions, and withdrew

[1] See *note* 2, page 219

[2] The text has کدام پد misprint for کدام پند.

[3] The text reads. این نکته but MS. (A) reads preferably نکبه

to the skirts of the mountains Sher Khān[1] who was one of their number repented and returned, and was thrown into a prison which he only left to go to the prison house of the grave, the others were punished They bestowed upon Fīroz Khān ibn Yaghrash the Khiljī, who eventually obtained the title of Sulṭān
163. Jalālu-d-Dīn, the title of Shāyista Khān,[2] and entrusted the district of Baran[3] to his control, accordingly he formed a plot by which he got Malik Ḥimār Kachhan, who had treacherously attempted to slay him, into his power, and took vengeance on him for the deed which he had failed to accomplish. Then was seen the truth of the proverb "He who digged a pit for his brother is fallen into it himself.

> Thou hast digged a pit in the way[4] that thou mayest overthrow others.
>
> Dost thou not fear lest one day thou should'st find thyself in the midst of it?

This was the plan which Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn carried into effect. He was very anxious to act upon the advice of his father and remove Niẓāmu-l-Mulk 'Alāqa, so he in the first instance appointed him to Multān, but Niẓāmu-l-Mulk saw through this device, and kept making excuses for delaying his departure, whereupon certain of the king's retainers at a hint from him, poisoned Niẓāmu-l-Mulk's cup, and despatched him to the land of nonexistence. It so happened that this occurrence became a cause of injury to the State. At this same time the Sulṭān was attacked by paralysis[5] from his excesses in wine and venery, in addition to which other deadly ills and chronic diseases obtained the mastery over his body, and his constitution not being able to stand against them, his powers succumbed. The greater number of the Amirs and Maliks who were well disposed to him raised his son

[1] MS (A) reads ارسر خان Arsar Khān.

[2] MS. (A) شايستي حان.

[3] MS. (A) اقطاع برن.

[4] MS (A) تو چاهي كندۀ در دل

[5] لقوه *Laqwa* Facial paralysis The disease is thus described in the بحرالجواهر *Bahru-l-jawāhir* "a disease in which one half of the face is drawn to one side so that the breath and the spittle come from one side, the lips cannot be properly approximated and one of the eyes cannot be closed."

Kai Kāūs who was an infant [1] of tender years to the throne with the title of Shamsu-d-Dīn.

In the year 688 H. (1289 A D.) they made terms with Shāyista Khān who had distanced all his rivals.[2] Accordingly he ordered all his kinsmen and retainers whom he had summoned from Baran, [3] and had stationed fully armed and equipped in readiness on the other side of the river, to cross the river Jumna and prepare to contest the day with their enemies. Certain of the Amīrs of the party of Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn and Mu'izzu-d-Dīn came out to oppose him with elephants and a large gathering, and having placed a royal umbrella over the head of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn, who was 164
reduced to a shadow by weakness and emaciation, displayed him from afar off from the summit of the palace of Kīlūgharī where he was but barely visible, and made obeisance to him.[4] In the meantime Malik Chhajū, brother's son to Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn, who had acquired the title of Kishlī Khān cried out "I wish to place Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn upon a boat and take him to his father at Lakhnautī and remain myself in the service of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Kai Kāūs"—In spite of this the people of Dihlī, from the highest to the lowest, came to the assistance of Shamsu-d-Dīn, and having assembled in front of the Budāon gate stood up [5] to oppose Shāyista Khān in battle, and since the sons of Maliku-l-Umarā Fakhru-d-Dīn Kotwāl had been taken prisoners in the fight with Shāyista Khān, and Malik Ḥimār Surkha, who had plotted with the servants of Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn to kill Shāyista Khān and carry off Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn (Kai Kāūs),[6] had fallen by the hand of Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn son of Shāyista Khān, accordingly Maliku-l-Umarā (Fakhru-d-Dīn) opposed the people and prevented their assembling as they desired, till at last the adherents of Shāyista Khān removed Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Kai Kāūs from the throne by force and carried him off to Bahāpūr,[7] where Shāyista

1 MS. (A) omits the word طفل

2 The reading of the text is here adopted MS (A) reads عديلي ماندة بود

3 MS. (A) omits the words (بود و) after طليدة

4 حركة المذ بوحي. I can see no other meaning for these words.

5 MS (A) reads ايستادند.

6 MS (A) omits the word كيكاوس

7 MS. (A) reads بهاپور Baini says Baharpūr (E. and D. III. 134)

Khān was, they then ordered [1] a man whose father had been put to death by Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn to go to the palace of Kīlūgharī, which he did, and finding the Sultān at his last gasp, he kicked him several times on the head, and then threw him into the river Jumna, and the Empire passed from the dynasty of Ghor, and kingship from the family of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn This occurrence took place in the middle [2] of the month of Muharram in the year 689 H (1209 A D.) [3] The duration of the sovereignty of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn was three years and some months

> This is the changeableness of the ancient heaven,
> At one time it is like a bow at another like an arrow,
> 165 At one time it feeds you with kindness at another poisons you with enmity,
> This is an example of the custom of the revolving heaven.

We learn from the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* [4] that Sultān Mu'izzu d-Dīn, after the capture of the Shāhzāda, was seized while sitting in durbar during that revolt of the populace, and was bound, and died in captivity of hunger and thirst in the course of his sufferings he wrote this quatrain,

> The horse of my excellence has been left far behind on the plain
> The hand of my generosity has fallen between the hammer and the anvil.
> My eye which used to see the gold of the mine and the invisible jewel
> To-day alas ! is blinded for lack of bread.

And when the tumult between Itimar Surkha and the people of Dihlī subsided, and Shāyista Khān had gained his heart's desire and seated the prince upon the throne, and had set the affairs of the kingdom going again, on the second day after this, Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn bade farewell to this transitory [5] unstable

[1] MS (A) فرمودند.

[2] MS (A) دراواسط.

[3] Firishta says 687 H *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* says 19th Muharram 689 H.

[4] The *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* gives the date of the death of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn as the 19th Muharram A H 689

[5] MS (A) omits فانی.

world, and realised that all that wanton enjoyment had been but a dream and a phantasy.

Quatrain.

If with your love you have lived in peace your whole life long,
Should you taste all the sweets the world can give your whole life long.
Still at the end comes Death to meet you, and then you find
'Tis but a dream you have vainly dreamed your whole life long.

Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Kai Kāūs.

The son of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād nominally ascended the throne[1] in Bahāpūr in the year already mentioned, by the co-operation of Shāyista Khān and Malik Chhajū, and the uncle of Shāyista Khān, named Malik Husain, who had kept quiet at Kilū-gharī during the disturbances, for the safe custody of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn, had established great confidence Shāyista Khān made Malik Chhajū Kishlī Khān undertake the duties of Regent, 166.
and handing over the young prince to his charge, made a request on his own behalf for the districts of Tiberhinda, Debālpur, and Multān, and asked permission to depart thither, Malik yielding up the Regency and Vazīrship to Shāyista Khān[2] asked for the district of Karra for himself Shāyista Khān immediately acceded to his request, and conferred on him a robe of honour, and some days later allowed him to proceed to Karra, and Maliku-l-Umarā Fakhru-d-Dīn Kotwāl having congratulated Shāyista Khān on his accession to such high office and great prosperity was instrumental in obtaining permission for Malik Chhajū to leave

Shāyista Khān used to bring the prince into the durbār hall and used himself to give audience and to regulate the important affairs of state After a month or two, he brought Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn on horseback to the palace of Kilūgharī, and imprisoned him, and giving him as his fellows the inhabitants of the prison-house of the grave, sent him to the secret abode of destruction

1 MS (A) reads برتخت سلطنت.

2 MS (A) reads بعهدهٔ او

The duration of the kingdom of Shamsu-d-Dīn Kāi Kāūs was three months and a few days.[1]

> The wine of the sky is not unmixed with the brine of sorrow,
> The world's one employment is jugglery—naught else.

Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn ibn Yaghrash Khiljī

Whose name was Malik Fīroz and his title Shāyista Khān, came to the throne in the year 689 H. as has already been said,
167 with the consent and assistance of Malik Chhajū Kishlī Khān; and inasmuch he had previously been regent and governor of the kingdom[2] the affairs (of state) all devolved upon him.

It must not be forgotten that although Shihābu-d-Dīn Ḥakīm Kirmānī Jaunpūrī,[3] the author of the history called *Tabaqāt-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī*, deduces the pedigree of Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn and Sulṭān Maḥmūd Mālwī from the stock of Qālij Khān, son-in-law of Changīz Khān, there is a long story connected with this. This at least is clear that this ancestry has no real authority, any one of sound judgment will be able to detect the falsity of his claim to this descent, and as a matter of fact there is no connection whatever between Qālij and Khalj, in spite of the fact that Qālij has too rough a sound for the Turkī tongue, and if it had any equivalent (of sufficient softness) it would be Qalj[4] with the meaning

[1] Neither Barnī nor Firishta reckon Kaikāūs (or Kaiumours) as having had an independent reign, and inasmuch as he was only an infant of some three years of age, it seems more rational to allude to him merely as the puppet that he really was. The only object in raising him to the throne was an attempt to save the kingdom from passing into the hands of the Khiljis. Jalālu-d Dīn Khiljī, who had been appointed Vizir when Niẓāmu-l-Mulk had been poisoned, was ready to seize upon the throne. The fief of Baran had been conferred upon him with the title of Shāyista Khān, subsequently he was made 'Āriẓ-i-Mamālik. The plots he contrived to get rid of Kaiqubād have been detailed above.

[2] MS. (A) omits the word (ملکی).

[3] See the *Tabaqat-i-Mahmūd Shāhī*.

[4] The editor of the text states in a footnote that this is a mere verbal quibble of no importance, because قلج *qalj* and قالج *qālij* are the same, the *alif* in قالج being in place of the *fathah* which follows the ق in قلج in accordance with the customary mode of writing Turkī further he states that among modern Persians غ is frequently used for ق

of *a sword* and in some histories it is said that Khalj is the name of one of the sons of Yāfis, (Japhet) the son of Nūḥ (Noah) *on whom be peace* and that the Khiljīs descend from him God knows the truth of this. To make a long story short, Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn divided the greater portion of the valuable appointments between his sons and brothers, and bestowed the following titles—upon his eldest son the title of Khān Khānān, upon his second son that of Arkalī Khān, and on his youngest son that of Qadr Khān, while he gave to his uncle Malik Ḥusain the title of Tāju-l-Mulk. In this same way he bestowed various titles upon others, and allotted them estates, and having built a new town, and a new garden on the banks of the Jumna opposite to the Mu'izzī palace he called it a citadel, "The Rocky Citadel"; when it was completed it was called "Shahr-i-nau" (New-town)[1] and in Sha'bān, of the second year after his accession, Malik Chhajū Kishlī Khān went to Karra, and became openly rebellious The Amirs of the party of Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn who held estates in that district joined with him, came to Budāon and crossed the Ganges by the ford of Bijlāna with the intention of attacking Dihlī, waiting for the arrival of Malik Chhajū who was to come by way of Karra,[2] (and)[3] Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn left Khān Khānān in Dihlī and marched against them. Dividing his forces into two army corps he himself went by way of Kol, and reached Budāon,[4] sending Arkalī Khān towards Amroha to oppose Malik Chhajū Arkalī Khān fought the enemy valiantly in many engagements during several days on the banks of the Rahab. In the meantime the people of Bairām Dev the Raja of Kola, which was also called Koela, gave information to Malik Chhajū that Sultān Jalālu-d-Dīn was in pursuit of him, and having frightened him exceedingly, urged him to take to flight He was in such dread of the Sultān, that he did not know his head from his heels, and in the dead of night he made his escape, but eventually fell into the hands of the Kuwārs[5] Arkalī Khān crossed the Rahab,[6] despatched Bairām

[1] MS (A) شهر نو موسوم گردید.

[2] MS. (A) reads کر از راه کرة نروئید. The reading in the text is adopted.

[3] MS. (A) inserts و here

[4] MS (A) reads از راه کول و بداون رسید The text is preferable

[5] The text gives an alternation reading توراتیان

[6] MS (A) عبور کرده

Dev to hell, and pursued Malik Chhajū, and took him prisoner together with some of the other Amīrs of the Ghiyāṣi faction. Then he went in the direction of Bahāri and Kasam Kūr, which is the same as Shamsābād,[1] and when they took Malik Chhajū and the other captive Balbani Amīrs in fetters and chains[2] into the presence of the Sultān, he called to mind their old ties of relationship, and loosed them from their bonds, sent them to the baths, clothed them in rich garments of honour, and made them partake of his own table, sending Malik Chhajū with the greatest marks of respect to Multān

169. Malik 'Alau-d-Dīn who was the brother's son and son-in-law of the Sultān,[3] and had been appointed to the district of Karra, and Ilmās Beg, the brother of 'Alāu-d-Dīn who subsequently became Ulugh Khān[4] was appointed to the post of Akhor Beg. In the meanwhile, the summons which is distasteful to all reached Khān-i-Khanān The Sultān was greatly distressed at his loss Mīr Khusrū wrote the following dirge in memory of him —

What day is this that I see not the sun shining,
If night has come why do I not see the brilliant moon
Since two days my sun has remained behind the clouds,
So that in my eyes I see nothing but clouds and rain
In Hindustān an evident danger has appeared,
On every face I see thousands of wrinkles but I do not see the Khāqān[5]
The stone of the royal signet is hidden as a stone in the mine
My heart has turned to blood like the ruby for that I see him not

[1] MS (A) omits باشد

[2] MS (A) ده بند و غل

[3] MS. (A) has ملک علا الدین را which is a mistake and omits the و after the word داماد inserting it after the word بود

[4] MS (A) which reads که بعد بزان العجان گشت

[5] There are plays on the words خطا meaning *a fault*, and the kingdom of Khata or Cathay, and چین meaning *a wrinkle* and the kingdom of Chīn or China The title خاقان Khāqān is the title of the Emperors of Cathay For the meaning of Khāqān, see *Tārikh-i-Rashidi*, (Ross and Elias), page 30, *note* 1

Lo there is the King, seated on his throne, with his courtiers standing round him on all sides,
All are there, but still I do not see Khān-i-Khānān.
When I saw fortune blinded, I asked him, Dost thou wish for sight?
He replied, What could I do with sight, since I cannot see Maḥmūd Sulṭān!

And in the year following, Arkalī Khān came from Multān to Dihlī, and the Sulṭān leaving him in Dihlī proceeded to Mandāwar, and after his arrival at that stage, having received with anxiety tidings of the revolt of certain of the Ghiyāṣī Amirs, he made over the district of Budāon to Malik Maghlaṭī,[1] sent him off at once and appointed Malik Mubārak to Tiberhindah, then after reducing the fortress of Mandāwar proceeded by an uninterrupted 170 series of marches to Dihlī, and in those days a certain Saiyyid ascetic and recluse, holding close communion with God,[2] relying upon Him, bountiful,[3] adorned with so many excellencies and perfections, Sīdī Maulā[4] by name first came from 'Ajam (Persia) to Ajūdhan in the service of the pillar of the Saints the master Shaikh Farīd, Ganj-i-Shakkar, *may God sanctify his resting place*, and sought permission to proceed to the eastern parts of Hindustān They said to him "Beware of crowds of men, and abstain from intercourse with kings" When he reached Dihlī, Khān-i-Khānān, the eldest son of the Sultān, displayed the greatest desire to become his disciple[5] In the same way the greater number of the deposed Maliks and Amirs of the Balban party[6] used daily both morning and evening to sit at the table of that darvesh, who would not accept anything from any one People used to credit him with alchemistic powers, and used to come in such crowds that a thousand *mans* of fine flour and five hundred *mans* of freshly skinned meat, and three hundred *mans* of sugar used to be the daily

1 MS (A) ملک مغلطی
2 MS (A) صاحب تقربي
3 MS (A) باذلي
4 *See* Beale's Dictionary, page 240
5 MS. (A) اعتقاد ارادة.
6 MS. (A) omits که

expenditure of the Shaikh which he expended in alms; the aforesaid Sīdī although he engaged always in vigils[1] and the prayers of the five stated times, was, however, never present at the public prayer on Fridays, nor was he bound by the conditions of public[2] worship in accordance with established custom, and Qāẓī Jalālu-d-Dīn Kāshāni (and)[3] Qāẓī Urdū and men of note, and trusted chiefs, and all both great and small, used continually to worship at his monastery.

When this news reached the Sulṭān, the story goes that one night he went in disguise to his monastery, and saw for himself that he expended even more than was reported. Accordingly the next day he held a grand durbār and ordered Sīdī Maulā with the Qāẓī and the other Amīrs who were his disciples, to be brought before him with ignominious treatment of all kinds, bound in fetters and chains. He enquired into the state of the case, and asked each one whether the Sīdī laid claim to kingly power. The aforesaid Sīdī denied it, and fortified his denial with an oath, but to no purpose. At that time Qāẓī Jalālu-d-Dīn lay under the Sulṭān's displeasure, he also denied the allegation. The Sulṭān
171 deposed him, and nominated him as Qāẓī of Budāon. In order to verify the claims to Saiyyidship, and to test the miraculous powers of the Sīdī, he had a huge fire like that prepared by Nimrūd (for Abraham) lighted, and wished to have Sīdī Maulā thrown into that temple of fire. The Ulama of the time, in consideration of the irreligious nature of that order, issued a mandamus which they communicated to the Sulṭān saying, "The essential nature of fire is to consume things, and no one can issue forth from it in safety unhurt." The Sulṭān accordingly desisted and gave up that ordeal, but he punished the larger number of those Maliks in that same assembly, and some he expatriated; and inasmuch as the answers of Sīdī Maulā[4] were all in accordance with reason, and no fault could be found with him either on the score of religious law or logic, the Sulṭān was reduced to extremity, and suddenly turning to Abū Bakr Tūsī Ḥaidarī who was the chief of the sect of Qalandars, and utterly unscrupulous, he

[1] MS. (A) تهجد
[2] MS. (A) adds بجل.
[3] MS. (A) omits و.
[4] MS. (A) omits the words مولا همه

said "Why do not you darveshes avenge me of this tyrant," thereupon a Qalandar leapt up from their midst, and struck the unfortunate Sīdī several blows with a razor and wounded him, then they shaved off the holy man's whiskers[1] with a knife even to the chin, and stabbed him in the side[2] with sackmakers' needles, and then, by command of Arkalī Khān, the second son of the Sulṭān, an elephant driver drove a rogue elephant over the head of the poor oppressed Sīdī, and martyred him with countless tortures *may God be gracious to him.* They say that this same Sīdī, for a whole month before this occurrence used to sing these verses at all times, smiling the while he sang:

> In the kitchen of love, they slay naught but the good;
> The weak natured, and evil disposed they kill not.
> If thou art a sincere lover, flee not from slaughter,
> He whom they slay not is no better than a corpse.

And just at this time, on the very day of his murder, a whirlwind black with dust arose, and the world was darkened, there 172.
was a scarcity of rain in that year, and such a famine occurred that the Hindūs, from excess of hunger and want, went in bands and joining their hands threw themselves into the river Jumna, and became the portion of the alligator of extinction. Many Muslims also, burning in the flames of hunger, were drowned in the ocean of non-existence, while the rest of the world took these signs and events as proofs of the verity of Sīdī and as evidence of his sincerity. Although no inferences can be drawn from facts of this kind, since they may finally prove to be only coincidences, still I myself have seen with my own eyes examples of such incidents, as shall be related in their proper places if God so will it

> God has never cursed any nation
> Until the heart of a holy man has been grieved

The remainder of the accused, at the intercession of Arkalī Khān, were delivered from the danger which threatened their lives, and from the punishment intended by the Sulṭān; and in this same year the Sulṭān for the second time marched against

[1] محاسن مبارک MS. (A).
[2] ر پہلوي او MS. (A).

Rantanbhor, and destroyed the country round it, and overthrew the idols and idol-temples, but returned without attempting to reduce the fort. Arkali Khān went to Multān without his permission, at which the Sulṭān was very vexed.

In the year 691 H. the Mughuls under Chingiz Khān came up against Hindustān with a very large army, and fought a very severe battle with the Sulṭān's victorious forces in the neighbourhood of Sanām. When the Mughuls became aware of the size of the army of Hindustān they began to make overtures for peace. The Sulṭān thereupon summoned their leader, who was very closely related to Halākū Khān, and also his son, who called the Sulṭān his father They accordingly had an interview and exchanged gifts and presents and each returned to his own country:
173. and Alghū[1] the grandson of Chingiz Khān, embraced Islām, and several thousand Mughuls besides followed his example and having learnt to repeat the sacred and blessed formula, elected to remain in the service of the Sulṭān. Alghū was selected for the honour of becoming son-in-law to the Sulṭān The Mughuls took up their abode in Ghiyāspūr in which is now the sacred tomb of the Prince of Holy men Nizāmul Auliyā[2] *may God sanctify his resting place* It is commonly known as Mughulpūr and those Mughuls were called the "new Muslims."

At the close of this same year the Sultān having gone up against the fort of Mandāwar ravaged and pillaged the country round it and then returned. 'Alāu-d-Dīn the Governor of Karra, obtained permission in that year to proceed to Bhilsa[3] and attacked that country[4] and brought much booty thence to present to the Sulṭān, and the idol which was the object of worship of the Hindūs, he caused to be cast down in front of the gate of Badāon to be trampled upon by the people[5] These services of 'Alāu-d-Dīn being highly approved,[6] the *jāgīr* of Oudh also was added to his other estates, and since 'Alāu-d-Dīn was very angry and incensed

[1] See *Tārikh-i-Rashidi* (Elias and Ross) p 34

[2] Nizāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā. *See* Beale O. B D, p. 211, also *Āīn-i Akbārī* (J) III 365

[3] MS (A) reads بهلسه Bhilsa. The text has بهدکه which is meaningless.

[4] MS. (A) آن ولایات را

[5] MS (A) omits معهود after معبود and has خلق for خلائق

[6] MS (A) افتاده for افتادو.

against the Sulṭān's consort, who was his mother-in-law, and against the daughter of the Sulṭān, because she always made a practice of speaking ill of him to her father, he was anxious, on any pretext whatever, to leave the Sulṭān's dominions and go to a distance, and find some place of refuge for himself; accordingly he provided himself with new servants, and making all preparations as to personal clothing and furniture, he asked the Sulṭān[1] to bestow upon him the district of Chanderī, and leaving Dihlī came to Karra, and from there under the pretence of attacking Chanderī, he went by way of Īllichpūr, and made for the frontiers of the country of Deogīr; leaving Malik 'Alāu-l-Mulk who was one of his friends, as his deputy in Karra, and having instructed him to temporise with the Sulṭān, went off somewhere unknown to anyone, and when no news could be obtained of Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn's whereabouts for a considerable time, the Sulṭān was exceedingly sorry.[2]
Suddenly news arrived that 'Alāu-d-Dīn having gone up against **174.**
the rebel Deo Gīr, had conquered the whole of his country as far as the confines of the country of the Deccan, and had taken as spoil much treasure, and elephants and property, several thousands of horses, together with valuables; silk and cloth goods, and jewels, beyond the limits of computation, and that he was making for Karra This was a source of great gratification to the Sulṭān, but the wise men of those times knew very well, both from analogy and inference, that 'Alāu-d-Dīn[3] had gone to that country without permission from the Sulṭān, and had suffered much annoyance at the hands of Malika i-Jahān who was the consort of the Sultān, and also from his own wife, and had accordingly faced the world, always nursing in his breast sinister intentions Now[4] that he was in a position perfectly to put his rebellious ideas into execution, and had not the access to the Court, it was strange that the Sultān seemed to suffer no apprehension as regarded him, but no one dared represent these views to the Sultān, who was wholly and entirely ignorant of the annoyance which 'Alāu-d-Dīn had suffered at the hands of the Queen-mother and his own wife, and if by chance they ventured

[1] MS (A) از جانب سلطان.
[2] MS (A) دلنگرانی تمام داشت.
[3] MS. (A) omits كه.
[4] MS. (A) omits و.

to speak[1] of the possibility of the revolt and treachery of 'Alāu-d-Dīn, the Sulṭān attributed it to jealousy, and would never allow the idea of his contumacy or rebellion to enter his head.

In short, at the time when the Sulṭān was in the neighbourhood of Gwāliār he summoned a council of his Amīrs to deliberate about 'Alāu-d-Dīn and said.[2] "What in your opinion is 'Alāu-d-Dīn's object in coming hither with so great display and circumstance, what will he do and what ought I to do? shall I go to meet him by way of Chanderī or shall I remain where I am, or again shall I return to Dihlī?" Malik Aḥmad Chap who was a Vazir of sound judgment and ripe experience and loyal to the backbone, did all he could to warn the Sulṭān by adducing logical arguments and quoting precedents, reminding him of the revolt of Malik Chhajū and the mutiny of the inhabitants of Karra, events which were of recent occurrence, as testifying to
175. the probabilities of the present position, and urged him to go out to meet 'Alāu-d-Dīn on the way by which he would arrive, and to put an end to his ostentatious display and pompous arrogance, to seize his elephants and property, and all the things which were likely to be of use; but the Sultān would not listen to his advice, and launching forth into extravagant eulogy of 'Alāu-d-Dīn declared that his mind was perfectly at ease on his account in every possible way, "for is he not" (said he) "my protégé[3] and foster child, he can never harbour any evil designs against me." Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn, and the other Amīrs also went with oily speeches to the Sultān, and brought forward all sorts of absurd arguments simply to suit the humour of the Sulṭān, and adducing weak examples induced him to return to Dihlī; Malik Aḥmad Chap rose up in wrath from that assembly, and spoke as follows: "If Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn with all this[4] pomp and royal display has arrived at Karra and crossing the river Sarū makes for Lakhnautī, I do not know what can be done by any one to oppose him," and lamenting exceedingly the condition of the Sulṭān he repeated the following lines—

1 MS. (A) سخن از.
2 MS. (A) کنکاش طلبید و گفت که
3 MS. (A) پرورده نواورده
4 MS (A) با این همه اسباب

A foeman, though small one should never despise,
For a mountain is made up of stones of small size.

The Sulṭān then came from Gwāliār to Dihlī, and 'Alāu-d-Dīn having reached Kaṛṛa[1] wrote despatches full of craft and cunning to the Court, and worked upon the avarice of the Sulṭān by presents of elephants and endless wealth, and begged for a kindly worded letter summoning him to the Court, while all the time he was engaged in preparations to start for Lakhnautī, and having sent his brother[2] Ẓafar Khān to Oudh ordered him to hold in readiness all the boats on the river Sarū. The simple minded Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn wrote a command with his own hand in accordance with 'Alāu-d-Dīn's request and sent it[3] by the hand of two confidential and trusted body servants, one of whom was named Imādu-l-Mulk and the other[4] Ẓiāu-d-Dīn. These men when they arrived soon perceived by his manner and bearing[5] that the face of affairs was altered[6] and 'Alāu-d-Dīn 176.
having prepared the dish for the Sulṭān, and having arranged for its service at a given signal, handed over[7] those two messengers to sentries who were charged to keep them so closely guarded that not even a bird should be able to flap its wings near them, then he wrote a letter to Ilmās Beg his brother, who was also a son-in-law of the Sulṭān,[8] and sent it to Dihlī, couched in these words "Inasmuch as in the course of this expedition, I have committed many unwarranted acts, in that without taking the orders of the Sulṭān I proceeded to Deogir, for this reason certain persons have aroused fear in my heart and anxiety—but seeing that I am the loyal servant and son of the Sulṭān, if he will march lightly equipped and by rapid marches come and lay hands upon me, and carry me off I have nothing to urge against

1 بکڑا رسیدہ.
2 MS. (A) برادر خود ظفرخان the word خورد in the text is omitted here.
3 MS. (A فرستاد.
4 MS. (A) دیگری.
5 MS (A) طرح وضع او.
6 کہ ورق دیگرگون شدہ literally "that the leaves had changed colour."
7 MS. (A) سپرد.
8 MS. (A) کہ اوھم داماد سلطان بود.

imprisonment, and if, as they have said the current rumours are true, and the Sulṭān's mind is in reality turned against me, I must perforce lay violent hands upon myself and efface myself from the world" When Ilmās Beg laid that [1] letter before the Sulṭān, he on the instant sent [2] Ilmās Beg to reassure 'Alāu-d-Dīn and gave him a promise that he himself would follow. Ilmās Beg embarked in a boat, and going like the wind over the surface of the water,[3] on the seventh day joined Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn, and urged him to proceed to Lakhnautī,[4] but certain of the wise and far-seeing companions of 'Alāu-d-Dīn said, "What need have we to go to Lakhnautī when the Sultān by reason of his excessive greed for the wealth of Deogīr, and the elephants and horses of that country will come here lightly equipped [5] in the very height of the rainy season.[6] At that time we will take any steps that may be necessary,[7] and whatever has to be done to meet the emergency, we have it all stored up and we will put an end to him on the spot."[8] Since the cup of the life of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn was full [9] and his heart was brim full of lust and greed for that fancied and ill-omened treasure,[10] and Fate too had rendered him deaf and blind, not one of these evil designs was perceived by him;

Verse.

When Fate lets fall from the sky a feather,
177. All the wise men became [11] blind and deaf

Casting the advice of his well-wishers behind him,[12] he embarked on a boat with certain of his trusted followers and a thousand

1 MS (A) آن نامه را
2 MS. (A) رخصت فرمود و وعده کرد.
3 MS. (A) بر روی اب روانه شد
4 MS. (A) و اورا بر رفتن بلکهنوتی تحریص نمود
5 MS (A) ایکسال
6 بشکال or پشه کال Turki word, "saison des pluies" (Pavet de Courteilles)
7 MS. (A) هر اندیشه که باید اندیشیم
8 MS (A) همانجا and omits می.
9 MS (A) پر شده و
10 MS. (A) مال مو هوم شوم
11 MS. (A) گشتند.
12 *Lit.* striking their words on the dorsum of his foot.

sowārs, borrowing his speed from the wind and his haste from the stream, and set out for Kaṛra: he sent Malik Aḥmad Chap the Vazir with an armed force and a body of retainers by land,[1] Malik Aḥmad Chap was rending his garments but all to no purpose.

Verse.

If the listener will not turn his ear to counsel,
He will reap retribution from the high heaven.

The Sulṭān, whose life's boat had been wrecked by a contrary wind, and had been cast on the shore of destruction, arrived at Kaṛra on the 17th of the blessed month of Ramaẓān: and 'Alāu-d-Dīn, who had kept his forces in readiness, had crossed the river Ganges between Kaṛra and Manikpūr and had pitched his camp: then he sent Ilmās Beg to the Sulṭān, sending by him some valuable jewels, with strict orders to use all the means he could devise and all the craft he could command to separate the Sultān from his army and bring him to 'Alāu-d-Dīn. His confederate therefore went and presented himself before the Sultān, and with great craftiness and deceit, and with obsequious humility represented that[2] if he had not come 'Alāu-d-Dīn would have been utterly scared and would have escaped, "and to such an extent" said he, "have the evil speakers stuffed his ears[3] with reports of the unkind and ill-disposed utterances of the Sulṭān, and filled his mind with fear, that even now fear and suspicion is by no means entirely removed from his mind.[4] There is still a probability of that of which I spoke before, unless the Sulṭān should shew him some favour and kindness, and should re-assure him, and going alone, without any retinue, should take him by the hand and lead him here."

[5]The Sultān taking his blood-thirsty words for the truth, ordered the cavalry escort which accompanied him to remain halted where they were, and he himself, together with a small body of retainers armed and ready for battle, proceeded a short distance forward, going forth to meet Death, while the arch-

[1] MS. (A) روان ساخت.

[2] MS. (A) که.

[3] MS. (A) گوش اورا.

[4] MS (A) omits و.

[5] MS. (A) omits و.

178. traitor Ilmās Beg further represented [1] saying "my brother is in great fear and awe of the Sulṭān [2] and is quaking from head to foot; and when he sees even this small body of men, he will be all the more alarmed, and will despair of the Sulṭān's clemency." [3] Accordingly the Sulṭān ordered this body of retainers to lay aside their arms which they did: those who were closely attached to the Sulṭān were greatly agitated at this foolish decision, but the Sulṭān would not be dissuaded by their objections. When they arrived near the bank of the river, the army of 'Alāu-d-Dīn was plainly visible drawn up in close order fully armed and equipped, and evidently expecting an engagement. Malik Khurram [4] the Vakīldar said to Ilmās Beg "We left our army behind us at your instigation, and we laid down our arms, what is this that we see an army ready for action?" He replied "my brother wishes to review his army, and following his usual course, he wishes to make a proper display [5] before the Sulṭān, with an eye to future advantage," the Sulṭān in accordance with the saying "When fate comes the plain becomes narrow" [6] up to that moment even did not discover the deceit of his enemy, but of his own free will walked deliberately into the jaws of the dragon.

Verse

When the day becomes dark to any man,
He does that which is hurtful to him.

When he said to the stony-hearted Ilmās Beg "In spite of my old age and the weakness due to fasting I came so far, [7] even yet will not your cruel brother's heart induce him [8] to get into a boat and come to me?" Ilmās Beg answered "my brother is unwilling to receive the Sultān empty handed [9] and with reserve.

"If thou goest empty handed to visit a Sheikh,
Thou wilt get no profit, nor wilt thou even see him"

179. He is busy selecting elephants and valuables and goods to present,

1 MS (A) نمود.

2 MS (A) ساطاني

3 MS. (A) سلطاني.

4 MS. (A) ملك خرم.

5 MS (A) شان و اجاب در نظر سلطان در آرد.

6 *See* page 190, *note* 4

7 MS (A) إصدم.

8 MS. (A) نمي كشد

9 MS (A) دست تهي.

and is quite occupied in that service[1] and he has been preparing food for breaking your fast, and to do honour to the arrival of his guest, and is now awaiting the honoured coming of the Sulṭān, so that he may be distinguished among his peers by the honour derived from the royal visit." The Sulṭān all this time was occupied in reading the sacred volume; they reached the river's bank by the time of afternoon prayer and he took his seat in the place they had made ready for him to sit in, and 'Alāu-d-Dīn having got every thing ready[2] came with a great gathering to pay his respects to the Sulṭān and fell at his feet.[3] The Sulṭān smiling, with affection and kindness and love smote him a gentle blow on the cheek, and addressing him with great shew of fondness and clemency and warm-heartedness, began to give him words of counsel, and was talking to him affectionately and lovingly, reassuring him in every possible way, and seizing the hand of Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn was drawing him near. At this moment when the Sulṭān laid hold of his beard, and, kissing him, was shewing him marks of his special favour, and[4] had given his hand into his, 'Alāu-d-Dīn seizing the Sulṭān's hand firmly, wrenched it, and gave a signal to a party of men who were confederate and had sworn together to murder the Sulṭān. Then Maḥmūd Sālim who was one of the scum of Sāmāna, aimed a blow with his sword at the Sulṭān and wounded him; on receiving that wound the Sulṭān made for the boat crying out as he ran. "Thou wretch 'Alāu-d-Dīn, what is this thou hast done!" At this juncture one Ikhtiyāru-d Dīn who had been a particular protégé of the Sulṭān ran behind him and inflicted a second wound which killed him; he then cut off his head and brought it to 'Alāu-d-Dīn.[5] By Alāu-d-Dīn's orders, the head of the unfortunate oppressed and martyred monarch was placed upon a spear and carried round Kaṛṛa and
Manikpūr: from thence they took it to Oudh; and the body- 180.
servants of the Sulṭān who were in the boat were all put to death, some of them threw themselves into the river, and were drowned in the ocean of destruction. Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Kūchī fell into their hands alive and was murdered. Malik Aḥmad Chap having made prisoners of the Sulṭān's army brought it to

[1] MS. (A) بآن خدمت مشغول.
[2] MS. (A) omits و.
[3] MS (A) افتاد
[4] MS. (A) adds و.
[5] MS. (A) آورد.

Dihli and [1] pending the arrival of Arkali Khān from Multān (he was the worthy son of the Sulṭān and fitted to succeed him in the kingdom) as a temporary measure, with the co-operation of Malika-i-Jahān, seated Qadr Khān the youngest son of the Sulṭān, upon the throne of Dihli, with the title of Ruknu-d-Dīn Ibrāhīm. The Amirs and Maliks of Jalālu-d-Dīn's party came one and all to swear allegiance to him at his accession. He retained the name of King for one month. Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn lost no time,[2] but on the very day of the assassination of the Sulṭān, made open display of the insignia and emblems of royalty, and raising the imperial canopy over his own head [3] was addressed as Sulṭān and [4] in the middle of the rainy season marching uninterruptedly he made straight for the metropolis of Dihli, and showering *dīnārs* and *dirhems* like rain over the heads of the populace, and pelting the people in the streets great and small with golden missiles from balistae and slings,[5] came to his own garden on the banks of the Jumna and alighted there. Day by day the Amīrs of the Jalālī faction joined themselves to him and swore allegiance to him, and by the hope of the red gold, all regret for Jalālu-d-Dīn was completely effaced from their black hearts.

> Liberality is the alchemy [6] of the copper of faults;
> Liberality is the remedy for all pain.

It is said that by the day when Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn reached Badāon sixty thousand sowārs had joined his standard, Malik Ruknu-d-Dīn Ibrāhīm seeing that he had not the power to resist him went to Multān to Arkali Khān, with certain chosen Amīrs who remained faithful after the massacre (of Jalālu-d-Dīn), and the whole of the kingdom fell under the dominion of 'Alāu-d-Dīn

[1] MS (A) inserts و

[2] MS (A) reads علاؤالدین فرصت نداده هم درروز.

[3] MS (A) برسر خود گرفته.

[4] MS (A) inserts و.

[5] MS (A) reads درعرادا و منجنیق

[6] کیمیا *Kimiyā*. Cf Roebuck *Proverbs*, 398. هرمس که بکیمیا رسد زر گردد.
All copper which is affected by Kimiyā becomes gold.
"The science (of Alchemy) has for its object the substance by which gold and silver is perfected by artificial means"
See Proleg Ibn Khaldūn. (de Slane) III. 207. See also Skeat, *s. v.*

The kingdom is God's and greatness is His. The massacre of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn took place in the seventeenth of the month of Ramaẓān in the year 694 H. (A.D. 1294) and the duration of his reign was seven years and some months. 181.

Verses.

Hast thou seen the acts of the tyrant heaven and its star,
Mention it not; what is the heaven, its revolution, or its arched vault?
How is it that the revolving heaven has cast the sun of the kingdom headlong into the dust,
Dust be on the head of his sun of glory.

Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn had a taste for poetry, and Amīr Khusrū after the death of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād, came into the service of the Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn, and was honoured by being selected as an intimate companion, and was made Qur'ān-keeper to the Sulṭān, he was presented every year with the robes of honour which were reserved for the Amīrs of the Sulṭān[1] and were tokens of special distinction and peculiar trust.

In this same category were Amīr Ḥasan and Muīd Jājarmī and Amīr Arslān Kātibī and Sa'd-i-Manṭiqī and Bāqī-i-Khaṭīb and Qāẓī Mughīṣ of Hānsī, who is one of the most learned men of the time of Jalālu-d-Dīn and wrote a *Ghazal* in nineteen metres[2] of which this is the opening:—

Two pearly ears, a stately form, two lovely cheeks, with fresh youth dight,
Thy glory is the fairy's pride, a fairy thou, at glory's height.

And the rest of the learned men used to keep the Sulṭān's assembly embellished and adorned with the jewels of poems, and delicate points of learning and philosophy, and the following few verses are the offspring of the Sulṭān's genius:—

[1] MS. (A) امرای سلطانی.

[2] غزل نوزدهٔ بحری It would appear from the statement that this *ghazal* or ode was made up of nineteen lines, each of which was in a different metre.
The first of the above lines is either *Mutaqārib* or *Ramal* This is called ذو بحرین *Zūbaḥrain* (of two metres) in prosody.
The second line is in *Ramal*

182. I do not wish those flowing locks of thine to be entangled
I do not wish that rosy cheek of thine (with shame) to burn.
I wish that thou one night unclothed may'st come to my embrace
Yes, loud I cry with all my might, I would not have it hidden.

And at the time when he was besieging Gwāliār he built a pavilion and a lofty dome [1] and wrote this quatrain as an inscription for that building :—

Quatrain.

I whose foot spurns the head of heaven,
How can a heap of stone and earth augment my dignity ?
This broken stone I have thus arranged in order that
Some broken heart may haply take comfort from it.

And Sa'd Manṭiqī and the other poets he ordered to point out to him the defects and beauties of this composition. They all praised it exceedingly and said ! It has no fault, but he replied : You are afraid of hurting my feelings, I will point out its defect [2] in this *quatrain* :

It may be some chance traveller may pass by this spot
Whose tattered garment is the satin mantle of the starless sky, [3]
Perchance from the felicity of his auspicious footsteps
One atom may fall to my lot : this will suffice me.

SULṬĀN 'ALĀU-D-DĪN KHILJĪ.

On the twenty-ninth [4] of Zūl Hijjah in the year six hundred and ninety-five (695 H.) (A.D. 1295) raised the banner of the Sulṭanate

1 MS. (A) بنا کرد و

2 MS (A) omits عیب.

3 چرخ اطلس. The highest of all the heavens so called (اطلس) because it has no stars. The literal meaning of اطلس is "worn out" "effaced" Thus رجل اطلس الثوب means a man whose garments are worn out It also by a secondary (post classical) meaning is used in the sense of "*Satin*" Hence there is a double play on the word اطلس here, in its opposite senses.

4 MS (A) reads در بیست و نهم while our text has در بیست و دوم.

of Dihli, with the consent of his brother Ilmās Beg, to whom he gave the title of Ulugh Khān[1] and to Sinjar, his wife's brother, who was the *Mir-i-Majlis* he gave the title of Alp Khān, while to Malik Nuṣrat Jalīsarī he gave that of Nuṣrat Khān, and to Malik Badru-d-Dīn that of Ẓafar Khān,[2] and alighted at the plain of Sīrī, where he pitched his camp, and giving public audience delighted the hearts of the Amīrs and all classes of his subjects by his boundless munificence, then he had the *Khuṭbah* and the 183
Sikka promulgated in his own name and conferred[3] appointments and titles upon the Amīrs, and distributing *jāgīrs* gave his mind first of all to his principal object which was to overthrow the two sons of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn who were in Multān.[4]

Verse.

As long as the head of the heir to the throne is on his shoulders,
Disorder is the mantle of the body of the state.

In the Muḥarram 696 A.H (he sent) Ulugh Khān and Alp Khān against Arkalī Khān and Sulṭān Ruknu-d-Dīn;[5] both these

Mīr Khusrū in the *Tārīkh-i-'Alāī*, states that 'Alāu-d-Dīn left Kaṛra Mānikpur on the 19th of Rabī'ul Ākhir 695 H. and after taking great booty from Rām Deo, Rāī of Deogīr, returned to Kaṛra on the 28th Rajab. His accession to the throne took place on the 16th Ramaẓān 695 H., and he arrived at Dihlī on the 22nd of Zilhijjah of the same year.

The text has possibly been corrected to agree with this author's date. Barnī does not give the day of the month nor does Firishta. The latter tells us that on the death of Jalālu-d-Dīn, Malika-i-Jahān of her own accord set Qadr Khān the youngest son of Jalālu-d-Dīn on the throne, with the title of Ruknu d-Dīn Ibrahīm, and finding he was too young, sent to Multān to summon the second son Arkalī Khān, who refused to come hearing of 'Alāu-d Dīn's success with the army.

[1] MS. (A); the text reads الغ بیگ خان

[2] Barnī says that the title of Ẓafar Khān was conferred on Malik Hizabru-d-Dīn, (Elliott III. 157).

[3] The text omits مقرر before داشته supplied from MS. (A).

[4] It appears both from Barnī and Firishta that the youngest son of the late Sulṭān was in Dihlī and that Arkalī Khān was in Multān. *See* note 4, last page, and Elliott III. 159.

[5] Although the author has given no account of Qadr Khān's coronation he here gives him the title by which he was raised to the throne

brothers were besieged[1] in the fortress of Multān. The inhabitants of the city and the Kotwāl asked for quarter, and made overtures for peace, and the two princes, by the intervention of Shaikh Ruknu-d-Dīn Quraishī *may God sanctify his resting place*,[2] came forth and had an interview with Ulugh Khān,[3] who treated them with the utmost respect, sending a despatch announcing his victory to Dihlī; and taking the family and tribe of Jalālu-d-Dīn he set out for Dihlī. When they came near Bohar[4] a place in the vicinity of Hānsī, Nuṣrat Khān arrived with an order, in obedience to which they put out the eyes of both the sons[5] of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn, of Alghū Khān the Mughul son-in-law to the Sulṭān, and of Malik Aḥmad Chap,[6] and handed over the Sulṭān's sons[7] to the Kotwāl of Hānsī and martyred them together with two sons of Arkalī Khān.[8] They kept the Sulṭān's wives and the rest of his children imprisoned in Dihlī, sending Aḥmad Chap and Alghū the Mughul to the fortress of Gwāhār, and putting out the eyes of some others also, scattered them in all directions and punished them with tortures, and very many of the old families they utterly destroyed and the hidden meaning of Sīdī Maula[9] soon

1 I read here مُحصَر though there is a question if we should not read متحصّن. The text reads محصّر which is manifestly wrong. MS. (A) reads متحصّر which is perhaps meant for متحصّن MS. (B) which is of very little value as before pointed out reads محصّر.

2 Barnī states that the sons of the Sulṭān sent Shaikhu-l-Islām, Shaikh Ruknu-d-Dīn to sue for safety from Ulugh Khān and received his assurances, (Elliott III. 161), MS. (A) omits العزيز This Ruknu-d-Dīn was the son of Shaikh Ṣadru-d-Dīn 'Ārif and grandson of Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyā (See *Āīn-i-Akbārī*, Jarrett III 365)

Firishta gives a full biography of Ruknu-d-Dīn, his father and grandfather *q v.*

3 MS. (A) با الغخان ملاقات نمودة

4 MS (A) بوهر.

5 MS (A) هردو پسر

6 *Nāib Amir-i-Ḥājib* (Barnī Elliott III 162) MS (A) omits را

7 MS (A) omits سلطان

8 Barnī merely states that the princes were imprisoned, and that al the sons of Arkalī Khān were slain

9 MS (A) omits مرحوم.

became evident, and (vengeance for) his blood did not long sleep.[1] In a short time[2] it became the cause of the shedding of the blood of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn and his family, and of so many 184.
thousands of others among the people who had been murdered.

> The wealth of Qārūn which still sinks down to the bottom of the earth,
> You may have read, that it was a source of envy to the poor.[3]

And in the year[4] 697 A.H. (1297 A.D.), Nuṣrat Khān having been appointed to the office of Vazīr, used strenuous efforts to recover the money which Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn had lavished in the commencement of his reign in order to gain over the affections of the people, and demanding the repayment of very large sums deposited them in the treasury; and having summoned from Kaṛra 'Alāu-l-Mulk the uncle of Ziāu-d-Dīn Barnī, the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* (whom Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn had removed from the kotwālship of Dihlī and had sent as governor to Kaṛra, appointing Naṣrat Khān to the office of Kotwāl) he conferred upon him his old rank, Alp Khān being appointed to Multān. And in the year 698 A. H. (1298 A.D.) one Saldī[5] a Mughul commander, crossing the Indus came towards Hindustān, and Ulugh Khān and Tughlaq Khān the governor of Depālpūr (who is *Ghāzī-i-Mulk*), were appointed to put down that rising, and offered strong opposition to them[6] on the confines of Jārin Manjhūr.[7] The Mughul army was defeated, some of them were killed and others taken prisoners, and the army of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn returned victorious with many spoils. A second time

1 MS. (A) دیر نخسپید.

2 MS (A) مدت.

3 *See* Qur'ān XXVIII. 76.

4 Omit سال MS. (A).

5 The text reads چتلدي *Chataldī*. MS (A) reads صلدي *Ṣaldī*, so also Barnī (Elliott III 165) and *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) III. 347.

Firishta calls him Chaldī.

6 MS (A) با ایشان

7 Both Barnī and Firishta say Siwistān.

Qutluq Khwāja, the son of Duā,[1] came from Māwarāu-n-nahr with a countless host to attempt the conquest of Hindustān, and penetrated[2] as far as Dihlī, inflicting no injury on the districts through which he passed. In Dihli itself grain became very dear, and the citizens were in great straits,[3] and Sultān 'Alāu-d-
185. Dīn placing Ulugh Khān and Zafar Khān in command of the forces, sent them with a countless host to oppose the Mughul army, and a severe battle was fought on the frontiers of Gilī.[4] Zafar Khān was killed, and the Sultān had gained what he wanted in this[5] Qutluq Khwāja after his defeat made his way to Khurāsān where he died.

A third time Targhī Mughul who was one of the *margans*,[6] that is to say accurate archers of that country, accompanied by 100,000 infantry and 20,000 valiant and renowned cavalry, seized the fort of the hills, and gaining possession of that country, penetrated as far as the township of Baran, where Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Amīr Dād the Governor was entrenched; Malik Tughlaq Ghāzī-i-Mulk was sent from the metropolis to put down that disturbance[7] Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn sallying from the fortress of Baran,[8] joined with Malik Tughlaq, and they jointly made a night attack upon the Mughuls[9] The Mughul forces being routed, Targhī was taken prisoner and Malik Tughlaq brought him into the royal presence.

A fourth time, Muhammad Turtāq[10] and 'Alī Beg Mughul, who were the sons of the royal house of Khurāsān, brought together

[1] MS (A), so also Firishta

[2] MS (A) در آمده.

[3] MS (A) جا تنگ گشت

[4] Or Kīlī (Barnī)

[5] Barnī explains this He says "'Alāu-d-Dīn returned from Kīlī, considering that he had won a great victory the Mughuls had been put to flight and the brave and fearless Zafar Khān had been got rid of without disgrace."

[6] مرگن This word is given by M Pavet de Courteille in the meanings of *fusilier bon tireur héros* It is a Turkī word

[7] The reading of MS (A) is here followed *viz.*

ملک تغلق غازي ملک از درگاه بجهت دفع ان فتنه نامزد گشت.

MS (A) ازحصار برون برآمده

[9] MS (A) باتفاق شبیخون بر مغل اوردند

[10] The reading of this name is a little uncertain MS (A) may be either ترتاق or ترتاق Neither Barnī nor Firishta give any assistance: nor does

a very large army, which they divided into two, one bore down upon Nāgor,[1] while the other seized the fort of the Sirmūr hills and occupied the country as far as the river Biāh which they call Kāli Pāni.[2] Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn appointed Malik Mānik his slave (who is Kāfūr Nāib or Hazār Dīnārī [3]) with Malik Tughlaq Governor of Depālpūr to proceed to Amroha; and while the Mughal army, having succeeded in capturing much spoil and many cattle, was marching to the banks of the river Rahab, Malik Mānik came up in pursuit[4] and a severe battle ensued. Both the Mughal princes evinced great bravery, but were ultimately taken prisoners, and were put to death, while the greater part of those accursed ones became food for the sword of vengeance, and the remnant of the sword fled panicstricken to their own country. The heads of these two princes were taken to Badāon and impaled upon the battlements of the fort. One of the learned poets of that time wrote the following quatrain which was afterwards inscribed upon the southern gateway of that city. 186.

Quatrain.

Noble fortress! whose helper may the assistance of the Almighty ever be!
May the victory and conquest of the Emperor ever be thy standard-bearer!
The Malik of this age became thy builder, and built thee anew,
May Targhi, like 'Ali Beg[5] become thy captive

And Mīr Khusrū[6] has written an account of the fight between Malik Mānik (who had obtained the title of Malik Nāib[7]) in

either word appear in the Turkī dictionary. The text reads ترياق Taryāq which seems rather an *ex necessitate* reading The *Tārīkh-i-'Alāi* reads Turtāq. (Elliott III 72)

[1] MS (A) بجانب ناگور برد.

[2] MS (A) کانرا کالي پاني ميگويند

[3] So called because he had been originally purchased for a thousand dīnārs

[4] MS. (A) ازعقب رسيده

[5] MS. (A) علي بيگ.

[6] MS. (A) omits عليه الرحمة.

[7] Firishta states that this title was conferred upon Malik Kāfūr (Hazār Dīnārī) on the occasion of his being placed in command of an army to proceed against Rām Deo, Rāja of Deoghar, a refractory tributary.

the *Tārīkh-i-Khazāinu-l-Futūḥ*[1] a marvel of literature, which mortal powers confess themselves impotent to approach or imitate, though to tell the truth all the writings of that king of poets, rightly named Khusrū, are of this excellence, and to praise and crown them is an impertinence and error for any other.

> Whenever any thought shines forth from his mind
> It is so subtle as to escape comprehension and defy imitation.

On the fifth occasion Iqbālmand and Kapak, Mughuls, brought together an army to take vengeance for Turtāq[2] and 'Alī Beg, and invaded the frontiers of Multān. The Sulṭān on this occasion also appointed Malik Nāib, and Malik Tughlaq. They proceeded by forced marches while the Mughals were falling back, and pursuing them gave battle Kapak was taken prisoner, but was ransomed by the infidel Tātārs, with the prisoners and abundant booty which had fallen into their hands.[3] From that day the Mughuls lost their enthusiasm for the conquest of Hindustān, and the teeth of their ambition became blunted.

After these victories, the Sulṭān one night was holding a wine party quite at his ease with his companions, and was quaffing copious draughts of wine The night, like the circulation of the
187. wine cup, had come near to an end; suddenly some of the assembled guests began to make signs to each other[4] with hand, and eye, and brow that it was time to break up,[5] the Sulṭān happened to perceive it, he was annoyed and cried out Mutiny! Mutiny! and on the instant gave orders for Bahā (who was one of his boon-companions and choice spirits) to be killed. The rest fled in confusion. On the following morning when he came to realise

[1] This work, known also as the *Tārīkh-i-'Alāi*, is a prose history of the first years of Sulṭān Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī from his accession in 695 H. to the close of 710 H. (Elliot III. 68–69.)

[2] MS. (A) omits مصحف and gives the pointing of Turtāq as ترياق

[3] MS (A) افتاده بود This account differs somewhat from that given by Khusrū, who makes the invasion of Kapak separate from and precedent to that of Iqbāl Mudbir as he calls him.

[4] MS (A) یکدیگر را

[5] MS (A) و نظر سلطان.

what had occurred, it was as clear as day to the Sulṭān[1] that his suspicion was groundless.

> Wait, till the world removes the veil from the face of events,
> And till that thou hast done this evening, tomorrow is plain to thee.

Then he asked for Qāẓī Bahā.[2] They replied, He was sent into eternity at that very moment.[3] The Sulṭān was very repentant and ashamed at hearing this, and vowed never again to drink wine, and ordered it to be proclaimed that the use of wine should be absolutely abandoned throughout the kingdom. Cask upon cask of wine was poured out in the court till it became a flowing river. Everyone who was discovered intoxicated, was hauled off to prison, and punished by imprisonment[4] and confiscation of property.

Piety and penitence became the order of the day. the taverns were in ruins,[5] and the police officers had plenty of work, and there was no longer any need to purchase vinegar,[6] while the wine bibbers were giving expression by their actions to these verses :

> Now he sprinkles the flagon with salt, now he shatters the cup,[7]
> How the policeman disturbs the peace of the tavern in which we sup.

1 The text has a note here to the effect that a را should probably be inserted after سلطان but that it is not found in either of the two MSS. before the editor.

MS. (A) has را, and reads سلطان را چون روز روشن شد که آن گمان غلط بود.

2 The text here and in the former line reads بہار MS. (A) has بہا.

3 The text reads او خود همان زمان بهزار سالها پیوست

4 MS (A) تعزیر مالي و بندي میکردند

5 There is a play on words here in the original خرابات خراب شد.

6 Wine not being drunk all the grapejuice could be utilised for vinegar. There is a hint here that every one was discontented, had, as we say, sour looks which the Persians express by saying فلان کس سرکه فروشي مى كند. So and so sells vinegar Qaānī says to his mistress.

سرکه فروشی مکن بچهرهٔ که در عشق
هیچم ازین سرکه کم نگردد صفراء

7 MS. (A) omits را but the text is correct.

And in the year 697 H (1297 A.D.) the Sulṭān becoming suspicious of the newly-converted Muslim Mughuls was contemplating
188. to murder and eradicate them, and they also for their part, goaded by the extortion of the revenue collectors and their extortionate demands for refunding money,[1] were plotting a rebellion whilst the Sulṭān should be hunting and hawking.[2] One of them who was opposed to this scheme made it known to the Sulṭān. Secret orders were written and despatched to the Governors of the country saying that on a certain day[3] they should put to death all the new Muslim Mughuls with one consent wherever they found them.

Accordingly on the appointed date they despatched so many poor hapless Mughuls with the sword of injustice, and sent them on their travels to the kingdom of annihilation, that the mind cannot compute their number, and the name of Mughul no longer survived in Hindustān, although this custom of killing strangers has survived from that time

And in the commencement of affairs, the fact of so many victories following one another in close succession led to extravagant ambitions in the mind of the Sulṭān, one of these was religious innovation, and moreover by the assistance of these four Ulugh Khān, Nusrat Khān, Ẓafar Khān and Alp Khān he was led to estimate himself as being superior to the Prophet *on whom be the peace and blessing of God*,[4] and his companions *may God be gracious to them all*[5] The second was the conquest of the whole inhabited world like Sikandar; this led to his ordering his name to be inscribed on the currency and mentioned in the proclamation as Sikandar-i-sānī.[6] When he sought the advice

1 This was spoken of above 'Alāu-d-Dīn's officers disapproved of the lavish way he had squandered his money in gifts in the early days of his accession to power.

2 MS (A) پرانیدن جانور

3 MS (A) omits درفلان ماه و

4 MS (A) علیه الصلوة و السلام

5 MS (A) omits و

6 Alexander the second The accuracy of this statement is testified to by the existence of coins bearing this title Gold coins weighing 166, 168 6 and 169 5 grs are in existence bearing the legend

سکندر الثانی یمین الخلافة ناصر امیر المومنین (See Thomas, p. 168)

Sikandaru-s-sānī Yamīnu-l-khilāfat Nāṣiru Amīru-l-mūminīn

of 'Alāu-l-Mulk Kotwāl of Dihlī he restrained the Sulṭān from pursuing both these claims and said, "No one can evolve a religion out of his own brain unless he be aided [1] by God, and till he can perform miracles [2] This object cannot be acquired by the strength of dominion, and wealth, and majesty, and splendour, moreover such an attempt may be expected, nay is certain to result in violent disorders and tumults of all kinds, nothing will be gained while disgrace will follow the attempt: as for conquering realms, it is a worthy ambition, but needs the highest qualifications, as well as perfection of rule and a vazīr like Aristotle, none of which are here existent.

If the Sulṭān clears Hindustān of infidels and frees the environs of Dihlī from these contumacious ruffians, this will be in no way inferior to the world conquests of Sikandar."

The Sulṭān, after due meditation, was greatly pleased with these proofs deduced from reason and supported by precedent, and bestowed a robe of honour upon 'Alāu-l-Mulk and gave him large rewards, and abstained from attempting to satisfy either of his ambitions. The Amīrs, who on account of the harshness of the Sulṭān, and the roughness of his temper, were unable to say anything of service, all sent presents of horses and valuables for 'Alāu-l-Mulk and were loud in praise of him. 189.

Verse.

In my opinion that one is thy well wisher,
Who says that will be a thorn in thy path.

In this year the Sulṭān proceeding to Deogīr gained a fresh conquest [3] and doubled his spoils:

That which he cut after that his sword cut double,
That which he defeated after that his mace defeated again and again.

And in the year 698 H. (1298 A.D.) he appointed Ulugh Khān to the command of a powerful army, to proceed into the country of Gūjerāt against Rāi Karan who had thirty thousand cavalry, and eighty thousand infantry, and thirty head of elephants. Ulugh

1 MS (A) تا موئید من عند الله نباشند
2 MS. (A) و معجزات صادر نشوند The text reads شود correctly.
3 MS (A) فتح مجدد نمود و

Khān, after Rāi Karan was defeated, ravaged and laid waste Nahrwāla, and pursued him;[1] and Rāi Karan took refuge with Rai Rāmdeo[2] who was the ruler of Deogīr, in the country of the Deccan. The family of Rāi Karan, with his treasury and elephants and all his possessions, fell into the hands of the Muslim warrior. Among the ladies of his harem was one Dewalrānī, of whom Khizr
190. Khān the son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn ultimately became enamoured. He related the account of his *amours* to Mīr Khusrū for him to turn into verse, and the book of Khizr Khān and Dewalrānī, which is known as the '*Ashīqa*, is in his name. Ulugh Khān carried off an idol from Nahrwāla (in place of the idol of Somnāt which Sulṭān Maḥmūd had carried[3] to Ghaznin, and the Hindūs had made an object of their worship,) and took it to Dihlī where he caused it to be trampled under foot by the populace, then he pursued Rāi Karan as far as Somnāt, and a second time laid waste the idol temple of Somnāt, and building a mosque there retraced his steps

Nusrat Khān having proceeded to Kuhanbāyat,[4] a well-known post, seized much spoil of valuable goods and rubies and other jewels from the traders;[5] Kāfūr Hazār Dīnārī whom the Sulṭān Alāu-d-Dīn had latterly taken into close favour, and made Nāibu-l-Mulk, was part of that booty.

When Ulugh Khān arrived on the frontiers of Alwar he occupied himself with verifying the amount of property and spoil which had fallen into the hands of his people during these several battles, and exacted the giving up of much of it with great severity. A certain party of Mughuls who accompanied him thought

[1] MS. (A) تعاقب او نمود و

[2] MS (A) پناه برای رامدیو

[3] MS (A) برده بود

[4] MS. (A) reads کهنبایه

Cambay, in Gujerat According to Hunter (Imp Gaz, III 272) "the name of Cambay or Khambhāt is said to be derived from *Khambha* or *Stambhatīrth*, the pool of Mahādeva under the form of the pillar god During the 11th and 12th centuries, Cambay appears as one of the chief ports of the Anhelwāra (Nahrwāla) kingdom and at the conquest of that kingdom by the Musulmāns in 1297, it is said to have been one of the richest towns in India.

Tieffenthaler Vol I p 372 *Canbāhat, grande ville et port de mer, que les Européens appellent Cambaye* (pp 380-381)

[5] MS. (A) از تجار.

this rather unfair, and consequently plotted a rebellion, but eventually were dispersed; some of them went off to Rāi Hamīr Dev in Jhāīn,[1] which is near Rantanbhor, and some went elsewhere.

Ulugh Khān proceeded by continuous marches to his master at Dihlī, and from this we gather that the massacre of the foreigners (above alluded to) took place after the arrival of Ulugh Khān from Gujrāt. Historians have paid little attention to the due order of events, but God knows the truth.

And in the year 699 H. (1299 A D.) Ulugh Khān was nominated to proceed against the fortress of Rantanbhor and Jhāīn, which is better known as Naushahr,[2] and Rāi Hamīr Dev, the grandson 191
of Raī Pithora,[3] who had ten thousand cavalry, and countless infantry, and celebrated elephants, gave him battle but was defeated, and with great generalship withdrew the whole of his forces into the fortress of Rantanbhor.

Ulugh Khān having reported[4] the state of affairs to the Court, urged the Sultān to capture the fort; the Sultān collected his forces[5] and marched against Rantanbhor, and in a short time, by skilful effort, and aided by the energy of his Maliks, completely subdued and took the fortress, and despatched Hamīr Dev to hell. Great booty, and spoil, and treasures fell into his hands. Then he appointed[6] a *Kotwāl* to hold that fortress, and having bestowed the country of Jhāīn upon Ulugh Khān, left to attack Chitor,[7] and having conquered that place also within a few days,

1 Tieffenthaler, I. p. 322, mentions a city called Tschān at a distance of five miles from the fortress of Rantanbhor. This would appear to be probably the place spoken of in the text.

See Elliot, III. 146 where Jhāīn is said to be Ujjain, also p. 172, *note* 1, where this opinion is abandoned

2 Tieffenthaler does not mention this name

3 MS. (A) reads Rāi Hamīr Dev of Rantanbhor, omitting نبيرۀ راى پتهورا, but Barnī calls Hamīr Dev the نبسه *nabsa* of Rāi Pithorā, so that the reading of the text is adopted.

4 MS (A) عرض نمودۀ.

5 MS. (A) omits را.

6 MS. (A) تعين نمود.

7 Barnī says that after taking Rantanbhor and putting Hamīr Dev to death the Sultān returned to Dihlī. so also Firishta. *See* Hunter *Imp Gaz.* III. 430

and[1] having given it the name of Khiẓrābād, and having bestowed a red canopy upon Khiẓr Khān aforesaid, made Chitor over to him as governor. Among the events which happened in this expedition this was one, that Nuṣrat Khān had come from Kaṛra[2] to Rantanbhor, to reinforce Ulugh Khān before the Sulṭān arrived there;[3] and during the siege one day a stone struck him on the head, and he went without delay to the other world. One arm of the Sulṭān, that is to say Ẓafar Khān, had been broken in the fight with Qutluq Khwāja, and now the second arm was broken also.

When the army was encamped in the neighbourhood of Malhab[4] the Sulṭān one day was engaged in the hunting field;[5] when night came on he remained in the plain, and at dawn of day he posted his troops all round, while he himself with a select following ascended an eminence and was watching the sport.[6] In the meantime the brother's son of the Sulṭān, Akat Khān,[7] together with a band of new-Muslim Mughuls who were engaged in per-
192 forming the duties of guards, attacked the Sultān relentlessly and smote him with arrows, seized him and wounded his arm. As it was the winter season, and the Sultān was wearing a cap[8] stuffed with cotton his wounds were not fatal. Akat Khān wished to alight from his horse and strike off the Sulṭān's head from his body, but some of the attendants pretending to side with him and take his part, cried out, the Sultān is killed! Akat Khān was satisfied at hearing this, and made off with all speed to the camp on horseback, and entering the royal hall of audience seated himself upon the throne, and drawing the canopy over his head, the Amīrs, in accordance with ancient custom, gave in their allegiance to him

[1] MS. (A) و.

[2] MS (A) کرّه.

[3] MS. (A) omits بآنجا.

[4] The reading here is doubtful. The text has در نواحي قصبهٔ پنهبت with an alternative reading سون پت in a footnote. MS. (A) reads در نواحي ملهب Firishta (Bo Text p 186) reads تلیب *Taltib*.

[5] قمرغه *Qamurgha*, lieu de chasse. (Pavet de Courteille). A Turkī word signifying hunting ground. Firishta *loc cit* also uses this word.

[6] MS (A) omits و

[7] Firishta also says Akat Khān.

[8] MS (A) reads کله پرپنبه

as the rightful king,[1] and raised no overt objection. Akat Khān was so overwhelmed by his inordinate lust that on the instant he made an attempt upon the *ḥaram*,[2] but Malik Dīnar *Ḥarami* who was on guard at the entrance to the *ḥaram* with his men armed and equipped, said, Till you shew me the head of the Sulṭān I will not permit you to set foot within this private chamber. Sulṭān Alāu-d-Dīn, when he had somewhat regained consciousness [3] after that perilous attack, bound up his wounds He was convinced in his own mind that Akat Khān, in unison with the Amīrs who had revolted, had had the audacity to make this disgraceful attempt upon his life. for that were it not so, he was not the man to attempt it alone.

Accordingly his intention was to make his way to Jhāīn (where Ulugh Khān was) with the fifty or sixty attendants who had remained with him, and see what course Ulugh Khān would recommend. One or two of his confidential retainers pointed out the unwisdom of this course and urged him to go at once to the royal pavilion and kingly court.

Before they arrived at the Court fifty horsemen joined them, and Akat Khān took the road to Afghānpūr, but a body of men 193
who had been despatched in pursuit of him by forced marches made him prisoner,[4] sent him into the Sultān's presence, and then utterly destroyed all his family and relations wherever they found them, among whom Qutluq Khān his brother also perished.[5]

Verse

One who injures the country is better beheaded

And at that same time 'Umar Khān and Mangū Khān the two

1 The words تورۀ و توزک *tora o tūzak* are Turkī words (P de C) تورا or تورۀ signifies the royal family It also means king law right, also a custom introduced by Chengīz Khān توزک means simply "right" or "authority," hence the words in the text would mean that they acknowledged him as rightful king with due formalities.

2 MS. (A) omits خاص.

3 MS. (A) بهوش آمد.

4 MS (A) اورا دستگیر کردۀ.

5 The account given by Barnī of this occurrence is the same as the text (Elliot III. 17?-173) Firishta also calls him Sulaimān Shāh, Ākat Khān, though Briggs in his translation calls him "The Prince Rookn Khān"

nephews of the Sulṭān, revolted in Badāon: certain of the Amīrs sent from the Court seized them and brought them to the Sulṭān, by whose orders their eyes were put out.[1]

> If thou revoltest against thy benefactor
> Even if thou art the sun, thou wilt fall headlong.

This further occurrence took place, namely, when the Sulṭān was engaged in besieging Rantanbhor, a person named Ḥājī Maulā, one of the slaves of Maliku-l-Umarā *Kotwāl*,[2] gathered together certain ruffians, displayed a counterfeit order in Dihlī,[3] entered the city by the Badāon gate, and sent for one Turmuẕī *Kotwāl* and in an instant cut his head off,[4] closed the city gates, and sent a messenger to 'Alāu-l-Mulk[5] a friend of his, who was *Kotwāl* of the New Castle, saying "An order has come from the Sulṭān, come and read it" 'Alāu-l-Mulk being fully alive to what was going on[6] did not obey the summons, whereupon the rebel Ḥājī Maulā went to the Ruby Palace, and liberating all the prisoners, gave a horse and arms and a large bag (of gold) out of the treasury to each one, gathered together an immense following; then he seized by force Saiyyid Zāda-i-'Alawī Shāh Nabsa,[7] who on his mother's side was descended from Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Altamsh (Iyaltimish), summoning his chief men
194. and nobles for the purpose, and seated him upon the throne at

1 MS (A) میل در چشم انها کشیده شد.

2 According to Barni "a *maulā* or slave of the late *Kotwāl* Amīru-l-Umarā Fakhru-d-Dīn"

3 Pretending to have received it from the Sulṭān (Barnī).

4 MS. (A) سرش از تن جدا ساخت

5 'Alāu-d-Dīn Ayaz (Barnī).

6 MS. (A) از سرکار اگاه شده

7 Barnī's account is as follows "There was an 'Alawī (descendant of 'Alī) in Dihlī who was called the grandson of Shāh Najaf who by his mother's side was grandson of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn The Maulā set off from the Red Palace with a party of horse, and went to the house of the poor 'Alawi They carried him off by force and seated him on the throne in the Red Palace. The principal men of the city were brought by force and made to kiss his hand —(Elliot III 176). The editor remarks that the passage in which he is called the grandson of Shāh Najaf is very doubtful.

Firishta writes. .... علوي كه اورا شاهنشه گفتندي. 'Alawī whom they used to call Shāhanshāh who on his mother's side traced descent from Shamsu-d-Dīn Altamsh.

the entrance to the Red Palace, and compelled the chief men whether they would or no, to swear allegiance to him.

The Sultān, when he heard this tidings, did not publish it, nor did he betray any signs of emotion, until he had succeeded by superhuman effort in entirely[1] reducing the fortress. A week had hardly passed after this exploit of Hājī Maulā when Malik Ḥamīdu Dīn, who was Amīr of Koh, with his sons who were renowned for their valour, and a body of the cavalry of Ẓafar Khān who had come from Amrohā to oppose the Mughuls,[2] engaged Hājī Maulā in fight, and having destroyed him, put to death the hapless Saiyyid Zāda also, and sent their heads to Rantanbhor. The Sultān nominated Ulugh Khān to proceed to Dihlī to track out those who had taken part in that[3] rebellion, and bring them to destruction. He also completely eradicated the family and relations of Maliku-l-Umarā on this suspicion that Hājī Maulā would not have embarked on this enterprise without their instigation.[4]

The Sultān after adding the fortress of Rantanbhor and its surrounding districts to the *jāegīr* of Ulugh Khān returned (to Dihlī). Ulugh Khān was taken ill that very day while on the road, and died,[5] and Rantanbhor became for him like the Paradise of Shaddād.[6]

1 MS (A) بعد تمام فوق الجهد و الغاية فتح قلعة دست داد و

2 MS. (A) بجهت عرض مغلي

3 MS. (A) در آن فتنه

4 The text reads شروع درين امر نمودة باشد so also MS. (A), but we should, read نه نمودة باشد as without this the sense is not very obvious

Barnī states, "The sons and grandsons of the old *kotwāl* Maliku-l-Umārā had no guilty knowledge of the revolt, but they and every one belonging to that family were put to death.

5 The *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* states, in opposition to our author, that Ulugh Khān did not die till four or five months later, when he had collected a large force for the purpose of attacking Tilang and Ma'bar. Firishta also states that Ulugh Khān died about six months later

6 MS (A) reads حكم بهشت شداد پيدا كرد *See* Qur'ān lxxxix 5

"Hast thou not seen how thy Lord did with 'Ād? with
Iram of the columns? the like of which has not been created in the land"

Moreover a band of robbers of Jālor, whose leader was Mīr Muḥammad Shāh, were captured in Rantaubhor after the fort

Iram of the columns "This city is said to have been situated in Yemen, between Ḥaẓramaut and Ṣanaʻā It was founded by Shaddād ibn 'Ād, who was excessively strong and mighty, and when he heard of Paradise and of what God had prepared therein for his saints, 'palaces of gold and silver and abodes beneath which rivers flow, and upper chambers above which are other upper chambers, (Qur'ān xxxix. 21) he said to his mighty men 'Verily I will take to myself upon the earth a city like unto Paradise.' Then he appointed thereunto a hundred men of his servants and mighty men of valour, and under the hand of each of them a thousand helpers, and bade them search out and find an open space of the plain in the land of Yemen, and choose the best thereof in soil. Then he provided them with wealth, and designed for them the pattern of their work, and wrote to his three chief lords Ghānim-ibn-'Ulwān, Ẓaḥḥāk ibn 'Ulwān, and Walīd ibnur Raiyyān, and charged them to write to their lords in the utmost parts of their cities that they should collect all that was in their land of gold and of silver, of pearls and of rubies, of musk and ambergris and saffron, and should send them unto him. Then he sent unto all the mines, and took out therefrom all the gold and the silver that was in them, and he sent his three agents to the divers into the oceans, and they brought out therefrom jewels, and gathered them together as it were mountains, and all of this was brought to Shaddād. Then they sent the miners to the mines of rubies and emeralds and all other jewels, and they brought out from thence immense riches Then he ordered and the gold was beaten and fashioned into bricks, and he builded therewith that city, and he commanded the pearls and the rubies, the onyx and the emerald and the cornelian, and the walls of the city were set with them And he made for it upper chambers, and above them other chambers supported on columns, and to all of them pillars of emerald and of onyx and of ruby. Then he caused to flow beneath the city a wide channel which he brought to the city from beneath the earth a space of forty leagues, like to a large canal. Then he ordered, and there were made to flow from that channel, rivulets in the streets, and highways and streets flowed with clear water And he ordered banks to be made for that canal and for all the rivulets, and they were overlaid with red gold, and the pebbles thereof were made of all kinds of precious stones, red and yellow and green And there were planted on either bank of the stream and of the rivulets trees of gold bearing fruit, and the fruits of them were of those rubies and precious gems And the length of the city was made twelve *farsakhs* and the breadth thereof like unto the length. And the walls of the city were high and lofty, and there were builded therein three hundred thousand palaces set with all kinds of jewels within and without And he built for himself in the midst of the city on the bank of the canal a palace lofty and high, towering over all those palaces * * * * * * * and there passed in the building of it five hundred years

was taken. When the Sulṭān asked Muḥammad Shāh (who had been wounded) 'If I should spare your life and have you cured, and you should thus escape this deadly danger, how would you treat me in future?' he replied, 'If I should get well and should have an opportunity, I would kill you and raise the son of Hamīr Dev to the throne.' The Sulṭān wondered, and was amazed at 195.
this audacity, and enquired of his most shrewd and astute Amīrs the reason why the people had so turned against him, and why these continual riots and seditions were so constantly occurring, and further sought to know how to set about remedying these evils. They shewed him several paths of conduct which would end naturally in four things *Firstly*, that the king should in his own person be aware of the enterprises both good and bad which are going on in his kingdom. *Secondly*, that he should put an end to wine bibbing, which is the source of so much evil. *Thirdly*, abandonment by the maliks of their gadding about to each others' houses and holding deliberative meetings[1] *Fourthly*, to demand back the money which he had lavished, from all classes, whether soldiery or populace, because it is the fountain head of all riot and sedition, especially upstarts and *nouveaux riches*,[2] and in a short time these regulations would by their inherent good, be acceptable to the Rāīs, and pass from potentiality to actuality just as has already been related in a former place.

The Sulṭān did away with wine drinking, and brought the other

Then Almighty God wished to send a warning to him and to his host," calling him to repentance, and he chose to himself Hūd ibn Khālid who came and called upon Shaddād to believe and confess the power and unity of God, but he persisted in his idolatry and disobedience. Then Hūd warned him of punishment to come and of the fall of his kingdom, but he would not be moved from his evil ways"

At last he was informed that the city was finished and he set out to go to it with three hundred thousand, leaving all his kingdom to his son Murṡad who had it is said believed in the words of Hūd When Shaddād arrived with one day's journey of Iram a voice came from heaven, and he and all who were with him fell dead, not one remained, and all who were in the city died, the workmen and artificers, the agents and warriors, not a soul remained alive. 'And the city sank into the earth"

Mu'jamu-l-Buldān Yāqūt Vol. I.

1 MS. (A) reads تاهم in place of باهم

2 The Persian phrase is نوکیسهای سفله. *Naukīsahā i sifla*

regulations also into force, and also published several new rules of his own, which have never been heard of either before or after his time, whether they were in accordance with religious law or not; one of these rules was that regulating the price of grain, and cloth, and horses, and all necessaries essential to the comfort of the soldiery and populace, and the bestowal of rewards and alms upon all classes of the people, the detail of which is told at some length in the history of Ẓiā-i Barnī.[1] Those laws were the most extraordinary of all this cheapness of provisions was one of the chief sources of the prosperity of the people, and formed a stout wall of defence against the irruption of the Mughuls. And inasmuch as in mentioning some of these events and occurrences in the original work,[2] the chronological sequence has not been preserved, and they have been only incidentally mentioned as occasion arose, for this reason they have also been recounted here in the same manner.

196. In the year 700 H. he ordered 'Ainu-l-Mulk Shihāb Multānī to proceed to Mālwa with a large army [and Kōkā the Rānī who had forty thousand cavalry and 100,000 infantry, not being able to stand against him fled][3] 'Ainu-l-Mulk ravaged and pillaged that country and returned victorious with countless spoils[4] The Khusrū of poets has described this in the '*Ashīqa*, in these words.

He gave 'Aīnu-l-Mulk a signal with his brow
To turn his face towards the kingdom of Mālwa;
From the clear-sightedness which 'Ainu-l-Mulk possessed,
That which he ordered was brought into sight
He marched with an army drawn up in array,
And placed round them sentinels like the eyelashes.[5]

And in the year already mentioned the Sulṭān set out for Sorath[6] on a hunting expedition, and despatched to hell Satal

[1] The *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* Elliot and Dowson, III pp 192 *et seqq*

[2] MS (A) دراصل كتاب

[3] The words in brackets are not found in MS (A).

[4] Firishta gives the date of this expedition as 704 H and calls Koka the Rājā of Malwa. The text and MS (B) reads رانى *Rānī*

[5] There is a series of play upon the words عين *'ain* and ديده *dīda* both of which mean "eye" which is quite lost in translation.

[6] MS (A) reads سوانة. Sawāna The text has سورتة Sorath *Āīn-i-Akbarī* II. (J) 243, 358. Bayley, *Hist of Gujarāt* p. 2

Dev a rebel who had taken refuge in that fortress with a huge army, the Sulṭān's army having before been unable to reduce it, but it now fell into their hands. And in the year 701 H. (1301 A.D.) the fort of Jālor was reduced by Kamālu-d-Dīn Kark and he sent Kanhar Dev, a headstrong rebel to the lowest abyss of hell.

And in the year 702 H. (1302 A.D.) he sent Malik Kāfūr Nāib[1] with a large army and complete equipment towards Tilang and Marhaṭ[2] and an immense quantity of treasure with elephants and horses, jewels and cloths, fell as spoil into the hands of the troops

And in the year 709 (1309 A.D.)[3] Malik Nāib Kāfūr went a second time to Arankal[4] and having taken much treasure and several fine elephants and seven thousand horses as a present from Rāi Nadar Dev the Governor of Arankal made him a regular tributary. And in the year 710 H. (1310 A D.) the country of Ma'bar[5] as far as Dhor[6] Samundar came into the possession of the Muslims. 197.

And in the year 711 H. (1311 A.D.) Malik Nāib brought to court and presented his spoils consisting of three hundred and twelve elephants, and twenty thousand horses, ninety-six thousand *mans* of gold, and many chests of jewels and pearls besides other

[1] MS (A) reverses the order of this name. The text has نائب کافور.

[2] Telingā or Telingāna, the ancient name of one of the principal kingdoms of S India See *Aīn-i-Akbarī* II. (J) 237; *also* Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* I. *art* Andhra; also Cunningham *Anc. Geog. of India* p. 519, 527.

[3] There is a great gap here in the history partly due to the confusion of dates, and absence of chronological sequence mentioned by the author. Barnī gives no assistance and Firishta very little.

[4] Warangal was the ancient capital of Telingāna (Tieff III. 5) See Hunter *Imp. Gaz* XIII. 521. Regarding Marhaṭ or Maharashtra see Hunter, *Imp. Gaz* IX 166; also Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, Preliminary Observations; also Cunningham, *Anc Geog. of India* p. 553.

Arangal or Warangal. Barnī gives Laddar Dev as the name of the Rāi of Arangal. Elliott III 201. So also Firishta See text I. p 207.

[5] Ma'bar. Coromandel. *See* Ibn Baṭūṭah (Paris Edn) III. 328. *Aīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) III 51, 60. Abu-l-Feda (Reinaud) I CDXXVIII.

Ma'bar extends from Kūlam (Cavalum) to Nilāwar (Nellore). Wassāf (E and D III 32).

[6] Firishta says Khwāja Hājī and Malik Nāib were sent to conquer Ma'bar and Dhor Samund where there were idol temples full of gold, and jewels. I cannot identify Dhor Samund.

booty beyond the limits of computation; Amīr Khusrū who was with that army has given full particulars in the *Khazāinu-l-Futūḥ*: some attributed these victories to respite before punishment, and some to the miraculous powers of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, while others held that the peace and security of that reign were due to the unbounded blessings of the Sulṭānu-l-Mashāikh Niẓāmu-l-Auliyā[1] *may God*[2] *sanctify his resting-place.*

At length when the Sulṭān's mind was satisfied, and he gained some leisure from the administration of the State, he set himself to provide for the future of his two sons, allotting to each one a province in the neighbourhood, and setting apart districts for them. Among other events was the marriage of Khiẓr Khān to Dewal Rānī, and Girāī's account is of a nature to last to all eternity, and those who have the taste may read the account of that in the *'Ashīqa*;[3] then having bestowed upon Khiẓr Khān the canopy and staff of office, and having made him his heir the Sulṭān sent him away to Hatnāpūr[4] and the foot of the hills. When affairs were settled,[5] and the heavens began to act with their ingrained natural deceit, and commenced displaying those evil *traits*, and old age overcame the Sulṭān's health, his followers deserted him;

Verse.

In the world, when a king becomes advanced in years
His worshippers grow weary of him;
His head, which is worthy of a crown,
He must recline on musk not on ivory.[6]

198 Various disorders affected him,[7] and hectic fever which leads[8] to

1 Niẓāmud-d-Dīn Auliyā was the son of Aḥmad Dānyāl. He was born at Badāon He died A H 725 and is buried at Dihlī.

See *Āīn-i-Akbarī* III 365. Firishta gives a long biography of him.

2 MS. (A) omits الله.

3 See E and D III 552, 553.

4 Text reads هتنا پور MS. (A) reads هستناور Hastināwar (? Hatnāwar) See *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (J) II 104 and III. 70 also Hunter *Gaz Ind* v 352.

5 MS (A) قرار یافت.

6 It was the custom to bury kings with musk, camphor and other odoriferous substances The throne was of ivory.

7 MS (A) عارض شد و

8 MS. (A) reads مستوجب for موجب.

ill-temper, and suspiciousness, and causes the health to become deranged, gained the mastery over him, and when only such a small amount of health remained that it was like a single lamp to light the whole house, Khizr Khān in fulfilment of a vow he had made, in singleness of heart and sincerity of spirit set out from Hatnāpūr[1] barefooted upon a pilgrimage to the holy men of Dihlī, and performed his thanksgiving for the restoration of his father's health, but it is a very strange fact that he never once went to visit the Sulṭānu-l-Mashāikh wàl Auliyā,

> "Shaikh of the sects, Pillar of the faith, Nizāmu-d-Dīn
> Like Khizr and Masīḥ, with a breath brings bones to life

with whom he was connected by bonds of affection and sanctity.

And Malik Nāib informed the Sulṭān of the coming of Khizr Khān with considerable embellishment, saying that Alp Khān, the maternal uncle of Khizr Khān, who had arrived from Gujrāt, out of policy and prudence, having regard to the affairs of the State and in his desire to become Nāib and Vakīl, had himself summoned his sister's son, and further remarked that if this crude idea and immature desire had not fixed itself in the mind of Khizr Khān, why had he come unbidden to the Court?

The Sulṭān whose health was upset, and his brain disordered and disposed to entertain absurd prejudices, in according with the saying,[2] "When a man's health is disordered his fancies are disordered," from his great lack of discrimination taking this suggestion as the actual fact, and regarding this assertion[3] as the truth, instantly gave orders for the execution of Alp Khān.

Malik Nāib and Malik Kamālu-d-Dīn Kark seizing that unhappy wretch like a meek lamb, cut him to pieces inside the Royal palace. After that Malik Nāib induced the Sultān (on the ground that Khizr Khān had taken alarm at the murder of his uncle and that it was not expedient for him to return to his own place in the court), to issue instructions that, to allow of the restoration[4] of order in the State, he should go for some 199

1 MS. (A) reads *Hatnāwar.* Khusrū in the 'Ashiqa states "When the Sultān recovered in some degree, Khizr Khān set out on his expedition to Hatāupūr." (E and D III, 554).

2 MS. (A) ع.

3 MS. (A) reads سخن.

4 MS. (A) omits اصلاح text line 1 and بره text line 2.

time to Amroha till a command should issue summoning him to the presence. In the meantime he might engage in hunting, and he was to return to the Court his canopy and staff of office, and all the other insignia of royalty. Khiẓr Khān having obeyed this order with a sad and distracted heart, after a little while relying upon the sincerity of affection he entertained for his father and the confidence between them, wrote to him to this effect,[1] that he had never committed any breach of trust which could cause the Sultān to be so wroth with him; then overcome by sorrow he determined to leave Amroha for Dihlī. When he arrived to do obeisance to his father, the chord of fatherly affection was stirred in the heart of the Sulṭān, he clasped his son to his breast, and kissed him several times on the forehead, and motioned to him to go and see his mother. Khiẓr Khān went thither, and Malik Nāib out of villainy,[2] on the instant went back to the Sulṭān and filled his ears with lies, saying,[3] 'Khiẓr Khān has now come for the second time to the palace with evil intentions without orders, and the Sulṭān takes no notice of the matter' The Sultān upon this occasion gave orders to send both brothers, Khiẓr Khān and Shādī Khān, to the fortress of Gwāliār[4] Malik Nāib, after these two heirs had been deported, and the way was clear for Malik Shihābu-d-Dīn, the son of the Sulṭān by another mother, who was yet a lad of tender years, made him heir-apparent and exacted from him an agreement.

After two or three days the Sulṭān's life became intolerable through his affliction, and he would willingly have purchased a breath at the price of a world, but it was not to be had.

Verse

Sikandar, who held sway over a world,
At the time when he was departing, and was quitting the world,
200. It could not be as he wished, though he would have given a world could they have given him in return the brief respite of a moment.

[1] I follow the text here. MS. (A) omits بعرض

[2] MS (A) reads از روی حرامخوارگی

[3] MS. (A) omits و گفت and inserts كه

[4] MS (A) كاليور. *Kālewar*.

The mint of Existence was emptied of the coin of life.

This event took place in the year 715 H (1316 A.D.).[1] The duration of the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn was twenty-one years.

'Alāu-d-Dīn who struck his stamp upon the golden coin
Subdued a world beneath the palm of his gold-scattering hand.[2]
By the revolution of the sky, that stamp became changed, but that gold
Remained the same in appearance, and you may see it now passing from hand to hand.

[**Account of Amīr Khusrū and Mīr Ḥasan** *may God have mercy on them*].[3]

And among the poets[4] by whose existence the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn was adorned and honoured, one was the Khusrū-i-Shā'irān (Prince of Poets), *may God shew him mercy and acceptance*, whose writings, whether prose or poetry, have completely filled the world from one remotest end to the other.

He completed his five works, collectively called *Khamsa*,[5] in the year 698 H. (1298 A. D.), in honour of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn,

1 MS. (A) reads خمس *Khams* in place of ست *sit* and this is correct as 'Alāu-d-Dīn died on the 7th Shawwāl 715 H see E and D III 555, but see also p 208. "On the sixth Shawwāl towards morning, the corpse of 'Alāu-d-Dīn was brought out of the Red Palace of Sīrī, and was buried in a tomb in front of the Jāmi' Masjid" (*Tarīkh-i-Firuz Shāhi*) See also Thomas *Pathān Kings of Dihlī* p 158 n 1.

2 MS (A) زر از کف دست See Thomas *Pathan Kings* pp. 158 *et seqq*.

3 These words are not found in MS (A).

4 MS. (A) reads و از جملهٔ شعرای که زمان.

5 These were the following —

هشت بهشت *Hasht Bihisht* سکندر نامه *Sikandar nāma*
لیلی و مجنون *Laili wa Majnūn.* شیرین و خسرو *Shirin wa Khusrū.*
پنج گنج *Panj ganj*

Khusrū was of Turki origin, his father Amīr Maḥmūd came to Dihlī during the invasion of Changīz Khān into the service of Sulṭan Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh by whom he was advanced to high office, but was eventually murdered. Mīr Khusrū succeeded his father, but gave up office and became the devoted disciple of Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā. His *Khamsa* was written in imitation of the *Khamsa* of Shaikh Niẓāmī.

He is said to have written 400,000 couplets Neither *Khamsa* is now extant.

within the space of two years. Among these works is the *Maṭla'u-l-Anwār*[1] which he composed in two weeks as he himself says (in these verses):

> The year of this ancient heaven which had passed away
> Was after six hundred and ninety eight
> Following on the steps of the sky traversing star[2]
> In two weeks did the full moon[3] arrive at completion.

In the *Nafaḥāt*[4] it is stated upon the authority of Sulṭānu-l-Mashāikh Niẓāmu-l-Auliyā, *may God sanctify his sacred resting-place*, that on the day of judgment each individual will boast of some one thing, and my boast (said he) will be of the heart-burnings of this Turk Allāh[5] (God's champion); Mīr Khusrū probably alludes to this when he says:—

> Khusrū my friend, strive in the right way
> 201. That you may be called Turk-i-Khudā (God's champion)

Another poet was Mīr Ḥasan Dihlavī,[6] whose anthology also has enslaved the east and west of the world. Although in that reign there were other poets who composed anthologies, still by reason of these two eminent poets the mention of the others sinks into insignificance.

> "When the sun comes out the stars disappear."

The death of Mīr Khusrū took place in the year 725 H (1325 A.D) He is buried in Dihlī at the foot of the sacred tomb of his

1 The مطلع الانوار *Maṭlau-l-Anwār* "Ortus luminum. Poema persicum, quod ad Pentada Khosrewi Dehlewi, anno 725 (inc 18 Dec 1324) mortui, pertinet Viginti libri qui singuli historiam unam continent" H K 12256

2 اختر گردون خرام *Akhtar i-gardūn khirām*. 3 مه کامل *Mah-i-Kāmil.*

4 نفحات *Nafahāt* The *Nafahātu-l-Uns* see Hāji Khalīfah *Nafahātu-l uns* "halitus familiaritatis e viris sanctitate eminentibus prodeuntes, auctore Molla nostro Nūr-ed-dīn Abd-el-rahmān Ben Ahmad Jāmī anno 898 (inc 23 Oct 1492) mortuo." H K 13922

5 ترک الله. *Turk Allāh.*

6 میرحسن دهلوي. Mīr Ḥasan Dihlavī, whose name was Shaikh Najmu-d-Dīn Hasan, was one of the most accomplished poets of his time He, like Mīr Khusrū, was a disciple of Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā. *Majma'u-l-Fuṣaḥā* I 196) He died as our author tells us (in 739 A H.) at Daulatābād in the Deccan, where he was buried. So also Ātash Kada p 351.

own spiritual instructor[1] *may God shew mercy to them.* Maulānā Shihāb[2] wrote an enigmatical chronogram upon that, and having had it engraved upon a tablet of stone had it fixed above the shrine[3] of Mīr Khusrū. It is as follows :—

Mīr Khusrū, the Khusrū of the kingdom of eloquence,
That ocean of excellence, and sea of perfection;
His prose is more attractive than flowing water,
His poetry purer than the most limpid streams;
A sweet-singing nightingale without a rival,
Honey-tongued parrot without an equal:
In tracing the date of the year of his death,
When I placed my head upon the knee of thought,
One phrase *'Adīmu-l-Misl*[4] came as the date,
Another was *Tūṭī-i-Shakar Maqāl.*[5]

Mīr Ḥasan, in the year in which Sulṭān Muḥammad having laid waste Dihlī built Daulatābād[6] in the Deccan, died in that

1 Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā.

2 *See p.* 99 *note* 2 of this work.

3 There is no English equivalent that I am aware of for the word مزار which means "a place of pilgrimage." The word "shrine" conveys this idea better than most others

4 The letters of عديم المثل give the date 725 Thus 70 + 4 + 10 + 40 + 1 + 30 + 40 + 500 + 30. So also do those of طوطي شكر مقال. Thus 9 + 6 + 9 + 10 + 300 + 20 + 200 + 40 + 100 + 1 + 30 = 725. Not counting the hamza

Mīr Khusrū died in the month of Ramazān 725 A. H (1325 A D) and is said in the *Majma'u-l-Fuṣaḥā* to have been buried in the burial place of Shaikh Shakkar Ganj; as above stated in the text he was buried close to the grave of his spiritual guide Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā.

5 *'Adīmu-l-Misl* means "peerless." *Tūṭī-i-Shakkar Maqāl,* "Parrot of honied speech"

6 MS. (A) omits اباد ساخت ending تعمير فرموده.

Daulatābād. Lat 19° 57′ N. and long. 75° 18′ E 28 miles N.-W of Hyderābād. It was originally called Deogiri or Deogarh, and was the capital of the Yadava kingdom. After being taken by 'Alāu-d-Dīn, which event is noteworthy as being the first appearance of the Muḥammadans in the Deccan, it was given back to its Rājā Ramchandra who rebelled, was subdued by Nāib Malik Kāfūr, taken prisoner and sent to Dihlī whence he was restored to his kingdom Finally in 1338 (739 A.H.) Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh

country, and was buried in the city of Daulatābād where his tomb is well known, and is visited as a shrine of sanctity

'Ārif Jāmī,[1] *may his resting-place be sanctified*, says—

> Those two parrots from whose birth
> Hindustān was filled with sugar,
> Became at last a mark for the arrow of the sky
> And were silenced and prisoned in the cage of earth.

Sulṭān Shihābu-d-Dīn ibn 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji

202. Who was a child, ascended the throne as a puppet in the month of Shawwāl, 715 A.H. (1316 A.D.) by the exertions, and with the consent of Malik Nāib, and was styled by the above title He sent Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Sanbal to the fortress of Gwāliār to put out the eyes of Khiẓr Khān and Shādī Khān. He also caused the mother of Khiẓr Khān, Malika-i-Jahān, to be imprisoned, and confiscated all her property, and having thrown the Shāhzāda, whose name was Mubārak Khān, into prison, intended to put out his eyes, but fate did not second his efforts.

deserted Dihlī for Deogiri which he renamed Daulatābād and issued stringent orders to all the inhabitants of Dihlī to remove to the new capital

Ibn Baṭūṭa (Paris Edn IV. 46) who visited at this time, compares it to the former capital, and say that the citadel was named دويقير. This was evidently the old name of the city, Deogīr as we should probably read ديوقير

1 Nūru d-Dīn 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān was born in 817 A.H. (1414 A.D) at Jām Khurāsān, whence he took the name of Jāmī

His father's name was Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Ahmad. He was from his earliest years distinguished for his mental powers, and at the early age of five received the name of Nūru-d-Dīn (Light of the Faith) and later he was known as Maulānā. He became very famous and attained to the highest dignity attainable by a mystic, that of 'Ārif. He wrote many works in poetry, grammar and theology, among others the *Haft Aurang*, a series of seven poems, viz, *Silsilatu-l-Zahab*, The golden chain, *Qiṣṣa-i-Salāmān wa Absāl*, Story of Salāmān and Absāl, *Tuḥfatu-l-Aḥrar*; The Offering to the Wise, *Subḥatu l-abrār*, Rosary of the Pious, *Yūsuf wa Zuleikha*, Yusuf and Zuleikha, *Laili wa Majnūn*, Lailī and Majnūn *Khirad Nāma*, Book of Wisdom.

He died in the year 898 H. (1492 A.D)

See · Ḥājī Khalīfah 14412 *Yusuf and Zuleikha* (Griffith's Preface) Beale (*Dict. of Or. Biog*) p 132.

When his attempts to uproot the family of 'Alāu-d-Dīn became known, two sirdars named Mubashshir and Bashīr in concert with a body of *pāiks* of the garrison of the Hazār Sutūn palace, one night murdered Malik Nāib.[1]

Verse.

If thou doest evil, hope not for good,
For never wilt thou gather grapes from thorns;
I do not imagine that thou who hast sown barley in autumn
When harvest comes wilt gather in wheat.

Then, having released Shāhzāda Mubārak Khān from prison, they appointed[2] him to be Nāib to Sultān Shihābu-d-Dīn in place of Malik Nāib: Mubārak Khān carried on the affairs of the state for one or two months after that, and succeeded in conciliating the Amīrs and Maliks. Then he sent Sulṭān Shihābu-d-Dīn to the fortress of Gwāliār where he finally died in the year 716 H.[3]

Verse.

No one has ever seen a trace of fidelity in Time,
Everyone who seeks fidelity from Time is in error.

The Sirdārs having put some of these *pāiks* to death,[4] scattered 203
the rest of them in all directions.

Verse.

Good requites good, and evil meets with evil,
This is the way of the world. requital of actions.

And the period of the reign of Shihābu-d-Dīn was three months and a few days.

SULṬĀN QUṬBU D-DĪN MUBĀRAK SHĀH IBN 'ALĀU-D-DĪN KHILJĪ.

Ascended the throne of Dihlī with the consent of the Amīrs

1 Thirty-five days after the death of 'Alāu-d-Dīn (Barnī) *i.e.*, 715 H. (1316 A.D.)

2 MS. (A) منصوب گردانیدند.

3 There is a difference here of great importance between the printed text and the MS. The former has 710 H. while MS. (A) reads 716 H. which is correct, as is seen from the *Nuh Sipihr* of Mīr Khusrū.

4 MS. (A) بقتل رسانیدند.

With regard to the succession of Shihābu-d-Dīn, see Firishta, who describes him by the name of 'Umar Khān (Brigg's Firishta I. 383). His full name was Shihābu-d-Dīn 'Umar according to Mīr Khusrū.

and Vazirs in the early part of the year 717, H.[1] and apportioning appointments and suitable *jāegīrs* among his most trusted Amirs, specially distinguished by promoting to high office one Ḥasan, Barāwar bacha,[2] who was very handsome, and had been brought as a captive from Mālwa. He had been the *protégé* of Malik Shādi Nāib-i-Khāṣṣ, the *Ḥājib* of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn.[3]

He gave him the title of Khusrū Khān. The tribe of Barāwar[4] are a family of servile position in Gujrāt; but now in the kingdom of Dihlī, the Sulṭān, to such an extent was he infatuated by his beautiful face, raised him, in spite of his unfitness for the office, to the trusted post of Vazir

Verse.

If thou desirest thy kingdom to be glorious
Give not high office to an upstart;
Unless thou wishest that thy state should be ruined
Entrust not thy affairs to the inexperienced.

And Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn, inasmuch as he had undergone the affliction of imprisonment, on the very first day of his reign had all the prisoners liberated, and appointed Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Jūnā the Son of Ghāzi Malik, who eventually was entitled Muḥammad 'Ādil, to be *Mīr Ākhor*.[5]

In the first year of his reign he contemplated the conquest of Deogīr otherwise called Daulatābād,[6] but his Amirs opposed and dissuaded him.

1 So also the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* of Barnī, but Khusrū in both the *'Ashiqa* and *Nuh Sipihr*, says the beginning of 716 H In the latter poem the date is specifically stated to have been the 24th of Muḥarram, 716 H. But Firishta says the 7th of Muḥarram, and the editor states in a footnote to the translation of the *Nuh Sipihr*, that in some loose extracts the date is 717 H.

'Alāu-d Dīn having died on the 7th Shawwāl 715 and Shihābu-d-Dīn having reigned three months and a few days, would bring the accession of Quṭbu-d-Dīn to about the middle or end of Muḥarram 716, so that we may consider this as the correct date unless there was an interregnum of a whole year, of which there is no evidence

2 MS. (A).

3 MS. (A) *omits* و *after* خاص.   4 MS. (A).

5 Master of the Horse. Ākhor is a Turkish word signifying stable. Cf. Akhtā, a Turkī word signifying, a gelding

6 See p. 271 *note* 6.

Verse.

It was not deemed expedient, from motives of wisdom,
That the world's king should move from his place;
Who knows, what are the hidden designs of evil wishers, 204.
Or who, in all sincerity, is well disposed to the king?

In the year 718 H (1318 A.D.) Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn sent Sar Salāḥī *Kotwāl*.[1] with orders to proceed to Gwāliār and put to death Khiẓr Khān and Shādī Khān. Having done this he summoned Dewal Rānī and included her in his *ḥaram*. With reference to this Mīr Khusrū writes:

Verses.

In short one who is acquainted with the secret of this mystery
In this way opened the door of this treasury of secrets,
That when the Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh in cruelty
Turned against his own kith and kin with anger and frowning,
He considered that the interests of the country demanded their murder,
And thought that they deserved the sharp sword.
His object was to empty the country of noble men by malicious enterprise.
Secretly he sent a messenger to Khiẓr Khān
Making treacherous protestations of hearty good will
Saying, Oh thou shining light who remainest far from the assembly,
Thy body ill at ease and thy countenance without light;
Thou knowest that this is none of my doing,
The oppressed remains while the oppressor disappears.
If thou art imprisoned, by the Lord of the world
When the time comes he himself will loosen these bonds.
In this matter haste and anxiety are not fitting,
An elephant extricates itself from the mire by patient endeavour.
Now, we too are engaged in plumbing this matter
So that by clever contrivance we may free you from that captivity

1 "A ruffian named Shādī' (*Mīr Khusrū* E and D III. 555.)

If thou art fitted to become a king
We will make thee ruler over a wide kingdom.
But the affection for some one which springs in thy heart
Is not fitted for the loftiness of thy ambition.
Dewal Rānī who is but a handmaiden to thee,
For whom even were the moon needed as handmaid this were an easy matter,
I have heard that she is so dear to thee
That thy cypress-like form stoops to kiss her feet.
This is not fitting that from shortsightedness
The king should be enslaved by a slave.
The gourd is in any case of no account in the garden
205. That it should attempt to raise its head in emulation of the *Chinār*.
A straw which places its foot upon the face of the stream
Is carried hither and thither by the wind and buffeted by the floods.[1]
[My heart's desire makes this request, that thou should'st give up that mistress of thine.]
Since she went from here, send her back hither again
Send her to take her place at the foot of my throne.
When the infatuation of thy mind is somewhat less
We will send her back to thee to be thy handmaid.
When the messenger went and took back the message
Khiẓr Khān's heart no longer enjoyed any rest.
First he wept tears of blood which flooded his eyes and lips,
Then he sent back an answer mingled with blood
Saying, since the Shāh has attained his ambition in becoming a sovereign,
He must leave Dewal Rānī to me.
If however you desire to deprive me of this wealth
You desire to see me despoiled of wealth and light.
Since this heart's delight holds her head as high as mine
Cut off my head, afterwards thou wilt know.
When the messenger, from that grief-stricken soul

[1] Here follows in the text the following verse given above in brackets.

تمنای دل ما میکنــد خواست که زان زانونشین برباید خاست

With a footnote saying that this verse is in the *'Āshiqa* but in none of the three MSS. It is also not in MS. (A.)

Bore those fiery sighs to the palace of the king,
The Emperor waxed wrath from head to foot
From his heart he smiled, as lightning smiles in the cloud,
The flame of the fire of [1] enmity shot forth,
He who sought a pretext, was provided with a new one.[2]
In anger he sent for Sar Salāḥī (the Kotwāl)
Saying you must travel this day before nightfall a hundred *krohs*;
Go to Gwāliār at this moment without delay,
And with the sword cut off the heads of the lions of the country,
That I may be safe from the nobles of the country;
Because this disturbance, small as it is, risks the existence of the country.
At his order the tyrant set out,
The pigeon was tied [3] by the foot and the hawk hungry.
In that day and night he travelled several leagues
He arrived and again imprisoned him intending (to kill him).[4]
He made known the orders he had received from the throne,
The garrison of the fort set about carrying out this severe measure;
The ruthless soldiery entered shamelessly [5] into that pure place of chastity, 206.
The veiled ladies [6] were thrown into consternation and screamed so that the roof and doors shook with their cries.
In that palace every arrow-like beam [7] became curved like a bow,
The day of resurrection became a guest in that Paradise;
From the corners of the rooms in great consternation
The male lions leapt forth in wrath,

[1] MS. (A) reads شعلهٔ کین زد زبانه.

[2] MS. (A) reads بهای جوی را باید بهانه.

[3] MS (A) ببند. The text has a misprint هند.

[4] The text is wrong here. MS. (A) reads correctly.

رسید و بند کرد از نو باهنگ

[5] MS. (A) بهٔ بی آبی.

[6] MS. (A) پرو پوشیدگان

[7] تیر has here the two meanings of *arrow*, and *rafter* or *beam*.

The arms had lost their strength, and the bodies their power.
Force was dead, and wit had sunk to sleep[1]
Shādi Khān Wālā waxed wrath, and sought aid from the protection of God most High,
Nimbly he leapt upon the Kotwāl and fought with him for a long time, threw him to the ground and sought for a sword wherewith to slay him
Inasmuch as he had lost his sword of victory
What did that unattainable strength avail him?
Allies ran up to help him from right and left
They fell one after the other and that fallen one rose up.
Each fierce (lion) was attacked by ten dogs,[2]
See how the dogs vent their wrath upon the lions,
Hey for the meanness of the cowardly sky
That permits dogs to hunt lions!
When they had forcibly bound those two prosperous chieftains,
The time bound the hands of fortune and prosperity.
Those wondrous men fell into disgrace,
Blood-reeking swords appeared on every side
When the murderous clashing of daggers was heard,
The blood-thirsty murderer appeared from the door,
Hard as a rock,[3] source of grief, though his name was Shādi (Joy)
As repulsive as the document of a dowry, and the grief arising from debt.
Artful enough to depose Dajjāl[4] from his place,

1 توان مردہ خرد درخواب رفتہ MS (A).

2 MS (A) بہریک شرزہ دہگان سگ بیاویخت.

3 MS. (A) جمادی

4 الدخال . دجال *Ad-Dajjāl* called also المسیح الکذاب *Al-Masīha-l-Kazzāb* The false Christ or Antichrist who is to appear as one of the signs preceding the resurrection Cf 2 Thess ii. So called according to some because he will cover the earth with his adherents like as the tar covers the body of the mangy camel, the word دجل *dajala* in Arabic having the primary meaning of smearing with tar

According to others he is so called because of his lying (secondary meaning of دجل) in arrogating to himself godship, or again from دجّل *dajjala* in the twofold signification of "covering" (truth with falsehood) or "gilding," *see* Lane s. v.

Hideous enough to make Satan forgetful of his own ugliness;
On each side of his face was gathered a dark cloud,[1]
From every hair sprang a sword.[2]
Fierce wrath as cutting as the executioner's sword, 207.
A glance as piercing as the chisel of Farhād;[3]
His lips wreathed in an angry smile,
Through wrath seizing his lips between his teeth
His one desire and wish was revenge and punishment,
From head to foot a statue of hatred and scorn;

According to the Mishkāt, Dajjāl will be the second of the ten signs or tokens which are to precede the resurrection. After three of these signs have occurred, namely, the rising of the sun in the west, the coming of Dajjāl, and the appearance of the beast which is to emerge from the mountain of Safah, repentance will no longer avail anything.

The coming of Dajjāl is to be a time of calamity such as has never before been known He is of low stature though bulky, with splay feet, blind, with the flesh even on one side of his face without the mark of an eye. His right eye is blind, like the seed of a grape, and the word كفر *kufr*, Infidelity, is written between his eyes, he is to appear from the middle of a road between Syria and 'Irāq and will mislead on the right hand and on the left The repetition of the Chapter of the Cave (Qur'ān XVIII) will be a means of repelling his wickedness. He will not be able to enter either Mecca or Medinah. His stay upon earth is to last forty days, one day equal to a year, and another day equal to a month, another day like a week and rest of the days like ordinary days Dajjāl will it is said bestow great abundance upon those who believe in him, but sorely afflict those who reject him. He is to perform miracles such as killing a youth by severing him in two with a sword and restoring him to life. Then Jesus will descend from heaven and will destroy Dajjāl at the entrance to a village called *Lud* in Palestine The Jews of Iṣfahān will follow Dajjāl before whose coming there will be three years during the first of which the sky will withhold one-third of its rain and the earth one-third of her productions, during the second the sky will withhold two-thirds and the earth two-thirds, during the third neither sky nor earth will yield rain nor produce, and every animal in the earth will die He will then come forth upon a white ass, the space between the ears of which is seventy feet.

[1] His whiskers [2] MS. (A) برستة. The text reads بر رستة.

[3] فرهاد *Farhād* See Beale *Dict. Or Biog* p. 87. for the story of Farhād who in order to gain the lovely Shīrīn, with whom he was madly in love, attempted to cut through a mountain; he was on the point of completing his labour when false intelligence was sent to him by the husband of Shīrīn that she was dead, whereupon he cast himself headlong and was dashed in pieces.

When he gave the signal and brandished his sword on all sides [1]
Not one leapt like lightning from that mass of clouds.
May God have mercy !
How could anyone draw the sword of revenge upon that crowd of moonlike faces.
Whose heart would not be torn with distracting grief
In pity for so many young and beautiful men ?
Oh Lord ! may the breast of heaven be rent a hundredfold
To think that it has brought so many noble ones to the dust.
How can you look for pity for the blood he sheds, in the heart of the butcher ?
Whose one desire is to see his knife stained with blood.
When the bloody butcher binds roses upon his head,
Why should he withhold his knife from the rose-like body ?
Since no one of them desired that the sword should succeed in shedding their blood,[2]
There leapt from their midst like a whirlwind
A man of low origin, a Hindū by birth
Dusky of hue, like to Ahriman,[3]
Nay ! a thousand Ahrimans would stand aghast at his face
Grief-increasing like the pleasure of those in distress,
Wrong in judgment like the intellect of young people ;
Unlucky to look upon as a young owl,
Like a morning in Dai [4] at Ghaznīn cold and inhospitable ;
Like the night of sorrow his forehead full of gloom,
Like the nature of a wicked man, accursed.
A lip like the sole of a ploughman's foot,
A cheek like the mouth of a man with paralysis ;
That hideous one had a mouth like a helmet,
His smile like the yawning of a burst shoe ;
Long whiskers twisted over his ears

1 MS. (A) اشارت کرد و هرسو راند چون تیغ.

2 MS. A تیغ خون را.

3 Ahrimān, the Satan of the Persians, is said in their traditions to have been born out of the thought of the Almighty and of his pride in the world, while the first man (whom they call Gayômarth) was born from the sweat of the brow of the Almighty wiped off in bewilderment at the sight of Ahrimān. See Albirūnī (*Chron.*) p. 107.

4 The tenth month of the Persian year. See Albirūnī (*Chron.*) p. 52. It answers to our month of December.

His whiskers taking the place of the ring in the slave's ear;
Lightly he leapt out from the line of warriors,
[You would think that a wave of blood would burst from him, 208.
His skirt tucked up in his wrathful haste, his sleeves drawn back for bloodshed.] [1]
He demanded a well-tempered sword from his officer,[2]
Drew it, and tightened up the skirt of his tunic;
[The head of that cypress-like noble fell from his shoulders
He who was renowned for his youth and beauty] [3]
Martyrdom was evident [4] in Khizr in that palace;
Just as the tree praises God when its branches put forth leaves
The heaven kept lamenting over his punishment;
The angels continually assisted him in his martyrdom,
Rizwān threw open the gates of Paradise,
All the Hūrīs began to sing his praises.
From that martyr's shout of triumph which came forth from the Shāh,
The sun and moon joined in the martyr's song.
When the dagger was raised aloft and the Shāh's face was seen amid its clustering locks,
Lamentation arose in that assembly like [5] the roll of thunder;
The sun made his body a shield to protect him,
But Fate turned it on one side from before him.
When the sword of Fate severs the cord of Hope,
Neither sun nor moon can become a shield for thee;
With one blow which that ruthless one struck
He made the Shāh's head a guest in his bosom.
To wash away the blood, the revolving water-wheel of the sky
Required that the spring of the sun should yield all its blood;
But, since there was no longer a breath of life in his body,
Of what avail was it to wash the blood from the surface of it.
Dewal Rānī, who was a woman of dignity and beauty,
Was the lifespring of Khizr Khān's existence.

[1] A footnote to the text states that these lines are not in either MS. MS. (A) contains them.

[2] MS. (A) ز فرمایندهٔ.

[3] These lines are not in the text. MS. (A) reads

بر آمد گردن سر و گرامی * که از سر سبزی خود بود نامی

[4] MS. (A) شهادت خاست.

[5] MS. (A) چون رعد.

Since the Khiẓr of the sky had lain in ambush to slay him
That very well of life [1] of his became the sword of enmity.
When we look in this crystal globe carefully
Many life giving springs are also fatal to their Khiẓr.
The soul of the lover was poured out with his life blood,
But still was hovering round about the beloved one
A rose from which thou hast tasted a pearl of dew,
Thou wilt shed thy blood [2] for it a hundred times.
Instead of rose water they drew his heart's blood from that rose,
See how they (mercilessly) robbed him of his blood!

And when the foundation stone of this edifice of his destruction of the family of 'Alāu-d-Dīn was laid, the question was asked of a devotee, why this should be? His reply was because 'Alāu-d-Dīn had cast a firebrand into the family [3] of the uncle of his benefactor, and as a consequence similar treatment had been meted out to his own family.

Verse.

209. In this full voiced, re-echoing dome (the world)
Whatever speech you utter that same will you hear.

At all events, after the usurpation by Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn, all the rules and regulations made by 'Alāu-d-Dīn, each of which embodied some wise purpose or far-seeing design, were thrown into confusion, and dissoluteness and wickedness, contumacy and rebellion sprang anew to life during the reign of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn, who threw open the doors of license and gratification of desires to the people; and when Malik Kamālu-d-Dīn Garg, after that Alf Khān had been summoned to the presence and had been executed, proceeded to Gujrāt where he attained martyrdom, 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī was nominated by the Court,[4] and having quelled the disturbance there regained possession [5] of Nahrwāla and all the country of Gujrāt, Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn married the

[1] دیول راني

[2] MS (A) خون خود.

[3] MS (A) reads. خانمان instead of خان و مان and خاندان in place of خانمان.

[4] MS (A) نامزد شد

[5] MS (A) در ضبط آورد و

daughter of Malik Dinār, and having given[1] him the title of Zafar Khān sent him to Gujrāt. He performed[2] the important duties of that province better and more satisfactorily than 'Ainu-l-Mulk.

In the year 718 H. (1318 A.D.) Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn marched for Deogīr with a larger army, and the Rāis of that country were not able to stand against him.

He flayed[3] Harpāl Deo who had rebelled during the time which followed the death of Rām Deo.[4] The country of the Marhattas also fell into the hands of Quṭbu-d-Dīn who, having given Khusrū Khān the canopy and staff of office ordered him to proceed to Ma'bar, and having left Yaklakhī in Deogīr as Nāib, returned to Dihlī. Near Badra-i-Sakūn[5] Malik Asadu-d-Dīn ibn Yaghrash Khān who was called Malik Khamūsh, and who was the uncle's son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, was smitten with the ambition of chieftainship,[6] and plotted a rebellion against the Sulṭān, who however was warned[7] of this design by one of his loyal adherents, and gave orders for the immediate execution of Malik Asadu-d-Dīn. He also sent orders that twenty of the relations of 210.
Yaghrash Khān who were aware of this conspiracy[8] some of whom were children, should be executed, and when he reached Jhāin he sent Shādī Kath[9] his chief captain to Gwaliār to bring the family and relations of the murdered Khizr Khān and Shādī Khān with the remainder of the *haram* of 'Alāu-d-Dīn to Dihlī, after having

[1] MS. (A) inserts و اورا.

[2] MS. A. بر کرد. The textual reading is preferable

[3] The Sulṭān ordered him to be flayed, and his skin to be hung over the gate of Deogīr.

[4] MS. (A) omits كه.

[5] Called Ghāt-i-Sākūn by Barnī.

[6] MS. (A) reads سرى.

[7] MS (A) خبردار گردانيد.

[8] There is a direct opposition here between the printed text and the MS. The latter MS. (A) writes كه از اين واقعه خبر داشتند, and this is adopted as it seems more reasonable than that entirely innocent persons should have been put to death, though the statement that some were children is in keeping with the reading of the text. This latter is moreover supported by the statement of Barnī. "They had no knowledge whatever of the conspiracy, but were all seized and slaughtered like sheep."

[9] MS. (A) reads شادي كته Shādī Kath, and this is the name given also in Barnī's history. Neither the text nor the alternative reading given in its footnote is correct.

killed Sulṭān Shihābu-d-Dīn, which he carried out. Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn was led by the fact that Khiẓr Khān had been a disciple of the Sulṭānu-l-Mashāikh Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā, to regard that holy Shaikh with suspicion and distrust, and in opposition to the wishes of the holy Shaikh, sent for Shaikh Ruknu-d-Dīn from Multān, and honoured Shaikhzada-i-Jām, who was one of the opponents of Shaikh (Niẓāmu-d-Dīn) with special distinction.

Verse

When God[1] desires to openly disgrace any man
He leads him to abuse those of holy and pure nature;
And if God desires to hide the sins of any man
He leads him to talk little about the sins of other sinners.

His habits also underwent great change, and his heart emboldened him to walk in the valley of bloodshed as his father had done, so that rivers of blood began to flow, and he put to death without any cause Ẓafar Khān Wali of Gujerāt.

In the mean while Yaklakhī had prepared a rebellion in Deogīr, and had arranged to assume the insignia of royalty. At last when Khusrū Khān reached Deogīr, the men of the army who had been sent to Deogīr seized Yaklakhī and made him over to Khusrū Khān, who sent him bound to Dihlī where he was executed. The Sulṭān[2] also put to death Malik Shāhīn who was
211 known by the title of Wafā Malik, without any reason save the representations of some intriguers.

In these days the Sulṭān used generally to array himself in women's garments, and adorning himself like them with gold and jewels, used to give public audience Moreover he openly indulged in drinking and other forms of vice, inter marem fœminamque discrimen nullomodo facere solebat.

Verse.

Statura cujusvis ut littera *Alif* erecta, idem quod litteræ *Dāl* et *Nūn* incurvescebat, adeo Alif in rimam omnium inserebat.

[1] MS. (A) omits the word خدا, in error.

[2] MS. (A) omits the word سلطان but it appears to be required.

He used to command buffoons and jesters to insult with jest and witticisms his most trusted and eminent Amirs, as for instance 'Ainul Mulk Multānī and Qarābeg, who held fourteen appointments, and summoning them for that purpose to the roof of the Hazār Sutūn palace, they used to perform low buffooneries, et nudefacti, gestu turpi et obscœno, in vestes nobilium honoratorum mingebant. Thus he prepared everything that was necessary for the downfall of the kingdom.

Verse.

There was the rose, the leaf adorned it too.

And the kingdom seemed to say :—

Oh ! King what can come to pass from wine bibbers
What too can come to pass from unrestrained lust
The king maddened by lust, the empire ruined, the enemy before and behind.

It is only too plain in such a case, what must come to pass. And after the murder of Zafar Khān, he raised Husāmu-d-Dīn who was half-brother[1] to Khusrū Khān to succeed to the position 212. enjoyed by Zafar Khān and nominated him to proceed to Gujrāt. Husāmu-d-Dīn collected together the Barāwar[2] crew from all parts of that country and nursed a scheme of rebellion in his brain. The Amīrs of Zafar Khān's party[3] however seized him and sent him to Dihlī. The Sultān led by the feelings he entertained towards Khusrū Khān took no steps to punish him, but had him set at liberty on the instant and gave him extraordinary privileges. Then he appointed Malik Waḥīdu-d-Dīn[4] Quraishī, to Gujrāt in place of Husāmu-d-Dīn. He it was who was the

1 Barnī calls him برادر مادر which the translator renders maternal uncle. But if our text is correct it would appear that he was not برادر مادر but برادر مادري that is to say half-brother by the same mother, but by a different father. This is the meaning of the word برادر اخيافي here used, and would further account for Barnī later on calling him baseborn.

2 MS. (A) بروار.

3 MS. (A) امراي ظفرخان.

4 Thus the printed text. Barnī also calls him Waḥīdu-d-Dīn so I have adopted this reading. MS. (A) reads وجيه الدين Wajihu-d-Dīn.

cause of the arrest of Yaklakhi.[1] Khusrū Khān having arrived on the frontier of Telinga, and having blockaded the Rāi of that country in one of his fortresses, accepted several head of elephants[2] with treasure and valuables beyond all power of computation as a present from him, and moved his camp towards the Maithili country,[3] and having gained possession of nine hundred and twenty elephants and a diamond weighing six dirams, came into the country of Ma'bar, and relying on that[4] wealth entertained the idea of disobedience and rebellion, and obtaining permission to remain there, put to death several Amīrs whom he had with him Malik Talbīgha Yaghda[5] and Malik Talbīgha Nāgorī and Malik Ḥājī Nāib, with certain other Amīrs of the Sulṭān's party, becoming aware of his secret intentions threw him by force into a litter, and, marching with all haste by forced marches, conveyed him from Deogīr to Dihlī in seven days and acquainted the Sulṭān with his nefarious designs. Khusrū Khān however in the private apartment of the palace where he enjoyed the special companionship of the Sulṭān, gained him over by artful and specious representations, and fully persuaded the Sulṭān of the villainy of the Amīrs[6] The Sulṭān took his words as Gospel, so greatly was he influenced and controlled by him, and was incensed against the Amīrs, censured them[7] severely and subjected them to many indignities, and although they brought forward many veracious
213 witnesses in support of their allegations it was all of no use, and the wretched witnesses were severely punished

The story of Farazdaq the poet fits in with this, namely when he accompanied by his wife, appealed to the Khalifah of Baghdād, he got Ja'far the Barmecide, to plead for him, and used his wife Zubeida Khātūn as an intermediary. Hārūn the Khalīfah was

[1] The printed text has simply لكهي but MS (A) reads يكلكهي Yaklakhī. Yakalakhī it will be remembered, had been appointed Governor of Deogīr after Harpāl Deo had been taken and put to death. According to Barnī, Yaklakhī was "an old servant of 'Alāu-d-Dīn, who for many years was nāib of the barids" (couriers). Yaklakhī now revolted and was arrested by Waḥīdu-d-Dīn.

[2] MS. (A) omits.

[3] MS. (A) جوکت نموده و.

[4] MS (A) بقوت آن اموال.

[5] MS (A) reads thus. Barnī calls him Malik Talbagha Yaghda

[6] MS (A) omits سلطان after خاطرنشان.

[7] MS (A) omits با ایشان

favourably disposed towards Zubeida, and passed orders in accordance with the petition of the wife of Farazdaq.[1] He accordingly wrote these lines:—

An advocate who appears before thee clothed
Is not like one who comes before thee naked.[2]

That is to say an intercessor who comes near thee wearing drawers will not be so influential as she who comes naked. From that day this became a proverbial saying among the Arabs.

As soon as Khusrū Khān became quite assured in all ways of his predominant influence over the Sultān, he gave orders for the assembly of all his tribe from Gujrāt and began to introduce them into the service of the Sultān. The Sultān reposed entire confidence both in him[3] and in his family, and gave up the reins of Government absolutely into his hands,[4] abandoning himself to rioting and debauchery.[5]

1 Abū Firās Hammām or Humaim the son of Ghālib surnamed Abūl Akhtal was a celebrated poet of the tribe of Tamīm. He was commonly known as Al Farazdaq because of his stern and forbidding countenance. The meaning of Farazdaq is said to be a lump of dough which has been kneaded. (Freytag *Hamasah* II 585). It was a nick-name given him according to Ibn Kutaiba on account of his ugly face. He further states however that he was so called on account of his short and dumpy stature which made him be compared to the crust (farazdaqa) with which women polish their teeth. But the first explanation is best, because the poet caught the small-pox and when he recovered his face remained deformed and wrinkled (Ibn Khall: de Slane III 623).

2 Read مُسْتَتِرًا for مُتَزّرًا which appears to be intended for مُتَأَزِّرًا. The occasion on which these lines were spoken was, according to Ibn Khalliqān, when Nawār the granddaughter of Dubeia, wished to marry one of the Quraish tribe, and asked Al-Farazdaq to act as her legal guardian because he was the son of her uncle. He however availed himself of a formal promise given by her to abide by his decision as to her affairs, to say he would marry her himself. Nawār was very angry at this and went to 'Abdullah ibn az-Zubair, sovereign of Hijāz and 'Irāq, to obtain redress. Al-Farazdaq set out also. They stopped at different houses. Al-Nawār stayed with al-Khaula wife of Abdullah ibn az-Zubair, and Al Farazdaq with Hamza their son. Al-Khaula interceded for al-Nawār, and her intercession prevailed over that of Hamza whereupon Farazdaq spoke as above (Ibn Khall· (de Slane), III. 624).

3 MS. (A) و نمود و قبيلهٔ او را تمام اعتماد.

4 MS. (A) omits بلز 5 MS. (A) مشغول شد.

Verse.

Casting aside the Qur'ān and the sword
214 Taking instead to the cup and flagon.

The attendants who were loyal to the state were struck dumb and were compelled by the necessity for time-serving to throw themselves upon the protection of Khusrū Khān,

Verse.

If the times give the reins of authority to a wolf,
You must save yourself by saying, God save you Sir!

And the family of Barāwar[1] gained entire control of the Court of the Sulṭān, and used to assemble by day and by night at the house of Khusrū Khān to plot sedition and rebellion against the Sulṭān, and when Qāẓī Ẓiāu-d-Dīn, who was known as Qāẓī Khān, made these facts known, the Sulṭān who was the slave of his lust immediately summoned Khusrū Khān in private,[2] and informed him of what had been said, whereupon Khusrū Khān said, the people see the great kindness which the Sulṭān shews me and regard it as excessive, and from motives of jealousy falsely accuse me. The Sulṭān believed him and[3] made over to him the keys of the royal treasury and of all the other store-houses as well Khusrū Khān[4] regarded this as a proof of his complete ascendency deduced from it a favourable omen for his future ;—

Verse

When he saw his affairs so prosperous
He considered that omen as a proof of victory;
From that favourable omen the heart of Khusrū Khān,
Like a strong mountain, became firmly established.

Eventually, one night the Sulṭān was holding a drinking party in the company of Khusrū Khān, and the Amīrs of the guards withdrew from their posts. Qāẓī Khān came down from the roof of the Hazār Sutūn palace and was engaged in examining if the doors were safe, and the guards posted.

1 MS. (A) الوس براو.
2 MS. (A) adds درخلوت.
3 MS. (A) تصديق او كرد و .... ميپرد.
4 MS. (A).

In the meantime one Randhol[1] the uncle of Khusrū Khān with a body of the Barāwas, having daggers concealed under their arms came upon Qāẓī Khān, and kept him engaged in talk on one way and another, till, taking him off his guard, they stabbed him and despatched him as a martyr to his abode in Paradise. There was a great uproar,[2] and the Sulṭān, who at that moment had no other companion than Khusrū Khān, enquired what was the tumult. Khusrū Khān rose from beside him and went out to instigate his followers to murder the Sulṭān, then returned and said that some of the horses of the stud had broken loose, and were fighting among themselves. At this moment Jāhiriyā the uncle of Khusrū Khān approached the Hazār Sutūn with a party of his men, and having assassinated Ibrāhim and Isḥāq who were on guard at the palace, made for the Sulṭān. The Sulṭān rising,[3] half intoxicated as he was, ran towards the ḥaram, Khusrū Khān caught him from behind by the hair of his head, and as the Sulṭān was begging him to aid his escape Jāhiriyā arrived, aimed a blow at the Sulṭān wounding him in the side, then with his sword cutting off the Sulṭān's head[4] threw it down below from the roof of the palace. 215.

Verse.

The bed of that dear one was one of thorns
For his brocaded bed led to his ruin.

When the populace saw what had occurred, every one of them went into hiding and there was dismay in all quarters. Putting to death some of the Amirs at the door of the palace, the Barāwas entered the Sulṭān's ḥaram and tore Farid Khān and Mangū Khān, the two infant sons of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, from their mother's arms and cut off their heads, and committed every kind of violence they wished, and in one moment scattered to the four winds all the honour and glory of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Quṭbu-d-Dīn.

Verse.

In one hour, in one moment, in one instant[5] 216.
The whole course of the world becomes changed.

1 MS (A) رندسول.
2 MS. (A) omits بلند.
3 MS. (A) برخاسته
4 MS. (A) سرسلطان را
5 MS. (A) has بیک لحظه بیک ساعت بیک دم.

And when they had glutted themselves with murder and rapine, they sent for certain of the Amirs namely 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī, and Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Jūnā, by whom is meant Sulṭān Muḥammad ibn Tughlaq Shāh, and Malik Waḥīdu-d-Dīn Quraishī with the two sons of Qarābeg and other notable Amirs, and kept them all that night till morning upon the roof of the Hazār Sutūn; and when it was day they made all the 'Ulamā and chief men of the city swear allegiance to Khusrū Khān, and read the *Khuṭbah* in his name. By craft they got the upper hand of a certain party whom they suspected of being opposed to them, and sent them to the world of non-existence, and made over the family of Qāẓī Ẓīāu-d-Dīn Qāẓī Khān,[1] all except his wife who fled,[2] to the aforesaid Randhol.[3]

Husāmu-d-Dīn, the brother by the mother's side of Khusrū Khān, was given the title of Khān-i-Khānān and Randhol[4] became Rāi-i-Rāiyān, and the *ḥarams* of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn and the other princes and relatives they divided among themselves. Khusrū Khān took to himself[5] in marriage the chief wife of the Sulṭān. These events happened in the year 720, H. (1320 A.D.) and the duration of the reign of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn was four[6] years and some months.

Verse.

> Since the world began so it has been, and so will always be,
> To everyone the end of all things will be as this.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Khusrū Khān

Whose name at the first was Ḥasan Barwabacha, in the aforesaid year sat upon the throne of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Quṭbu-d-
217. Dīn, by the co-operation of his own tribe; and the Amīrs who have already been mentioned, whether they would or no, were constrained to give in their allegiance to him, and addressed him by this title. The rites and ceremonies of Islām tended towards neglect while Hindu customs and heathen observances obtained currency.[7] Idolatry and devastation of mosques became wide-

1 MS. (A) omits و.

2 MS (A) که گریخت.

3 MS. (A) رندهول.

4 MS. (A) رندهول.

5 MS. (A) omits در.

6 MS. (A) reads چهار.

7 MS. (A) رواج گرفت.

spread, and although Khusrū Khān, to conciliate the people scattered gold and lavished presents on all sides so that in a short time he squandered the greater part of the treasure of Alāu-d-Dīn and the wealth which Quṭbu-d-Dīn had amassed,

Verse.

Who was it had acquired the wealth,
Who was it squandered it?

still the hearts of great and small were not so attuned to this disloyalty and irreligion of his that he could bring them into harmony with his own.

And in the year 721 A.H. (1321 A.D.) Khusrū Khān put out the eyes of certain of the offspring of 'Alāu-d-Dīn, for instance Abūbakr Khān, and 'Alī Khān, and Bahādur Khān,[1] and gained over[2] certain of the Amīrs, such as 'Ainul Mulk and some others.

The Hindūs gained ground and increased their influence in most of the provinces, and a torrent of destruction swept suddenly upon the followers of Islām and destroyed their wealth and property, giving their families to the wind of extinction.

The affair of the Ghuzz which had happened in the time of Sulṭān Sinjar[3] was forgotten, and the state of mankind was expressed by this verse—

Verse.

You will never see your fellowmen happy save at the door of death,
You will never find a virgin save in the womb of earth.

Khusrū Khān[4] issued *firmāns* to all the outlying districts and invited the people to side with him, he also bestowed upon Yūsuf Ṣūfī Azlbacha[5] the title of Ṣūfī Khān while Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Sanbal was styled Ḥātim Khān. He also made Kamālu-d-Dīn Ṣūfī *Wakīldar*, and the son of Qurra Qumār *'Ariẓu-l-Mulk*; Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Jūnā the son of Ghāzī Malik he appointed *Ākhur Beg*, and was especially desirous of gaining his good will, with the object of using his influence to induce Ghāzī Malik also, who 218.

[1] MS. (A).
[2] MS (A) متفق ساخت.
[3] MS. (A) سنجر.
[4] MS. (A) omits و
[5] MS. (A). The text reads بروازبچه.

was one of the notable Amirs of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and was posted to oppose the Mughuls, to leave the frontiers of Dipālpur and fall into his trap. At that time he put into effect every means he could devise and gave 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī for a time the title of 'Ālam Khān. At last having gained over Ghāzī Malik, he wrote a letter[1] expressing his sincerity of purpose, and desiring him when the day of battle should arrive to flee from Dihlī to his own country, that is Mālwa, and return when the danger had passed.[2]

And of the Amīrs, some sided with Khusrū Khān out of lust for place and property, but some others were rebellious. When Ghāzī Malik heard this startling news his zeal for Islām and for the preservation of the honour of his benefactor was stirred, so that he girded up his loins for vengeance, and sending despatches to the Maliks of the various districts sought their aid in extirpating the ungrateful wretch. Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn sent secretly a letter to his father conveying his intention to fly from Dihlī and asking for post horses,[3] which in the Hindī tongue are called ḍāk chaukī, and for the posting of cavalry escorts at several places along the route.

219. At last one night by the assistance of the Son of Bahrām Iba[4] the governor of Multān and Uchh[5] he fled from Dihlī with a party of horsemen and made his way by forced marches towards Dipālpur.

Verse

Seated upon that fleet Burāq[6]
He hastened steadfastly with unity of purpose.

[1] MS. (A) مکتوبي نوشت مشتمل بر

[2] I read here بعد از قرار گرفتن مراهب although MS. (A) is the same as the text مذاهب.

[3] اولاق *Ūlāq* or اولاغ *Ūlāgh* travail sans salaire—cheval—courrier—petit bateau (Pavet de Courteille)

[4] MS. (A) and text footnote

[5] The text has a misprint آچهه here

[6] The animal upon which Muḥammad was mounted during his ascent to heaven known as the معراج (mi'rāj) Qur'ān XVII i.

In the *Mishkātu-l-Maṣābīḥ* it is thus described, "After this a white animal was brought for me to ride upon. Its size was between that of a

And Ghāzi Malik himself previously to this had sent two hundred cavalry into the fort of Sarsuti. When Khusrū Khān awoke from his slumber of neglect he recognized that the departure of Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Jūnā was a strong proof of the decline of his own power:[1] accordingly he despatched the son of Qurra Qumār, whom he had appointed *'Āriz-i-Mamālik*,[2] in pursuit of him. He proceeded as far as the town of Sarsutī, but on his arrival there was obliged to retrace his steps without finding an opportunity of accomplishing his object, and conveyed to Khusrū Khān tidings regarding the real state of affairs.

Ghāzi Malik, after the arrival of his son, was demonstrative[3] in his expressions of satisfaction, and gave effect to the aspirations of the Maliks; further by issuing orders for the commencement of the *jihād*[4] he made amends for the previous delay, and gave full satisfaction to the demands of bravery by marching in the direction of Dihlī.

Khusrū Khān having bestowed upon his brother Khān-i-Khānān the canopy and staff of office, despatched Ṣūfī Khān with the other Amīrs of this *canaille* against Ghazī Malik who for many years had done yeoman's service in the various wars with the Mughuls, and had everywhere returned victorious and triumphant. But on the other hand Malik Bahrām Iba, the Governor of Multān and Uchh, arrived to reinforce Ghāzi Malik. The two armies selected as their field of battle a spot near the reservoir of Thānesar.[5] At the first onset the breeze of victory blew favourably for the armies of Islām, the standards of the infidels

mule and an ass and it stretched as far as the eye could see. The name of the animal was Burāq" (*Mishkātu-l-Maṣābīh*, Matthews, II. 651). The word Burāq signifies brilliant like lightning, or swift as lightning.

[1] MS. (A) reads برزوال دولت خود. [2] Mustermaster General. *See p.* 291.

[3] MS. (A) نموده و.

[4] Holy war undertaken in defence of the religion of Islām.

[5] حوض تہا نیسر. This is the lake with which one of the alleged derivations of the name *Sthāneswara* is connected *viz*, *Sthānu* (a name of Mahādeo) and *Sar* a lake See Hunter. *Imp. Gaz.*, XIII. 260.

This holy lake is situated (says Cunningham) to the South of the town, it is called by various names. It is the centre of attraction for most pilgrims. It was in full repute, in A.D 500, but in the Pauranic legends is given an antiquity long anterior even to the Pandūs themselves, the sacred pool is at least as old as the Rig Veda itself (Cunningham, A.G. India, pp 335-336.)

were overthrown, and the adherents of Khusrū Khān abandoning their elephants and horses, and ammunition and standards
220. fled precipitately to Dihlī. Ghāzi Malik with all speed pursued and scattered these ungrateful wretches [1] and reached Dihlī in one long march.[2] Khusrū Khān having rallied his scattered and panic stricken forces, opened the doors of the treasury and gave his army three and four years' pay together with large rewards and promises of appointments and governorships; and things being as they were, he brought out from confinement in the *ḥaram* the remainder of the princes of the family of 'Alāu-d-Dīn whom he had blinded, and put them to death, then, led by hostile Fate, he marched on from the city in great force and proceeded to the Ḥauẓ-i-Khāṣṣ [3] where he encamped, his camp extending in one line of tents from the Ḥauẓ-i-Khāṣṣ to Indrapath,[4] while Ghāzī Malik encamped in the vicinity of the tomb [5] of Sulṭān Raẓẓiya In the meanwhile 'Ainu-l-Mulk, in accordance with agreement, having deserted the unsuccessful army of Khusrū Khān fled with haste towards Dhār and Ujjain,[6] his defection was a cause of great despondency to the followers of Khusrū Khān. On the following day the array of battle was drawn up and the followers of the truth engaged in close conflict with the partisans of infidelity, and utterly vanquished the impious horde.

At the outset the army of Khusrū Khān obtained the mastery, and the army of Ghāzī Malik suffered a repulse, but Ghāzī Malik planting firmly the foot of resolution like another Rustum came to the rescue, and with three hundred cavalry, men of tried

[1] MS. (A) كافرنعمتهای.

[2] The distance traversed in this march was about 90 miles as the crow flies, a long march but perfectly feasible for cavalry.

[3] Barnī says the Ḥauẓ-i-'Alāī. The royal lake constructed by 'Alāu-d-Dīn.

[4] Indrapath. MS. (A) اندرپته Barnī tells us that Ghāzī Malik's force lay encamped at Indrapath so that the two camps were face to face. It lies just outside Dihlī Its etymology, Indraprastha, points it out as the probable place where Indra slew the Vritras with his thunderbolt formed of the head of the horse-headed Dadhyanch (see also Cunningham 335).

[5] I read here حظیرهٔ not خطیرهٔ as in the text and MS. The burial place of Sulṭān Raẓẓīya is not apparently mentioned in any of the histories, but as she was taken prisoner at Kaithal and put to death there (638. H.) it is not unlikely that she was buried near Indrapath.

[6] MS. (A) شتافت.

valour, whom he had kept in concealment in an ambush, utterly discomfited the infidel horde[1] and Malik Talbagha[2] Nāgor, and the son of Qurra Qumār[3] with the other nobles of that ignoble kingdom, in that battle became food for the sword,[4] as such hypocritical knaves should. Khusrū Khān brought to bear all temerity and manliness in spite of his unmanly character, and fought bravely till the close of the day, but[5] at last finding he was unable to withstand these lionhearted warriors, he turned 221. his back in flight, and made for Talpath; his canopy and standards and borrowed[6] retinue fell into the hands of Ghāzī Malik.

Khusrū Khān returning from Talpath came to the tomb of Malik Shādī[7] who was an old patron of his, alone and distraught, and hid himself there in despair, but the following day they laid hands upon him, treating him with all possible indignity, and brought him to Ghāzī Malik,[8] so that he reaped the reward of his infamous and abominable deeds.

Verse.

The tree thou didst nurture has borne its fruit,
Dost thou not see even now its fruit in its bosom,
If it has borne thorns it is thou who didst plant them,
If it has brought thee silk attire it is of thy own spinning.

And the following day Ghāzī Malik left Indrapath[9] and alighted at Kūshk Sabzī[10] Great and small came out to welcome his coming, and gave vent to expressions of congratulation. The day following he went on to the city of Dihlī, where tidings was

1 MS. (A) جمعیت کافرانرا.

2 Text تلیفه. MS (A) تلبفه

3 Shāyista Khān.

4 MS. (A) omits بی دریغ.

5 MS (A) inserts و.

6 عاریتی.

7 MS. (A) آمد.

8 MS. (A) omits ملک.

9 MS A اند پتة. The text reads تلپتة. But the real reading should be اندرپتة, Indrapath, as is shewn by what has gone before, and also by Barnī.

10 کوشک سبزي "the Green palace" but although this is the reading of the text and both MSS, I think we should read for کوشک سبزي undoubtedly کوشک سیري *kūshk-i-Sirī*, the palace of Sirī. This is the reading of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī*.

brought to him that the rascal Khān-i-Khānān had crept into the corner of a garden,[1] where he was lying concealed.

Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn proceeded by order of Ghāzī Malik, and having mutilated and disgraced him[2] paraded him about the city where he met with condign punishment. This event took place in the year 720 A.H. (1321. A. D). The duration of Khusrū Khān's rule was four months and a few days.

Verse.

That which thou doest they will shew thee again,
That which thou givest, they will return thee the like.

SULṬĀN[3] GHIYĀṢU-D-DĪN TUGHLAQ SHĀH[3]

Who is the same as Ghāzī Malik, ascended the throne in the year 720 A.H. (1321 A.D.) by the consent of the Amīrs and nobles and was styled by this title In the space of one week
222. *he ordered and regulated the important affairs of the state with* a perfection unattainable to others in the course of years.[4]

He appointed his own relations to various posts and showing many favours to the Amīrs of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and to some of the Maliks of Quṭbū-d-Dīn gave them districts. Then he directed his ambition to the rebuilding of the fortress of Tughlaqābād and all the lofty edifices, and set about it (without delay)[5] and Badr Shā'ir Shāshī[6] invented as a chronogram for the date of building

[1] MS (A) omits و.

[2] مثله ساختن *Musla Sākhtan* is the term applied to a form of punishment which consisted of cutting off the nose, ears and lips. The literal meaning is "making a public example."

[3] MS. (A). The text omits the prefix سلطان —

Barnī gives an account of the mode in which Ghāzī Malik succeeded to the throne, not as an usurper but as the rightful successor in the absence of any scion of the house of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Quṭbu-d-Dīn. (See Elliott, III. 228–229).

[4] MS. (A) omits the words نتوانند داد and the words are so foreign to the style of the author that they must be regarded as an interpolation. The Editor of the text supplies them from one copy See *footnote* to Text

[5] There is a difference here. The printed text reads مسرتها دران نمود Shewed great alacrity therein, but MS. (A) reads simply شروع دران نمود set about it. This seems the preferable reading.

[6] Badru-d-Dīn Chāchī, "was a native of Chāch in Turkestān. He was a man of great repute as a scholar who passed a large portion of his life in

the fort (of Tughlaqābād)[1] the following: "Enter then her gates."[2] He brought to punishment also a body of men[3] who during the glorious reign of Sulṭan Quṭbu-d-Dīn had joined hands with Khusrū Khān and had aided and abetted the band of ruffians and scoundrels. He also gave the title of Ulugh Khān to Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Jūnā[4] who shewed marked signs of discretion and kingly dignity,[5] and conferred on him a canopy and the other insignia of royalty, making him his heir-apparent; he also raised Bahrām Iba,[6] who was the adopted brother of the Sulṭān,[7] to the dignity of the title of Kishlū Khān, and entrusted to him the district of Multān and the whole of Sind. To his other four sons he gave the titles of Bahrām Khān, Ẓafar Khān, Maḥmūd Khān and Nuṣrat Khān[8]

And in the year 721 A. H. [he appointed] Ulugh Khān [to proceed in command of his troops which were at Chandēri and Badāon and in the other eastern districts of Hindustān, towards Deogīr and Tilang, and Ulugh Khān][9] taking with him the army of Deogīr, invested the fortress of Arankal which for the past seven hundred years had been the capital of Rai Sadar Mahadeo and his ancestors, and having gained possession of the clay-built citadel forming the outer line of defence, was on the point of reducing the inner stone citadel also. In the

Dihlī as the panegyrist of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh and other monarchs who provided his allotted portion from the tray of their bounty. His *Dīvān* consists of 2,000 couplets. His style is strange." (*Majma'ul Fuṣahā* I. 169). The date of his death is not stated. *See* also Beale, O. B. D. p. 62.

1 MS. (A) inserts تغلقا باد.

2 فادخلوها. These words give the date 727 H.

3 Omit one را from text.

4 MS (A) omits پسرخود which is in the printed text.

5 MS (A) omits و. It is unnecessary

6 MS. (A). The printed text has بهرام الله Bahrām Ullah.

7 The printed text adds the words تغلق شاه.

8 See also the account given by Barni which is almost identical with the above. (Elliott, III. 230)

9 By the copyist's error the words included in square brackets have been omitted from MS (A), he having omitted all the words following the first الغ خان and proceeding with the words following the second الغ خان. The printed text is correct.

meantime[1] 'Ubaid Rākāti[2] the poet, a turbulent fellow, the notorious[3] opponent of Mir Khusrū (on whom be mercy) who rascal that he was wrote the following famous verses:

223. Khusrū's own verse was very raw, so by mistake he took
Nizāmi's[4] saucepan by mistake, his flummery[5] to cook.

(Mir Khusrū in many of his compositions complains bitterly against him and Sa'd Falsafi) joining with Shaikhzāda Dimishqī on the occasion of the late arrival of the stage from Dihlī, spread a false report that the Sultān Tughlaq was no more, where- upon great dismay spread through the Muslims. 'Ubaid also terrified the Amīrs by his account of Ulugh Khān, and infidels springing up put to death many of the soldiers of the army,[6] Malik Tigīn and other revolutionary Amīrs planned an insurrection against Ulugh Khān who with fifty sowārs came by rapid marches to the metropolis, whereupon the Amīrs took themselves off, each to his own district, and Malik Tigīn who had gone to the country between Multān and Jaisalmīr[7] was taken prisoner with his family, and Tāju-d-Dīn Ṭālaqānī, the son-in-law of Malik Tigīn who had escaped from prison, was captured[8] on the banks of the river Sarū, and Ubaid (the poet)[9] also was captured in the same way in a wretched

1 MS. (A) reads دریں میان

2 'Ubaid. MS. (A) adds راکاتی *Rākāti.* *See* Beale, O. B. D, p. 275.

3 MS. (A) reads معارض مشہور

4 Shaikh Nizāmi Ganjawī whose full name is Abū Muhammad Nizāmu-d-Din Aḥmad Iliās ibn Abī Yūsuf ibn Mursaiyyidal Muṭarrazī, a celebrated poet, author of the Sikandar-Nāma, also of other well-known works His Khamsa (pentad) consists of *Khusrū and Shīrin, Haft Paikar Laili-o-Majnun, Makhzanu-l-Asrār* and *Sikandar Nāma*

His death is said by Beale to have occurred in 597 A H but according to the *Majma'ul Fuṣahā* (I. 637) he died in the reign of Ṭughrul ibn Arslān the Saljūq, 576 A H.

5 سکبا is a dish made of wheat flour, meat and vinegar The word 'flummery' suggests itself from its etymological signification of raw, crude, harsh, W. *llymruwd*, (so named from its sourness) (*vide* Skeat. *s. v.*)

6 We should here read مردم لشکر MS (A).

7 MS (A) Lat 26° 55′ N Long. 70° 57′ E in Rājputāna, C. I.

8 MS (A) گرفتار گشت.

9 MS (A) omits شاعر Barni says that he was impaled alive. Firishta says that he was buried alive. (See Elliott, III, 231–233)

plight. All this party with their families and friends, they cast under the feet of elephants, and those who escaped this fate met their death wherever they went.

And in the year 723 A. H. (1323 A.D.) Ulugh Khān for the second time marched towards Tilang; and Rāi Ladar Mahādeo again shut himself up in the fort.

Ulugh Khān gained possession of both the outer and inner citadels [1] by force of arms, and took the Rāi prisoner together with his family and followers, and leaving commissioners there drew off his army to Jājnagar [2] and Bīdar,[3] and having taken as spoil many elephants and other property with jewels and valuables without number [sent them] to Dihlī [and despatched Rāe Ladhar also to the capital and having given to Arankal the name of Sulṭānpūr] returned to Dihlī.[4]

And in the year 724 A.H. (1324 A.D.), Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, upon the occasion of the tyranny of the governors of Bengal, left Ulugh Khān as his viceroy in the capital Tughlaqābād which had been built in the space of three years and a fraction, entrusting to his sound judgment the whole civil administration, and left for Lakhnautī with a firm intention of setting things straight; Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn the ruler of Lakhnautī, with the notable princes of those districts hastened to meet the Sultān and placed their necks under his yoke; Sulṭān Tughlaq Shah conferred upon Sulṭān Naṣiru-d-Dīn the canopy and staff of office and all other insignia of royalty, entrusted Lakhnautī once more to his control and sent a despatch announcing his success to Dihlī; then he sent on in advance Tātār Khān his adopted son, the Governor of Ẓafarābād who brought Bahādur Shāh otherwise known as Tūda (? Nūda) the Governor of Sunār Gānw who was boasting his independence, with a chain around 224

[1] MS. (A) حصار دروني و بيروني.

[2] Or Jājpur, the former capital of Orissa (See *Hunter's Gazetteer*, Vol. VII and *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XVIII for a full account of this place).

[3] Bīdar (or Bedar) Town in the Nizām's dominions, Haidarābād Deccan, 75 miles N.-W. of Haidarābād town. Lat. 17°. 53′ N. Long. 77° 34′ E. (See *Hunter's Gazetteer*, Vol. II, 419).

[4] The words enclosed in square brackets are by a copyist's error omitted in MS. (A), the word Dihlī occurring twice has misled the copyist. The printed text is correct.

his neck, and accompanied by all his elephants into the royal presence at the Court.

Sulṭān Tughlaq Shāh taking Bahādur Shāh with him, victorious and triumphant returned to Dihlī, and proceeding by double stages made forced marches. Ulugh Khān upon hearing this news gave immediate orders for the erection of a lofty and noble palace near Afghānpur which is at a distance of three *krohs* from Tughlaqābād. It was completed in three days, so that Sulṭān Tughlaq Shāh might alight there,[1] and having passed the night in it and having rested might depart thence at an auspicious moment and alight at Tughlaqābād.

The Sulṭān arrived there and Ulugh Khān having gone out to meet him with all the nobles and grandees, spread a banquet of welcome. The Sulṭān gave orders for the elephants which he had brought with him from Bengal to be raced, and as the foundation of the New Palace was new and unsettled the palace began to shake and totter with the tramp of the elephants. When the people became aware that the Sulṭān was mounting with all
225. haste, they hurriedly came out from the palace, without even washing their hands. The Sulṭān Tughlaq Shāh was engaged in washing his hands[2] and so did not come out. In consequence he washed his hands of life and the palace fell in upon him.[3]

We should not lose sight of the fact that from having built a palace such as this, which was quite unnecessary, there is a suspicion that Ulugh Khān may have built the palace[4] without

[1] These words are repeated twice in MS (A).

[2] The text has بتقریب دست ناشستن but MS. (A) reads شستن the latter is correct. MS. (A) also omits the words ازان خانه (line 2 of the printed text).

[3] Barnī gives a different version, attributing the fall of the palace to a thunderbolt which descended from the sky. (Elliott, III 235). Firishta gives a somewhat similar account to Badāonī; without specifically stating the cause, he alludes to the suspicion which attached to Ulugh Khān of being designedly close by the author of the catastrophe, but discredits it. He further tells us that according to Ṣadr Jahān Gujarātī, Ulugh Khān had raised the palace by magic, and the magical art being withdrawn it fell; he proceeds "Ḥājī Muḥammad Qandahārī says that it was struck by lightning and this does not seem at all improbable" (*Firishta* Briggs, I. 408].

[4] MS. (A) قصر را *qaṣr rā*. The text has قصداً *qaṣdan* purposely.

foundations[1] as was currently rumoured, but the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* makes no mention of this although this may possibly be due to a desire to flatter Fīroz Shāh and out of regard for him.

This event took place in the year 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.) and the duration of the reign of Sulṭān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh was four years and some months.

Verse.

If thou placest the world beneath thy feet
Thou wilt not sleep at last in thine own place.

It is currently reported among the people of India that Sulṭān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Tughlaq, on account of the ill will he bore to Sulṭānu-l-Mashāikh, sent a message to the Shaikh while on the way to Lakhnauti to this effect, "After my arrival at Dihlī, either the Shaikh will be (ruler) there or I."[2] The Shaikh replied, "Dihlī is still some way off."[3] This saying became proverbial from that day and gained currency.

The *Tughlaq Nāma* of Mīr Khusrū which was the latest of his works, was written in verse in honour of the Sulṭān and in obedience to his order.

The death of the Sulṭānu-l-Mashāikh and also of Mīr Khusrū occurred in the same year as has already been stated.

Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil ibn Tughlaq Shāh.

That is to say Ulugh Khān, by the agreement of the Amīrs and

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1 مجوّف literally means "hollow" but in its grammatical sense implies weakness due to want of proper support. *cf.* فعل اجوف "hollow" verb: a verb of which the middle letter is *weak*.

2 In accordance with the proverb دو درویش در گلیمی بخسپند *dū darvīsh dar gilīme nakhuspand*. Two derveshes cannot sleep in one blanket; or again the proverb دو شمشیر دریک نیام نگنجند *dū shamshīr dar yak niyām nagunjand*. Two swords will not go into one scabbard; as we say: There cannot be two kings in Brentford.

3 This is a well-known proverb and has come from the Persian into common use in Urdu, used to express the futility of an incompetent person attempting any task, or on an occasion of unnecessary haste. "It's a far cry to Loch Awe" Roebuck in his collection of Oriental proverbs does not give this as a Persian, but as an Urdū proverb. Its origin is clear from our author's statement.

officers of the Court ascended the royal throne in the year 725
226. A.H. (1325 A.D.),[1] and after performing the ceremonial mourning for the space of forty days,[2] went to the treasure house of the kings of former ages, and gave *largesse* such as exceeds all bounds of description, and having distributed appointments and offices among the Amirs, he made Malik Firoz his uncle's son (who is the same person as Sulṭān Firoz) *Nāibu-l-Mulk*, and advanced the dignity of his near relations in the same manner. Ḥamid Lawiki, too, was raised to an exalted position and Malik Sartez obtained the title of *'Imādu-l-Mulk*, Malik Khurram that of *Ẓahīru-l-Juyūsh* (Inspector of the Forces) Malik Pindār Khilji was given the title of Qadr Khān, and Malik Izzu-d-Din Yahyā that of *Ā'ẓamu-l-Mulk*, the district of Satgānw being also confirmed to him.

And in the year 727 A.H. (1326–1327 A.D.) the Sulṭān having formed the design of proceeding to Deogir, posted a chain of *dhāwa*,[3] that is to say *pāiks*, or runners, as guards at distances of one *kroh* along the whole road[4] from Dihli to Deogir, built a palace and a monastery at each stage and appointed[5] a Shaikh to each. They used to keep in constant readiness food and drink, betel-leaf[6] and all provisions for hospitality; and in

1 According to Firishta on the third day after the funeral obsequies of his father.

2 The period here mentioned of forty days is the same as that enjoined in olden times to the Israelites: thus we find in Genesis l. 3, speaking of the death of Jacob "the physicians embalmed Israel and forty days were fulfilled for him; for so are fulfilled the days of these which are embalmed; and the Egyptians mourned for him three score and ten days. But in Numbers xx. 29, we find that the congregation mourned for Aaron thirty days.

The period of three days only is enjoined on Muḥammadans, except in the case of widows who must perform the special ceremony of mourning called *Ihdād* for four months and ten days. Among Hindūs the period of mourning is thirty days. (*See* Matthew, *Mishkātu-l-Maṣābīh* I. 389).

3 The word دهاوا here spelt دهاوه is a Sanskrit word धावकः rt. धाव् to run. پایک *pāyik* its Persian equivalent has a more usual form پیک *paik*.

4 MS. A omits در راه.

5 MS. (A) نصب فرمود.

6 The leaf of *Chavica betle* (Miq.) N.O. Piperaceæ is used in conjunction with lime for mastication as a stomachic. The leaves containing a portion of the nut of *Areca catechu*, known as *Supārī*, some lime (*chūna*) catechu (*kath*) and various aromatics, such as cinnamon, cloves, &c., and rolled together

both [1] (palaces and monasteries) guides were stationed who were ordered to see that travellers suffered no annoyance. The traces of these (rest-houses) remained for many years. He gave Deogir the name of Daulatābād [2] and considering it as the centre of his dominions [3] made it the metropolis, and conveyed Makhdūma-i-Jahān his mother, with all his family and relations, the Amīrs and Maliks, the notables of the city, his servants and dependents, and all his treasure to Daulatābād: all the *Saiyyids* and *Shaikhs* and '*Ulamā* [4] also proceeded thither in the following of Makhdūma-i-Jahān, and the stipends and emoluments of all of them were doubled, but in accordance with the saying "Exile is the gravest of all calamities and banishment is the sorest of all afflictions" this desolation of Dihli and its desertion was a source of great dis-

into the form of a cone and skewered with a small piece of wood and offered for sale In this condition they are known as *khili*, كهيلي *bīṛā* بيڑا or گلوڑي *gilauṛī*. The distribution of this پان *pān* or betel, forms an important part on all ceremonial occasions, generally as a final act of hospitality before the guests depart. To European palates the *bīṛā* is anything but pleasant, it has a pungent somewhat acrid taste. It is a powerful sialagogue.

The medicinal virtues of the *Chavica betle* are supposed to be great. The leaves smeared with mustard oil and applied hot to the chest in several layers are used as poultices in pulmonary catarrhs, or in painful affections of the liver. They are said also to arrest the secretion of milk when applied to the breasts A form of cancer known as "betle-chewer's cancer" has been described by Dr. Elliott of Colombo.

The plant is said to be a native of Java whence it has been introduced. It grows best in a hot moist climate such as that of Lower Bengal where it is largely cultivated (Drury, *Useful Plants of India*).

1 MS. (A) omits the word طوف.

2 MS. (A) نام نهاد و. *See* page 271, note 6, of this volume.

3 MS. (A) ممالك ولايات omits خود.

4 The word *Saiyyid* (سيد) is a term used to denote the descendants of Muḥammad from his daughter Fāṭima by 'Alī. The Sulṭan of Zanzibār also adopts this as his regal title.

Shaikh (شيخ) is a term of honour denoting some considerable reputation in the religious world · a doctor of religion and law, a head or chief of some religious order, a chief of a tribe : or a reputed saint.

The two first Khalīfahs Abū Bakr and 'Umar are known as الشّيخان. *Ash-Shaikhan*. The two Shaikhs.

The term '*Ulamā* (علما) includes all religious teachers as Imāms, Muftis, Qāẓis, Maulavis, (*see* Hughes Dictionary of Islam, *also* D'Herbelot.)

comfort to the inhabitants, large numbers of the feeble a widows, the helpless and indigent perished by the way, while ev those who arrived in safety,[1] could not settle there; and towar the end of the above-mentioned year Malik Bahādur Gursha
227 the Inspector-General of the Forces, raised a rebellion in Dihl and Malik Aiyāz, who held the title of Khwāja-i-Jahān, foug with Bahādur and defeated him. Bahādur was taken prison and brought before the Sulṭān and met his punishment. Aft that, Malik Bahrām Ība the adopted brother of Sulṭān Tughl raised a rebellion in Multān,[2] and put to death 'Alī Khaṭaṭī w had been sent from Dihli to summon him thither. The Sulṭā in order to put down this rebellion, left Daulatābād for Dihlī a thence by uninterrupted marches reached Multān. Bahrā having come out[3] against him fought with him, but was d feated and eventually put to death, his head was brought to t Sulṭān who intended to set the blood of the Multānis flowing li rivers on account of his crime, but when the Shaikhu-l-Islā Quṭbu-l-'Ālam Shaikh Ruknu-l-Haqq wau-d-Dīn Quraishī,[4] *ma God sanctify his holy resting place,* having bared his venerab head presented himself at the Court of the Sulṭān and made inte cession, the Sulṭān pardoned the offences of the people.

Verse.

From the earliest times of Adam till the days of the king
Great men have shewn mercy[5] mean men have committ faults.

And the Sulṭān having bestowed Multān upon Qiwāmu-l-Mu Maqbūl retraced his steps, but after some little time[6] having turne

1 Barnī makes no mention of this occurrence. Firishta gives an accou of it, but calls the rebel Bahāu-d-dīn and states that he was governor Sāgur. The year assigned by him to this revolt in which Bahāu-d-d Gurshasp was defeated is 739 A.H. twelve years later than Badāonī's dat according to Briggs (I 418). A reference to the original text, howeve shews that the date given by Firishta is the same as Badāonī's date. *Firish* Bo. Text I. 241.

2 MS. (A) باغي شد.

3 MS. (A) بمقابله آمده , مقاتله نموده.

4 *Āīn-i-Akbārī* (Jarrett), III. 365.

5 MS (A) عفو بود و

6 MS (A) چند گاهی

against him despatched Behzād to replace him, but Shāhū Lodi the Afghān[1] killed Behzād and broke out into open rebellion. The Sultān on his arrival at Dipālpūr found that Shāhū had fled into the hill country,[2] so he turned back.

And in the year 729 A.H. (1329 A.D.) Narma Shīrīn the Maghul,[3] the brother of Qutlugh Khwāja the Mughul King of Khurāsān who had formerly invaded Hindūstān, having entered 228.
the Dihli territory[4] with an enormous army, reduced the majority of the forts, [5]and proceeded slaughtering and taking captives from Lāhor and Sāmāna and Indari to the borders of Badāon; and when the victorious troops of Islām came up with him, he retreated as they advanced, the Sultān pursued him[6] as far as the frontier of Kalānor and defeated him, and leaving the destruction of that fort in the hands of Mujiru-d-Din Abūrijā returned in the direction of Dihli At this time the Sultān formed the opinion that in consequence of the refractory conduct of his subjects in the Doāb it was advisable to double the taxes levied on that country; he also instituted numbering their cattle and a house census, and other vexatious and oppressive measures, which were the cause of the complete ruin and desolation of the country,[6] the weak were utterly destroyed and the strong laid the foundations of rebellion. The Sultān gave orders for the remainder of the inhabitants of Dihli and the adjoining towns to start for Daulatābād, caravan by caravan, the houses were to be purchased from their owners, and the price of them to be paid in cash out of the public treasury, in addition to which large rewards were to be offered. By these means Daulatābād was populated, and Dihli

1 MS (A) افغان. The text reads افغانان

2 The printed text has در کوه پایه but MS. (A) has کوهپایه The text is correct

3 MS (A) مغل. The spelling مغول adopted throughout the printed text is incorrect but is preserved as it is the commonly accepted form Mr. Ney Elias in his introduction to the translation of the *Tārīkh i Rashīdī* (p 73, *note* 1) says that it takes a sharp ear to distinguish the exact pronunciation of the word as spoken by a true Mongol. It sounds as often *Mo ghol* or *Mo-ol* as Mongol It has, he says, always the vowel sound of *o*, and never that of *ū* which is a foreign introduction.

4 MS (A) آمده.

5 MS. (A) تعاقب او نموده و.

6 MS (A) omits آن.

became so deserted that there was not left even a dog or a cat in the city. The following verse describes its condition.—

Verse.

There where the heart-ravishing one used to toy with her friends in the garden,
The wolf and the fox had their home, and the rhinoceros and vulture their abode.

This state of affairs also led to a diminution of the public funds. Among other sources of loss to the treasury was this that the Sultān enacted that the *muhar*[1] of copper should become current on an equal footing with the *muhar* of silver, and any one who shewed reluctance to receive it used to be instantly punished severely. This enactment led to many corrupt practices in the kingdom as a matter of course, and unscrupulous and
229. contumacious rascals used everywhere in their own houses to set up mints and stamp coins,[2] and taking them into the cities used to purchase with them silver and horses, weapons and fine things, and thus rose to great wealth and dignity. But inasmuch as copper had no value as a currency in places at a distance and one *tanka* of gold rose to the value of fifty or sixty copper coins, the Sultān perceived the worthlessness of the copper coinage, and issued an edict to the effect that every one who had in his house a copper *tanka* should, if he brought them to the public treasury, receive for them golden *tankas* in equal value[3] The people

[1] Firishta does not use the word *muhar* مُهر and it would appear here to have the meaning of "coin" in its general sense The round muhur in Akbar's time was of the weight of eleven māshas and was worth nine rupees. (*Āīn-i Akbarī* I 30) Barnī uses it in the same way as Badāonī. *See* Barnī, Calcutta text, p 475, line 10 et seqq

[2] MS (A) omits the word مس but it seems probable that this illicit coining was mainly confined to copper Barnī states that the Hindūs of every province coined krors and laks of copper coins, so also Firishta.

[3] The Persian text is تنکهای زر برابر آن ببرد. This can hardly mean that for every copper *tanka* a golden *tanka* would be given, and yet the wording of the preceding line gives colour to this view It runs as follows هر کرا تنکۀ مس در خانه باشد "Every one who has in his house a copper *tanka*." Barnī's account is much the same, Firishta's is more explicit, but it is not clear whether the coins were exchanged at their relative metal value or their face value. It however is most probable that the *copper tanka* having

profited greatly by this arrangement, till at last copper became copper and silver silver, and those copper *tankas* were lying in heaps in Tughlaqābād as late as the time of Sulṭān Mubarak Shāh according to the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, and had no more value than stones. God knows the truth.

And in the year[1] 738 A.H. (1337 A.D.) he despatched a force of eighty thousand[2] cavalry under eminent commanders to capture the mountain of Himāchal[3] which stands between the country of Chīn and Hindustān, and which they also call Qurāchal[4] with orders to leave garrisons in each successive place so that the line of communications for transport and supplies might remain open and the road of return might be easy. After the entry of this army into this country, by reason of the peculiar features of that mountain, on which heavy clouds form and rain pours in torrents at the sound of men's voices and their shouts and the neighing of horses, in consequence also of the narrowness of the

been artificially pronounced equal in value to the silver tanka, was repurchased by the treasury at that same value, so that the dislocation of the currency and its consequent disasters are easily intelligible. See Elliott III 240, Brigg's Firishta I 415.

Although Brigg's translation leaves us in doubt as to this, the text of Firishta is perfectly clear on the subject and we see that these copper *tankas* were issued as tokens with an artificial value, and it was when the Sulṭān found that the copper currency was distrusted by his people who found it was not received in foreign countries that he hit upon the expedient of offering to exchange the copper *tankas* for silver or gold *tankas*, hoping thereby, as Firishta says, to rehabilitate the copper *tanka*, but the people were too wise for this, and threw the whole stock genuine and counterfeit alike upon the Treasury which was thus drained of gold and silver. Firishta (Bo Ed p 239).

For a full account of this forced currency See Thomas *Pathān Kings* pp 239, et seqq.

[1] MS (A) رسنه.

[2] Omit و Firishta says 100,000.

[3] Himāchal. Snowy mountain. The Calcutta Text of Barni calls this mountain قراجل misprint probably for قراجل p 477, l 16, &c.

[4] Rashīdu d-Dīn the *Jami'u t-Tawārīkh* (Elliott, I 46), states Besides these mountains there are others called Kalarchal (called also by [illegible] name [illegible] in another passage hārjal). The editor note [illegible] The [illegible] Sanskrit [illegible] hemaid reads the name "Kelardjek" Ibn Batuta calls it [illegible] (Vol III 325). The latter part of the name is probably [illegible] skrit [illegible] mountain. The first part may be the Turk word قرا [illegible] from the intense cold of such a snowy [illegible].

paths and the scarcity of fodder, the patrols were not able to stand to their posts, and the hill tribes getting the upper hand drove back the army, and falling upon the rear of the force killed many of them with poisoned arrows and stone showers, and sending the most of them to the eternal world enabled them to attain martyrdom, taking the rest prisoners.[1] For a long time they wandered helplessly among the mountains, and those who escaped after countless hardships the Sulṭān visited with condign punishment.[2] And after this calamity so great an army never gathered round
230. the Sulṭān and all that money expended in their pay was thrown away.

And in the year 739 A H (1338 A D) Bahrām Khān Governor of Sunargānw died, and Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Silāḥdār became rebellious and assumed the title of Sulṭān, and having fought with Qadr Khān the ruler of Lakhnautī in conjunction with Malik Ḥusamu-d-Dīn Abūrijā the *Mustaufī*, and 'Izzu-d-Dīn Yaḥyā *A'ẓamu-l-Mulk*, was defeated, and all his sources of grandeur, his treasure and his retainers fell into the hands of Qadr Khān; and when the rainy season had arrived the horses belonging to Qadr Khān died, and he had collected much money[3] and had stored it up in heaps in his own house with the object of presenting it to the Sulṭān In spite of all that Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn Aburjā could do to dissuade him from amassing wealth and inducing men to covet it and thus leading to disorder, Qadr Khān would not listen, till eventually the very result predicted by Ḥusamu-d-Dīn ensued; Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn returned, and the soldiery of Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn joined him and killed their own master, and all the money fell to the lot of Fakhru-d-Dīn The absolute control of Sunārgānw was given him; he appointed one Mukhliṣ a servant of his, to Lakhnautī, and 'Alī Mubārak Inspector of Troops; Qadr Khān put Mukhlis to death and aspired at independence, writing diplomatic letters to the court of the Sulṭān. The Sulṭān appointed Malik Yūsuf, but he died by the way, and the Sulṭān, having other affairs to attend to, omitted to send any one else to that district[4]

1 Barnī states that the Hindūs of Qarōjal seized the passes behind the advancing force, and that of all the force only ten sowars returned. (p. 478) *See* also Elliott, III. 242.

2 According to Firishta all those who escaped were put to death by order of the Sulṭān

3 MS. (A) omits و مال

4 MS. (A) کسی دیگر بان جانب

At this juncture 'Alī Mubārak by reason of the enmity he bore to Fakhru-d-Dīn, displayed the insignia of royalty, and assumed the title of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, and Malik Ilyās Ḥājī who was a man of family and retinue, after a few days put 'Alāu-d-Dīn to death with the assistance of some of the Amīrs and Maliks of Lakhnauti, and himself assumed the title of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn. 231

And in the year 741 A.H. (1340 A.D.) Sulṭān Muḥammad having left with the object of reducing Sunārgānw, seized Fakhru-d-Dīn and brought him prisoner to Lakhnautī, where he put him to death and returned. Shamsu-d-Dīn became absolute monarch of that region, and the kingly power and authority over that country descended for a lengthened period in the hands of his sons,[1] and never again returned to the possession of Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil.

And in the year 742 A.H. (1341 A D) Saiyyid Ḥasan Kaithalī the father of Malik Ibrāhīm a feofee of the Sulṭān, who was generally known as Ḥasan Kāngū, and who eventually obtained the sovereignty of the Deccan with the title of 'Alāu-d-Dīn Bahman Shāh, fermented a revolt in Ma'bar on the grounds of the severity of the Sulṭān's governors, and the innovations introduced in the laws, and the number of executions,[2] and gained over to his own party nearly all the great men of Dihlī who had been appointed to that district. He put to death the leaders of the opposite party The Sulṭān proceeded from Lakhnautī to Deogīr for the purpose of quelling that disturbance, and on his arrival at Tilang was taken ill, and was forced to return by uninterrupted marches to Dihlī He left Qutlugh Khān in Daulatābād; thus the rebellion in Ma'bar remained unchecked and Ḥasan's influence increased rapidly.

And in the year 743 (1342 A D.) they put to death by treachery Malik Halājun and Kul Chander Khākhar and Malik Tātār Khurd, the Governor of Lāhore,[3] and when Khwāja-i-Jahān came up against them,[4] they came out to do battle with him, but the scoundrels suffered a severe defeat and were sorely punished.

[1] MS. (A) reads تا مدتی مدید در عهدهٔ فرزندان او بوده

[2] MS. (A) has not the word عام simply قتل او

[3] MS. (A) has کل چندر and کشتهٔ. The text has کشتند which seems preferable.

[4] MS. (A) omits نامزد شد and reads رفت

And in the year 744 A.H. (1343 A.D.) the Sulṭān passing through Sanām and Sāmāna gave orders to the Saiyyids and all
232 the Muslims in opposition to the advice of Ḥasan Kānkū, for a general massacre, but he kept the chief men of those districts in their posts, conveyed them to the suburbs of the city, and conferred upon them villages and districts, and bestowing many rich robes of honour, and purses of gold gave them a place of abode there, and when a general famine arose he issued an edict that any one who wished should proceed to the eastern part of Hindustān and spend the days of dearness and scarcity there, without let or hindrance, and in the same way if any person wishing to give up living in Daulatabad should return to Dihlī, no one would molest him. Moreover in that year so many people arrived in Hindustan from the countries of Khurāsān and 'Irāq and Samarqand, in the hope of receiving the bounty of the Sultān, that hardly any other races were to be seen in that country.

And in this year Hājī Sa'id Sarṣarī [1] arrived from Egypt bearing the diploma of the Khalifah [2] with a banner and a robe of honour conferring upon the Sultān the title of Nāṣir-i-Amīru l-Mū'minīn from the Khalifah of the Abbāsides who were still extant. The Sultān ordered decorations and illuminations in the city, and proceeded with all the Shaikhs and Saiyyids and his retainers to give him an honourable reception, then, dismounting, he kissed the feet of Hājī Sa'id and joined his retinue. He then re-established the Friday prayers and the Īd, which all this time he had kept in abeyance waiting for the orders and sanction of the Khalifah, he read the *Khutbah* in the name of the Khalifah, and struck out the names of those kings who had not received authority from the Dār ul-Khilāfah, with the exception of Sultān Maḥmūd. He then gave *largesse* [3] of money and valuables to such an extent that his treasury became exhausted, he also des-

[1] The printed text reads مصري, but MS (A) has صرصري. So has also Barnī, Cal. text p. 492, l. 10, and 13. (See also Elliott, III. 249.)

Barnī gives a good account of the events preceding this mark of favour from the Khalifah, a course of fulsome adulation seems to have been then, as in more modern times, the royal road to favour.

[2] Al Ḥākim bi Amr Illāhi Abūl 'Abbās Aḥmad ibn ul Mustakfī billāhi, who was proclaimed in 741 A.H. For an account of these Egyptian Khalifahs, see Thomas' Pathan Kings, pp. 257 and seqq. Also D'Herbelot.

[3] MS (A) نثار

patched to Egypt a precious jewel, the like of which he had not in his treasury, by the hands of Hāji Barq'aī, with other rarities and presents; and having become, in his own opinion, the rightful Khalīfah, and keeping constantly placed before him the Qur'ān[1] and the honorary presents and the patent of the Khalīfah, would issue commands as though he were the Khalīfah, and used to say 233.
"The Khalīfah says" this or that. He compelled the people to profess allegiance to the Khalīfah, and went to Sarkdawāri which is in the vicinity of Shamsābād, and on two or three occasions[2] in Barūj and Kanbhāyat also[3] he received patents from the Khalīfah, and a second time the Makhdūmzāda-i-Baghdādī[4] came to visit him, and the Sulṭān went on foot to Pālam to receive him; and when he saw him from afar off he advanced to meet him, and seated him upon the throne beside himself and made over to him without reservation, the city of Kīlī[5] with the garden and the palace and all the buildings.

And in the year 745 A H. (1344 A D) Malik Niẓāmu-l-Mulk governor of Karra, raised a rebellion, Shahr-u-llah the brother of 'Ainu-l-Mulk brought up an army against him from Oudh and took him prisoner, but the rebellion was quelled. Then Shihābu-d-dīn Sulṭān waxed riotous in Bidar, and Qutlugh Khān was despatched against him, and Shihābu-d-dīn coming out with his son to do battle was besieged in the fortress, and Qutlugh Khān inducing him to come out by promises of quarter, sent him to the royal presence.

And in the year 746 A H. (1345 A D) 'Alī Sher sister's son to Ẓafar Khān 'Alā'ī gained possession of Gulbarga[6] in strong force, having put to death the ruler of Bīdar, and taking much spoil,

1 MS (A) reads مصحف مشارق All MSS. read مشارق which has no intelligible meaning We must read here مشارف in the sense of 'honours,' i e, the banner and robe of honour sent by the Khalīfah to him

2 MS (A) omits دیگر نیز

3 MS. (A) نیز Broach and Cambay Hunter *Imp Gaz*, III. 101

4 Ghiāsu-d-dīn Muḥammad, a son of a great-grandson of the Khalif of Baghdād Al Mustanṣir-billahi (Thomas, P K D 257, *note* 1)

5 A full account of this is given by Ibn Batūta (*Paris*, Edn iii 258 and seqq) who writes و اعطاه جمیع مدینة سیري اقطاعا. He gave him in fief the city of Siri. Barnī (Calcutta text p 496) says و کوشک سیري و تمامي محصول درون حصار سیري

6 MS. (A) See *Imp. Gaz*, VIII 332.

fought with Qutlugh Khan, but was defeated and obliged to retreat to the fortress of Bidar where he shut himself up. Qutlugh Khān however took him also prisoner, and sent him to Sarkdawāri which was the camp of the Sulṭān's army. The Sulṭān in the first instance sent the captives to Ghaznīn in exile, but afterwards recalled them thence and put them all to death.

And in the year 747 A H. (1346 A.D.) at the time when the
234. Sulṭān had made Sarkdawārī his camp, 'Ainu-l-Mulk arrived at the Court, bringing from Ẓafarābād and Oudh much property and rarities of great value as presents; then the Sulṭān came to the conclusion that it was advisable to recall Qutlugh Khān from the Dakkan, and send 'Ainu-l-Mulk to replace him. 'Ainu-l-Mulk got some idea into his head, and fled by night from Sarkdawārī and crossing the river Ganges made for Oudh, and his brothor Shahrullāh laid hands upon certain of the elephants and horses [1] belonging to the king, which had been left behind to graze, and carried them off. The Sulṭān went in pursuit of them as far as Qanauj, and 'Ainu-l-Mulk, at the instigation of his brothers and a party of the followers of Malik Firoz Nāib Barbak, who had been placed in charge of the elephants and horses, crossed the river Ganges and coming over to this side [2] attacked the army of the Sulṭān, and like the thieves and *Gawārs* (of India)[3] took to the woods and fought on foot, but not being ablo to stand against the elephants and archers of the king took to flight,[4] and Shahrullah and his other brother together with the majority of the *sirdārs* of 'Ainu-l-Mulk were drowned, and the remainder fell by the swords of the soldiers, and the fugitives were taken prisoners by the *Gawārs*, who having found 'Ainu-l-Mulk alive took him on their shoulders [5] and brought him bareheaded [6] to the court and gave him a few days respite,[7] and the Sulṭān in consideration of his excellent

1 MS. (A) omits را.

2 MS. (A) طرف

3 MS. (A) omits هند

4 MS. (A) نمودند

5 The text reads برلاشه برداشته and so does also MS (A). It seems probable however that this is an erroneous reading due to the repetition of برداشته in the original copy.

6 MS. (A) reads برهنه naked.

7 Barnī entirely omits all reference to the events here recorded. The Gawārs are a race of gypsies in India according to Steingass I can find no mention of them in Sherring's *Hindu Castes*, nor in Elliott's *Tribes of the N. W.*

services gave him his freedom, and in accordance with his former custom treated him well, and giving him a district sent him back to Dihli; then he recalled Qutlugh Khān from the Dakkan, but inasmuch as Qutlugh Khān had reduced that country to exellent order and had gained the good will of the people, his recall was the cause of great discontent (and disaffection)[1] and 'Aziz Khumār[2] who was one of the *canaille*, proceeding to Mālwa put to death many centurions (or Amirs of a hundred) which is the meaning of the word Yūzbāshi[3] in accordance with the Sulṭān's orders, and thence arose many insurrections.

And in the year 748 A. H. (1347 A.D.) the captains of hundreds, 235.
stirred up rebellion and sedition in Gujrāt against Muqbil the servant of Khwāja-i-Jahān who was *nāib-vazīr* of Gujrāt, and was bringing treasure to the Court, and attacked him by night, getting possession of the treasure and horses and property belonging to the king. The Sulṭān arrived at Gujrāt with the object of quelling this rebellion, and sent some of the trustworthy Amirs as for instance Malik 'Ali *Sarjāndār*, and Aḥmad Lachin to Daulatābād to bind the Amirs of hundreds who were there and bring them to Court. As soon as Malik Aḥmad Lāchin arrived at the pass of Mānikganj, the Amirs of hundreds in their alarm[4] came to a common understanding, and put Malik Aḥmad Lāchin to death; Aziz Khumār who had gone from Gujrāt to oppose the Amirs of hundreds of Dabho'i[5] and Baroda, on coming face to face with the insurgents lost his head,[6] fell from his horse and was taken prisoner. This news had reached the Sulṭān and had augmented his wrath considerably And after the defeat of Muqbil and the murder of 'Aziz, the Amirs of hundreds waxed bold, and sent for their families and relations from all directions, and with one consent turned against the Sulṭān[7] and having captured the fortress of Daulatābād from the the governors of Malik 'Alam took possession of it, and raising

[1] MS (A) omits و قصور. [2] MS (A) عوبز حمار Aziz Hmiar.

[3] یوز باشلیغ Commandant de cent hommes (Pavet de Courteille).

[4] MS. (A) omits the words جان خویش.

[5] MS. (A). The text is wrong here Dabho'i. *See* Tieff. I. 372 also map, Vol. III *see* also Hunter, *Imp. Gaz*, IV. 76; and Bayley, *History of Gujrāt*.

[6] دست و پا گم کردة (Lit) Had lost his hands and feet.

[7] The printed text reads طلبیدة بمیر سلطان which is meaningless. MS. (A) reads لا سلطان and this seems the correct reading.

to the throne one Isma'il Fath gave him the title of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn. After this the Amirs of hundreds of Dabho'i and Baroda over whom the Sulṭān had appointed other Amirs, being defeated by the army opposed to them joined hands with the Amirs of hundreds of Daulatābād When the Sultān went to Daulatābād Isma'il Fatḥ prepared to give him battle, but being defeated shut himself up in the fortress of Dhārānagar by which is meant the citadel[1] of Daulatābād; many Muslims of Daulatābād were slain in this rebellion, or were made prisoners, and Malik[2] 'Imādul Mulk Ṣartez was ordered to pursue[3] the
236. fugitive Amirs of hundreds towards Bīdar In the meantime tidings arrived of the rebellion in Gujrāt of Malik Taghī, who, having put to death Malik Muzaffar the governor of that place, had obtained possession[4] of a large number of horses and much property. Thereupon the Sultān leaving in Dhārānagar Malik Jauhar and Khudāwandzāda Qiwamu-d-Dīn and Shaikh Burhānu-d-Dīn Balārāmī[5] left to quell the rebellion of Taghī:[6] the army which had fled from Daulatābād under the leadership of Ḥasan Kāngū, coming out of hiding attacked[7] 'Imādu-l-Mulk Sartez 'Imādu-l-Mulk was slain, and his army fled to Daulatābād and sought shelter there, and Malik Jauhar with Khudāwandzāda Qiwāmu-d-Dīn and the other Amirs not being able to withstand Ḥasan in Daulatābad evacuated those districts and made for Dhārānagar Ḥasan Kāngū pursued them and came to Daulatābād,[8] and having driven out Isma'il Fatḥ assumed the title of 'Alāu-d-Dīn and usurped the government, and from that time forward the rule of the districts of Daulatābād and the sovereignty of that kingdom remained in his family The history called *Futūhu-s-Salāṭīn*[9] was written in his honour. And Taghī

[1] ارک *arg*, a small fort built between two large forts (Burhān i-Qāṭi') MS (A) spells this word إرک ik

[2] The printed text reads ملک عنايت عمادالملک MS (A) omits عنايت Barnī calls him ملک عمادالملک سر تيز سلطاني Malik 'Imādu-l-Mulk Sartez-i-Sulṭani

[3] The proper reading here is بتعاقب MS (A). The printed text has متعاقب

[4] Read بتصرف او در آمد. MS (A)

[5] MS (A).

[6] MS (A) omits ملک

[7] MS (A) omits ملک

[8] MS (A) در آمد و.

[9] I can find no mention of this work

the rebel, after the arrival of the Sulṭān at Gujrāt, ventured a second time to fight with him and was again defeated, and giving himself up to brigandage roamed about from place to place, the Sulṭān however continued to pursue him, and followed him wherever he went. And in this expedition the Sulṭān having sent for Malik Fīroz from Dihlī attached him to his Court; and[1] in this year Malik Gīr the son of Malik Qabūl Khālīfatī, to whom the Sulṭān had delegated the control of all his important affairs, and on whose behalf he had written a letter expressing submission to the Egyptian Khalīfah, and had sent it by the hand of Hājī Barqa'ī, died, and Aḥmad Aiyāz, who is also called Khwāja-i-Jahān, and Malik Qabūl Qiwāmu-l-Mulk were carrying on the government in Dihlī. Towards the end of the reign of Muḥammad, disaffection and rebellion, mischief and sedition became increasedly evident day by day,[2] so that if he turned his attention to curing one evil, another was not wanting to supply its place,[3] and matters were past all remedy,[4] and the glory[5] of the kingdom, and prosperity[6] of the country was entirely subverted. Tyranny supplanted equity, and infidelity flourished in place of Islām. There were many reasons for this, which by their co-operation led to ruin and dissension, and the decline of the kingdom. These causes are given in detail in the original history[7] the *Fīrozshāhī*, and also in the *Mubārakshāhī*. The results are here given in brief arranged under seven heads. *Firstly* — The greater part of the people and inhabitants of the towns and districts were 237.

[1] MS (A) تا بدرگاه پیوست و

[2] MS (A) omits چندان

[3] This is the reading of MS (A) دیگری از دست نمیرفت

[4] The printed text has صلاح MS (A) reads correctly اصلاح.

[5] MS (A) ارایش

[6] Omit آمان و MS (A).

[7] There are two histories known as *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* one by Ziāu-d-Dīn Barnī, (*Biblioth. Indica* 1862) and the other by Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf (*Biblioth. Indica* 1891). (Elliott, III 269)

MS. (A) reads (as does the printed text) درتواریخ اصل but the better reading seems to be that given, without reference to the authority, in the footnote to the printed text در اصل تاریخ This would distinguish the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz Shāhī* of Barnī as the original history of that name. The *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* is that of Yaḥyā ibn Aḥmad (*See* Elliott, IV., pp 6 and *seqq*)

ruined by the rapine of Tarma Shirin, and never again recovered their prosperity. *Secondly.*—The tribute to be paid by the inhabitants of the Doāb, which district comprises some of the chief towns of Hindustān, was increased from ten per cent to twenty per cent., besides which there was the numbering of the cattle, and the house-census, and other taxes [1] over and above these, and [2] in this way the more needy portion of the people left their property and cattle and attached themselves [3] to the richer folk, while the wealthier subjects plotted rebellion and sedition and took to highway robbery, and pillaged the country in all directions [4] so that from all these causes the revenue of the country began to dwindle.[5] *Thirdly.*—An universal famine, and (consequent) dearness of grain, for it so happened that for seven whole years not a single drop of rain fell from heaven. It should be remembered that this statement has been copied as it stands from the *Mubārakshāhī*, but I cannot say whether the author of that work has been guilty of exaggeration or if in reality the facts were as
238. stated.[6] *Fourthly.*—the desertion of Dihli, and the population of Daulatābād, because after Dihlī was laid waste they brought people from the towns and other places into that city and populated it, and then again removed them thence to Daulatābād, so that all their hereditary estates and family holdings, and all the property and effects [7] they possessed were wasted and dissipated, so that they never saw anything more of them. *Fifthly.*—The massacre of the eighty thousand cavalry in a body in the hills of Himāchal, and the consequent desolation of their families. *Sixthly.*—The daily occurrence of rebellion and mutiny in every place where people were in dread of their lives, some of them fell in battle but the greater number were put to death with their families upon false charges, so that in every way that wretched country was being ruined. *Seventhly.*—The blood thirsti-

[1] The word اخراجات is apparently used here in this unusual sense.

[2] MS (A) وباس طریق.   [3] MS. (A) می پیوستند.

[4] MS. (A) تخریب ولایات می کردند و

[5] بهر حال محصول ولایت کم شدن گرفت و خراب شد. MS. (A) inserts ولایت and omits میان دواب

[6] The question of exaggeration admits of no doubt. Barnī a contemporary author lends no countenance to such a statement.

[7] MS. (A) reads اشیا.

ness of the Sultān, and his system of Government of his people, which made Saiyyids, 'Ulamā, Shaikhs, ragamuffins and scoundrels, artisans,[1] peasants,[2] and soldiers, all alike in his eyes. Moreover there was constantly in front of his royal pavilion and his Civil Court a mound of dead bodies and a heap of corpses, while the sweepers and executioners were wearied out with their work of dragging (the wretched victims) and putting them to death in crowds. So that[3] the people were never tired of rebelling nor the king of punishing (the rebels).[4] At last the Sultān was at his wit's end what to do, but for all this he did not keep his foot out of the stirrup, nor did his sword rest from punishment, but all to no purpose, till the flood of sedition waxed violent, and the nobles of the kingdom by degrees grew[5] feeble, at length disease overcame him, and the Sultān was freed from his people and the people from their Sultān.

Verse

Of all the people of the world, although most of them 239.
Are gone astray, and few of them are in the right path,
Do thou so live that when thou diest thou mayest escape (punishment),
Not so that when thou diest the people may escape (thy tyranny).

They relate an extraordinary story of one of the irregular acts of the Sultān which was that he kept such strict watch over all matters involving punishment, that he used to keep four Muftis[6] to whom he allotted quarters in the precincts of his own palace, and used to see that they kept to their appointed places,[7] so that when anyone who was arrested upon any charge, he might in the first place argue with the Muftis about his due punishment, so far as he was

1 Whether we read متحرفه or محترفه this word is used in a very unusual sense. Its proper meaning is a tax levied upon artisans, but here it must mean the (اهل حرفه) artisans themselves.

2 This again is not correctly used. It must be read مُزارع but should be plural.

3 MS. (A) ورنه خلق از فتنه. 4 MS. (A) مى كردند.

5 MS. (A) خلاص يافت.

6 مُفتي Mufti The officer who assists the Qāẓi or judge by supplying him with *fatwās* or decisions.

7 We should read here جاے داده در منازل معين نگاه داشته بود MS. (A).

able,[1] and had said, Be very careful that you do not fail in the slightest degree by defect in speaking that which you consider right, because if any one should be put to death wrongfully and the oversight should have been on your side, the blood of that man will be upon your head Then if after long discussion they convicted (the prisoner), even though it were midnight[2] he would pass orders for his execution,[3] and if he himself found for conviction[4] he would refer it to another meeting, and would endeavour to find a means of upsetting their arguments,[5] and would come and make a speech, and when the Muftis were at a loss for a further argument, he would put (the prisoner) to death on the instant or else release him on the spot.

They say[6] that one day Sulṭān[7] Muhammad wearing his shoes went on foot into the Court of Justice[8] of Qāẓī Kamālu-d-Dīn Ṣadr-i-Jahān and said, The Shaikhzāda-i-Jāmī has called me a tyrant, send for him that he may substantiate his charge of tyranny against me, or, if he fails, that you may pronounce[9] against him the sentence of such punishment according to law as the case may require. When the Shaikhzāda was summoned he confessed (to having said it) and the Sultān enquired (what his grounds were). He replied, every one whom you punish (with death) lawfully or unlawfully, that is your prerogative, but that you should hand over his wife
240 and children to the executioners as you do, to do what they will with them, in what religion and under what sacred law do you find this? The Sultān was silent and rose up from the Court,[10] and ordered that the Shaikhzāda should be bound, this order was carried out and he was put into an iron cage; then he had him carried in that very way on the journey to Daulatābād on the back of an elephant When he returned and arrived at Dihli, he brought him before the same Court,[11] and bringing him out of the cage gave orders in obedience to which the poor wretch was cut in two in his presence From this it is clear that the Sultān was a mixture of opposites, and[12] for this reason his name has been handed

1 MS. (A) حسب مقدور
2 MS (A) میبود.
3 MS (A) omits آن منهم
4 MS (A) و اگر خود الزام مي يافت
5 MS (A) می اندیشید و
6 MS (A) omits حکایت
8 MS (A) omits محمد.
7 MS (A) محکمهٔ قضا
9 MS (A) نمائید
10 MS (A) omits قاصي
11 MS (A) omits قضا
12 MS (A) و

down in tradition, aye and even in some books also as "the Bloody" not as "the Just." There are many stories bearing upon this which I have heard, but to write or speak of them would lead me too far afield. So "Take example from it ye that are endowed with sight."[1] In short[2] after great havoc had been wrought in the affairs of the state by the excessive tyranny and oppression of the Sulṭān, which he however regarded as the essence of justice, and great breaches had been which the wise and learned were powerless to repair,[3] by reason of his various toils and his evil designs, the disease of Phthisis[4] found its way to his constitution; notwithstanding this he set himself to follow up Taghi, and in the

1 *Qur'ān*, LIX 2. 2 MS. (A) مع القصة 3 از اصلاح آن عاجز MS. (A).

4 بیماری دق This name was given to any kind of hectic fever, most usually that arising from phthisical disease of the lung. The following definition is from the *Baḥru-l-Jawāhir*

حمی دق هی ان یتشبث الحرارة الخارجة عن الطبع بالاعضاء الا صلیة خصوصا القلب تفنی رطوبات البدن و قیل هی حرارة غریبة تحدث للبدن بواسطة حدو ثها فی اعضایه -

The fever called "Diqq" is when the heat which arises from the constitution seizes upon the chief essential organs, especially the heart, and the moisture of the body disappears Another opinion is that this is an extraneous fever which attacks the body by means of its generation in some of its members.

The *Burhān i Qāṭi'* states that it is called دق because it emaciates the body.

Sadīdī's account is as follows. The fever حمی الدق is usually fatal,......It is either simple or complicated with putrid fever. The signs of this complication are persistence of the fever, with an exacerbation on the day of the paroxysm of the putrid fever, shivering is also present The worst complication of all is (he says) when "*diqq*" is complicated with one of the fevers which require treatment by purges, because the treatment of "*diqq*" is the opposite to this

The pulse in uncomplicated "*diqq*" is hard, frequent, and slender ...The surface of the body is not very hot at the first feel, but after a few moments it feels scorching, hottest of all over the arteries, the heat increases especially in the face and upper parts of the body.

Food should be nourishing Some unskilful physicians withhold food and kill the patient speedily Food should be moist and cooling If the fever passes on to the degree called ذبول *zabūl* the pulse increases in hardness and tenuity, the eyes change and become covered with sordes the cartilages of all the bones are prominent, the temples sink in, the skin of the forehead tightens, the skin loses its lustre, and has a dusty appearance the eyelids become heavy, all this is the result of rapid dissolution and the abundance of dryness and disappearance of the natural moisture There

hope of exterminating him set out for the kingdom of Thatha where[1] Taghi had fled for safety; and[2] in that expedition Qarghan Nāib of the king of Khurāsān sent Altūn Bahādur with five thousand cavalry to assist the Sulṭān. The Sulṭān's illness was at that time slightly less urgent[3] and when he arrived at Thatha he fasted on the day of the 'Āshūra,[4] which was in the very middle of the hot season, and after breaking his fast he ate some fish, whereupon his illness returned, and on the twenty-first of Muḥarram in the year 752 H. (1351 A.D.) he took his way to the next world,[5] the duration of his reign having been twenty-seven years.

also appears in the urinary excretion, oiliness and a scaly deposit; the nose becomes sharp, the hair grows long, and lice are of frequent occurrence on the body because of the excessive amount of exhalation. The abdomen falls in till it touches the backbone, the skin of the chest is also retracted, and the nails become long (تحدب الاظفار) then the diarrhœa recurs, the hair falls out and death occurs

It will be observed that there is no mention here of any of the lung symptoms of Phthisis, all that we have described is a continued fever of remittent type running a moderately long course as is shewn by the symptoms described. No mention is made of any eruption, nor is diarrhœa apparently more than an intercurrent symptom appearing late in the disease.

This was probably one of the fevers so common in India for which for want of a better name "typho-malarial" has been suggested.

Probably the complication of "diqq" with "putrid fever" of which Sadīdī speaks was more comparable to the "enteric fever" of modern science. Sadīdī speaks elsewhere of three degrees of severity of this fever. The first is called "*diqq*" the second more severe is called *sabūl* and the most severe of all is called "*hashf.*"

I have only been able to epitomise Sadīdī's account which will be found at pages 427-428 of his work (*Al Mughni fi Sharh il Mūjaz*).

1 بجا بدا MS. (A). [2] MS (A) و. [3] MS (A) اندک روی بصحت نهاده بود.

[4] "The 'Āshūra," is a voluntary fast day observed on the tenth of the month of Muḥarram. It is the only day of Muḥarram observed by the Sunni Muslims, being the day on which it is said God created Adam and *Eve* heaven and hell, the tablet of decree, the pen, life and death It is kept by the Sunnis as a fast" (Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, 25)

[5] On the banks of the Indus at fourteen *kos* from Thatha according to Barnī (Elliott, III 265), but Badāonī states he had arrived at Thatha Barnī states that he was taken ill thirty *kos* from Thatha where he had arrived on the '*ashurā*, thence he was carried ill as he was "for the second and third day until he came to within fourteen *kos* of Thatha." There he remained according to Barni gradually growing worse and died on the 21st of Muḥarram

When the Empire of justice arose with ease, like the sun.

The land of Hindustān came under his sway like that of Khurāsān; 241.

A fortress like that of the Haft Khwān [1] he built of Haft Jūsh [2] which in loftiness

Would need the Nasr-i-Ṭāir [3] to fly to its pinnacle inaccessible as Harumān.[4]

So strong that it registered a vow to last till the Resurrection-day, but by reason of the vicissitudes of time, it became destroyed in many places like the web of a spider.

You will find nothing upon the top of its walls but the voice of the owl.

In its topmost garden you will see nothing by the ill-omened raven.

It befits the duration and pride of Empire that its condition should become in accordance with the words "God most High is far above all that the tyrants of men say of Him." [5]

And among the celebrated poets of the time of Sulṭān Muḥammad is Badar Shāshī [6] who wrote a Shāhnāma in his honour, of some thousand verses [7] and for the very reason that it is a history in poetry it is a valuable acquisition.

Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh ibn Malik Rajab

Who was the brother's son of Sulṭān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Tughlaq and uncle's son of Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil, in accordance with the

[1] هفت خوان *Haft Khwān*. The capture of the Brazen fortress of Das was the final stage of the seven great labours of Isfandiyār known by the name of the Haft-Khwān. See Shāh Namah (Atkinson), pp. 407 to 426, also *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'* s. v.

[2] هفت جوش *Haft Jūsh*. These are seven metals which are melted together to form an alloy of special value; the seven are, iron, zinc (antimony, *Steingass*) lead, gold, tin, copper, and silver. *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*. According to the *Ghiāsu-l-lughāt*, it also contains quicksilver and brass.

[3] نسر طایر *Nasr-i-Ṭāir*. The constellation called also عقاب *'Uqāb*. The Eagle.

[4] هُرمان *Harumān*, a fortress on the frontier of Egypt. *Burhān-i-Qāṭi'*.

[5] Cf. Qur'ān XXVII. 64.

[6] *See* page 296, *note* 6.

[7] This looks as though we should read قریب بیست هزار بیت nearly twenty thousand verses. Both MSS. however read the same as the printed text which is here followed though it is an uncommon construction.

authority appointing him the heir-apparent of Sulṭān Muḥammad ascended the throne of sovereignty and state, by the consent of the chiefs of the Shaikhs and the leading Amirs and Vazirs in the aforesaid year, in the vicinity of Thatha. It is said that the Makhdūmzāda-i-'Abbāsi of Baghdād, and Shaikh Naṣiru-d-Din Chirāgh-i-Dihli *may God sanctify their sacred resting places* were [1] the cause of the allegiance thus sworn to Sulṭān Fīroz, and it is currently reported that [Makhdūm Shaikh Naṣiru-d-Dīn Chirāgh-i-
242. Dihlī *may God sanctify his resting place*][2] had secretly made Malik Fīroz King during the absence of Sulṭān Muḥammad. Some of the Muftīs informed the Sulṭān of this, and his orders were that those two, master and disciple [3] were to be taken in confinement from Dihlī and brought to the camp. This was carried out,[4] and Malik Fīroz in some way or other gained over the guards, and made his way, just as he was, to the neighbourhood of Hānsī to Shaikh Badru-d-Dīn who was one of the descendants of Shaikh Jamālu-d-Dīn of Hānsī [5] *may God sanctify their resting-places.* That holy man exclaimed "Great God! a man has been made prisoner and taken off to be Sulṭān, and he wots not of it"! When they arrived [6] at the camp of the Sulṭān in the vicinity of Thatha and the tidings of the arrival of these two holy men reached him [7] he gave orders that they were to be put to death the instant of their arrival, and with that he lapsed into a state of intoxication. A son of his had gone on a hunting expedition, accordingly when the guards saw [8] this state of affairs, they liberated the holy Shaikh and the Sultān, [9] then Sulṭān Fīroz by the consent of the nobles raised the banner of sovereignty and got the Sulṭān's son out of the way by some crafty scheme, and

1 MS. (A) reads بیعت نمودند for بیعه نودند (Text).

2 The words between square brackets are omitted from MS (A).

3 The reading here is uncertain The printed text has پیر و مرید را while MS (A) has مرید و مراد را The latter has the more genuine ring though it is an uncommon expression

4 MS. (A) بیاوردند The text reads بیاورند

5 MS. (A) که یکی از اولاد شیخ جمال الدین هانسوي قدس الله سرهما بود.

6 MS. (A) رسیده اند,

7 MS. (A) خبر این دو عزیز باو رسیده

8 MS. (A) دیده اند

9 MS. (A) گذاشته اند. By Sulṭān, Fīroz Shāh must be here meant

after that[1] he had returned to Dihli he made the *pargana* of Chaurāsī in the district of Hānsī a present to the monastery and rest house of Shaikh Badru-d-Dīn, whom I have mentioned. This is what I have heard—God alone knows the real truth. They also say that Sulṭān Muḥammad ibn Tughlaq Shāh took the reverend Shaikh under his protection, till one day the Shaikh, *may God sanctify his resting-place*, tied a knot upon one of the Sulṭān's robes and said "Naṣīru-d-Dīn fastens and God opens" and that very day the Sulṭān died.

Verse.

The only kingdom which sorrows not for the affliction of its decline,
Hear my words freely spoken, is the kingdom of the darvesh 243

However this may be, the Sulṭān Fīroz at the outset of his reign issued this order that the Mughuls who had obtained influence over the soldiery should be brought apart from the camp, and inasmuch as their mutinous conduct had passed all bounds, the Sulṭān himself saw to their safe custody, and punishing these Mughuls effectually put a stop to their interfering with the discipline of the army.

Verse.

Far better than giving a Mughul a hint to plunder
Is it that you should rejoice him with a sight of Paradise

Then he brought his army in safety into security, and proceeding by way of Sīwistān made for Dihlī by continuous marches, and Aḥmad Aiyāz, styled *Khwāja-i-Jahān*, who in the absence[2] of the Sulṭān had urged the claims of an obscure child[3] to the

1 MS. (A) بعد ازانكه.

2 MS. (A) در غيبت.

3 Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf gives the "true account of this transaction just as he heard it from Kishwar Khān, son of Kishlū Khān Bahrām, one of the servants at the Court"

He asserts the Khwāja-i-Jahān who was on terms of great intimacy with Fīroz Shāh received false tidings that Tātār Khān and the *Amīr-Ḥājib* Fīroz Shāh were missing and either dead or prisoners "After the days of mourning were completed, the Khwāja, believing this report to be correct, placed a son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh upon the throne, and thus through adverse fate committed a blunder." Elliott, III. 279–280

throne, and had given him the title of Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, appointing himself *Vakīl*, after considerable argument,[1] and much correspondence, by reason of his helplessness and dejection, by the mediation of Ashraful-Mulk and the other nobles and grandees, came with bared head, casting his turban on his neck, to the neighbourhood of Hānsī, and had an interview with the Sulṭān, who washed out the writing of his fault with the water of forgiveness, and made him over to the Kotwāl of Hānsī, and as for the party who had been his companions in this faction and opposition, he dispersed them all in different directions. At Sarsuti tidings arrived of the birth of Shāhzāda Fatḥ Khān,[2] whose son eventually became Tughlaq Shāh, and the news of the death[3] of Taghī Tāghī also reached him there from Gujrāt, and on the second of Rajab in the aforesaid year, he graced the throne of Dihlī by his accession and made a fresh distribution of appointments

244. And in the year 753 H. (1352 A D.) he went to the Sirmūr hills for the purpose of relaxation and sport, and returned thence, and in the month of Rajab of this year Shāhzāda Muḥammad Khān, who eventually obtained the title of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, was born.

And in the year 754 H. (1353 A.D.) he returned from Kalānor whither he had gone on a hunting expedition, and built a lofty building on the banks of the river Sarsutī and [gave it to Shaikh Ṣadru-d-Dīn Multānī, *may God sanctify his resting place*, the Shaikhu-l-Islām] and Malik Qubūl[4] Nāib Vazīr he made *Khān-i-Jahān*,[5] and at the close of this year he went to Lakhnautī with the intention of putting down the rebellion of Ḥājī Ilyās who had assumed the title of Shamsu-d-Dīn. He accordingly took refuge in the fort of Ikdāla,[6] which is the strongest of the forts

1 Cf. Elliott, III. 285.

2 MS. (A) که پسرش آخر تغلق شاه بود Sirāj 'Afīf tells us that he founded a town here and called it Fatḥābād in honour of this event. Elliott, III. 283.

3 MS. (A) قتل طغی.

4 See *note* 6, page 254.

5 In MS (A) this sentence precedes the one in square brackets.

6 Ikdāla. Regarding this fortress, *see* J A S. B, 1874, p 244. *See* Elliott, III. 294. It was afterwards called Āzādpur by Fīroz Shāh. (Elliott, III 297).

of Bangāla, and after a desultory[1] defence fought for a very short time, and threw his elephants and his material of war, with his servants and retainers to the winds, and all of them fell into the hands of the Sulṭān who, having made peace with him because of the rainy season,[2] retraced his steps.

And in the year 755 H (1354 A D) having crossed by the ford of Manikpūr he arrived at Dihli and built Firozābād[3] on the banks of the Jamna. And in the year 756 H. (1355 A.D) he

1 This appears to be the meaning MS (A) omits سلطنت and has درآمد *see* also Thomas, Pathan Kings, p. 294 and *note*

2 بشكال *bughkāl* in M. Pavet de Courteilles Turki Dictionary this word is given پشكه كال *pushakāl* or پشكال *pushkāl* Saison des pluies. He gives three instances of its use from the *Bābernāmah*

3 Firozābād. This must not be confounded with the Firozābād which arose from the change of name of Panḍūah, *see* Elliott, III. 295, and Panḍūah, *Imp. Gaz.* Vol. XI.

This Firozābād (*see* J. A. S B , 1870), was situated five *kos* (ten miles) from Dihli, and included according to Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif, eighteen places, the *qasba* (townships) of Indarpat and others a list of which will be found in Elliott, III. 303. At page 298 will also be found an account of the founding of the city of Hissār (Hiṣār Firozah) and of the construction of two canals leading to it one from the Sutlej and the other from the Jumna The modern representation of the latter canal, which was called Rajiwa, is found in the Western Jumna Canal passing through Karnāl (*see* Hunter's *Imp Gaz.*, Vol. VII. 258 for an account of this canal). The canal leading from the Sutlej was called Alagh Khāni (Ulugh Khāni). In modern maps there is a trace of this canal, but it is called the Jureah canal, which is probably the word Rajiwa converted and applied in error to this canal Rennell's map (Tieff Vol. III) shows the supposed canal of Firoz Shāh, and it is evident from our author's statement that this canal was commenced not from the Hissār end but from Dipālpūr, which lay at the junction of the Biās and Sutlej on the banks of the Biās, and passed south-east near Fatḥabad, if not actually through it, to join the river Jahjar, which in Rennell's map is called the Jidjer, its nearest point measured from Dipālpūr being exactly 100 miles (forty-eight kroh) on this map, whereas the town of Jhajhar Lat. 28° 16′ N Long. 77° 42′ 15″ E. is 200 miles (Hunter's *Imp. Gaz* , Vol. VII. 195). (The river Jahjar flowed south-east through Fateḥpūr joining the Jumna near Etawah). For this reason it appears likely that the canal was led not to Jhajhar but into the river Jajhar as above stated (*See* Bo · Firishta, Text I. 263).

Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif makes no mention of Dipālpūr in connection with any canal, and there is one difficulty in his account as he says that both the canals, the Rajiwah and Ulugh Khāni, were conducted through the vicinity of

went to Dipālpūr and bringing a canal from the river Satlaj[1] it as far as the Jahjar which is forty-eight *kroh* from there.

In the year 757 A.H. (1356 A.D.) he conducted a stream ' the river Jamna from the vicinity of Mandūī (Mandili)

245. Sarūr,[2] and having led seven other canals into it took it to H

Karnāl If this was so the "supposed canal of Firoz Shāh" in Ren map cannot be the Ulugh Khānī His words are as follows :—

انهٔ این هردو جوی از اتصال کرنال بیرون آوردهٔ میان هشتاد کروه کروهٔ

ر حصار فیروزهٔ بردهٔ .

Dahāna-i īn har do jū az ittisāl i karnāl birūn āwarda miyān i hashtād kroh dar shahr i Hisār Fīrūza burda.

It is not to be supposed that Firoz Shāh would take his canal from Dīp to Karnāl when his objective was Hissār; we have also Badāonī's clear s ment that a canal was brought from the Sutlej and led as far as the Ja this canal would coincide with the line of that shewn in Rennell's map not with that of Shams-i-Sirāj

The canal mentioned in the next paragraph is evidently the one to w Shams i-Sirāj 'Afīf refers (Elliott, III 299-300), although it is not evident what the exact course of this canal was I can find no trace of places named Mandūī (Mandili) or Surūr anywhere in the maps, while mentioned here by Badāoni must be what 'Afīf calls Great Larās, as he s that it was in the neighbourhood of Great Larās that Sultān Fīroz buil city of Hisār Fīroza. (Elliott, p 299). Rennell (memoir p. 72, quoting Dow I 327 has Beraisen, which is a mistaken reading of bi Rāsain in original, that is to say the two Rāses, Great Larās and Little Larās.

It would seem that there were in all three canals to Hisār Fīroza, one f Dīpālpūr to Hissār and on to the Jajhar, this was brought from the Su A second from the Jumna as far as Karnāl (Rajīwah). A third from the St as far as Karnāl (Ulugh Khānī) At Karnāl according to 'Afīf's account t two last joined. The only way this can have been possible is by the cou of the Sutlej and Jumna being very different from their present course even from the beds of these rivers in 1782 when Rennell made his map.

By bringing the Sutlej further south-east near to the course of the Gha say near to Thanesar, we should have a point from which we can underst that it would have been advantageous to bring water from both the St and Jumna *viâ* Karnāl.

See Journal, Asiatic Society Bengal, 1833, p. 105 and 1840, p. 688.

See also Thomas' Pathān Kings, 294 and notes.

[1] MS (A) ستلة

[2] I cannot identify these places. Firishta (Bo. Text I. 262) says Mand and Sirmūr, MS (A) reads Mandili and Sardar.

and thence to Rās[1] where he built a fortress which he called Ḥiṣār Fīroza, and dug[2] a spacious reservoir beneath the palace which was in that fortress, and filled it with water from the canal; he also led another stream from the canal of the Ghaghar underneath the fortress of Sarsuti, and from thence to Birnī Kheṛa,[3] and in the space between them he built a fortress[4] and named it Fīrozābād.[5] At the end of this year on the occasion of the 'Īdu-z-Zuhā a robe of honour arrived for the Sulṭān from the Khalīfah Al-Hākim bi amrillāhi Abūl Fatḥ Abū Bakr ibn Abil Rabī' Suleimān[6] from the *Dārul Khilāfat* of Egypt, with a patent conferring upon him the whole of Hindustān: and[7] in this same year messengers from Ḥājī Ilyās the ruler of Lakhnautī, having arrived bearing splendid presents and offerings, were distinguished with countless favours and kindnesses, after which they returned, and it was ordered that in return for these presents (handsome) elephants[8] should be sent The whole of Hindustān was now in possession of Sulṭān Fīroz with the exception of Lakhnautī which was held by Ḥaji Ilyās,[9] who had come to terms with the Sulṭān,[10] and with the exception also of the Deccan, which, after the death of Sulṭān Muḥammad, had come into the possession of Ḥasan Kāngū.

1 See page 326, continuation of page 325, *note* 3. Briggs' Firishta calls it Raiseen. I. should be Rāsain, the two Rāses, *i e.* Great Larās and Little Larās, Elliott, III 298.

2 MS. (A) کافت

3 MS (A) the text reads هرني كهرا. Sarsutī is shewn in Rennell's map (Tieff. III) as lying southeast of Karnāl. Birnī Khera, I cannot trace. Firishta Bo. Text, I p. 263 reads بنهر سر كهتره *ba nahr-i-Sarkhatra.* Compare Rennell's memoir, pp 72-73.

4 MS (A) بنا فرمودة

5 فيروز آباد نام كرد. At the village of Gāwin on the banks of the Jumnā, Elliott, III. 302.

6 According to the list of Egyptian Khalīfahs given in Thomas' *Pathān Kings of Dihlī* the Khalīfah in 757 A H was Abul Fatḥ Al-Mu'taẓidbillāhi Abu Bakr ibn ul-Mustakfī billāhi. He was the sixth of the Egyptian Khalīfahs. Al-Mustakfī billāhi Abul Rabī' Suleimān ibn ul-Hākim biamrillāhi was the third of this line.

7 MS. (A) adds و

8 MS. (A) omits خوب

9 MS. (A) reads كه حاجي الياس داشت.

10 MS. (A) مصالحه كرد

And in the year 759 H. (1358 A.D.) having gone to Samāna, he appointed Malik Qabūl *Sarbardadār*[1] to proceed against[2] the Mughuls who had arrived on the frontier of Dipālpūr. The Mughuls upon hearing particulars of the Sulṭān's army turned back
246. and went to their own country, and the Sulṭān returned to Dihli;[3] and in this year the Sulṭān despatched some Arabian horses and foreign fruits[4] with all kinds of choice presents by the hands of the messengers of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn of Lakhnautī who had arrived at his Court bearing many presents,[5] and at Bihār they heard that the Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn had died, and Sulṭān Sikandar his son had ascended the throne in the room of his father, so they sent the horses in accordance with orders to the Court at Bihār and conducted the messengers back to Kaṛṛa.

[6] And in the year 760 H., the Sulṭān having formed the design of attacking Lakhnautī with a vast army, left Khān-i-Jahān in Dehli, and after deputing Tātār Khān, that is to say Malik Tātār, to proceed from Ghaznīn to Multān, set out and passed the rainy season in Ẓafarābād, and at this place, A'ẓam Malik Shaikhzāda-i-Busṭāmī[7] who had become intimate during his absence with Malik Aḥmad Aiyāz, and by the orders of the Sulṭān had been banished, brought from the Dārul Khilāfat of Egypt a robe of honour for the Sulṭān and received the title of A'ẓam Khān. Saiyyid *Rasūldār* was sent with the messengers of Lakhnautī[8] to the Sulṭān Sikandar at Lakhnautī, and Sikandar despatched five fine elephants with other costly presents and offerings to the Court. The Sulṭān when the rains were over leaving Ẓafarābād shaped his course for Lakhnautī, and while on the way set apart the requirements of kingship, and elephants and a store of rubies which at that time were held in great estimation, for the Shāhzāda Fatḥ Khān, they
247. also struck coins in his name. When they arrived at the confines

1 MS. (A) Sirāj 'Afīf calls him Torābānd. Elliott, III 311.

2 MS. (A) برسو مغل.

3 MS. (A) مراجعت نمود

4 MS. (A) میوه

5 MS. (A) هداء

6 The events preceding this are related by 'Afīf, shewing how friendship was established between Sulṭān Fīroz and Sulṭān Sikandar Badāonī's account gives no idea of the circumstances. (See Elliott, III. 305–312.)

7 MS. (A) omits که

8 A footnote to the text states that in two MSS. the words یافته بود follow the word لکهنوتي.

of Pandūah, Sultān Sikandar shut himself up in the castle of Ikdāla [1] whither his father had been in the habit of going for refuge, and after the Sultān had laid siege to that fortress Sultān Sikandar asked for quarter, and sent thirty-seven elephants with other costly presents as his humble service.

And in the year 761 H. (1359-60 A.D) the Sultān proceeded by continuous marches by way of Pandūah [2] to Jaunpūr where he spent the rains, and at the close of this year he marched with a lightly equipped force [3] by way of Behār towards Jājnagar, and sent his elephants and baggage to Karra, and by uninterrupted marches arrived at Satgarh [4] the Rāi of which place [5] withdrew, and thence he came to Bārānasī [6] which was the abode of the Chief Rāi, and crossed the river Mahāndūrī,[7] and the Rāi of Bārānasī having taken to flight made with all haste for Tilang The Sultān pursued him part of the way turned back to hunt,[8] and arrived at the country of Rāi Parīhān Dev [9] who sent a present of thirty-two [10] elephants and other costly offerings From thence the Sultān coming to Padmāwatī and Param Talāo [11] which was the haunt of elephants of enormous size, engaged in hunting them and killed two [and they took the other three alive][12] and Malik Ẓīau-l-Mulk [13] wrote a quatrain upon this

1 See 'Afīf's account of this (Elliott, III 308). Sirāj 'Afīf calls this place "the islands of Ikdāla" see note 6, page 324

2 'Afīf says by way of "Qanauj and Oudh"—Jaunpur was we are there told so called by Sultān Fīroz Shāh after Sultān Muhammad Shāh, son of Tughlaq Shāh, whose name was Jaunān, so he called the place Jaunān-pūr. He stayed there six months, during which period the city was built on the banks of the Kowah (Gūmtī).

3 'Afīf says حضرت شاه بنگاه در کرّه گذاشت the Shāh left his heavy baggage in Karra Text p 163. (Calc. Edn. Bibl Ind) see Elliott, III. 312, note 2.

4 MS. (A) منکهرة

5 Named Adeṣar ('Afīf) or Rāe Sidhan (Firishta).

6 'Afīf says Banārasī the ancient residence of the independent Rāis of Jājnagar

7 MS (A) مهندوري.

8 'Afīf tells us (Text, pp. 166-67) that the Sultān turned aside from the pursuit to hunt some wild elephants (see Elliott III. 312-313).

9 The Rājā of Beerbhoom (Briggs' *Firishta*).

10 MS (A) reads سه three.

11 MS. (A).

12 Not in MS. (A).

13 MS. (A) ضیاء الدین

Verse.

The Shāh who of right [1] assumed a lasting kingdom
Seized the ends of the earth like the glorious Sun
To hunt elephants he came to Jājnagar,
Two he killed and thirty-three [2] he took alive.

And thence by way of Karra he returned with all possible haste.[3]

248. And in the year 762 H (1360-61 A.D.) victorious and triumphant he came to Dehli, and after a short time he gave orders for an expedition to the river Salima,[4] which is a river issuing from a large mound of sand and falling into the river Sutlej which they also call Satlaz [5] The Salima is also called the Sarsuti,[6] and this river consists of two large streams which are always flowing, and situated between these two streams there is a high mound or dyke, and if this were dug through the water of the Sarsuti would flow into this stream, and it flows through Sihrind and Mansūrpūr and Sāmāna.[7]

The Sultān gave orders for fifty thousand men with spades to be collected and to occupy themselves in digging through that barrier. Out of it they obtained many bones of elephants and human beings. Every bone belonging to the arm of a man was three *gaz* [8] (in length). They were partly converted into

[1] MS. (A) بحق

[2] There is a footnote in the text which says that "in one MS this same number occurs and it is probably correct," but on the other hand there is 'Afif's statement that there were only eight elephants, seven males and one female to begin with (Text, p. 167) However 'Afif, Text 172, says he took with him 73 elephants alive.

[3] MS. (A) بسرعت تمام   [4] نهر سليمه نام.   [5] ستلد.

[6] Compare with this Firishta's account, with which Badāoni's is almost identical *Firishta*, Bomb Edn. p. 265.

[7] Firishta says سمام see Hunter, *Imp Gaz.* XII. 261, for the Sarsuti or Sarraswati. *See* also J R A S Jan. 1893, pp 49-76. The Salima seems to answer in position to the Markanda which runs near Shāhābād S. of Ambālā.

[8] *Gaz* See *Aīn Akbari* (Jarrett), II 58 *et seq* Throughout Hindustān there were three kinds of *gaz* — long, middling and short. Each was divided into 24 equal parts each of which was called *tassūj*

Presumably it is the short *gaz* which is here meant but even this would be about 26 inches, and taking the author's meaning to be the bones of the forearm, an ulna measuring 26 inches is hardly likely to have been human.

stone and had partly remained bone, just as they were. That stream however could not be diverted,[1] and[2] in the meantime he made Sihrind and for ten *krohs* beyond into one district, which he put under the control of Ẓiāul Mulk Shamsu-d-Dīn Abū Rijā, and ordered them to build a fort there and called it Fīrūzpūr which is in fact Sihrind,[3] and the Sulṭān from thence, went to Nagarkoṭ whose Rājā after a siege and some fighting came in and submitted and met with royal treatment.[4] The Sulṭān gave to Nagarkoṭ the name of Muḥammadābād after the deceased Sulṭān Muḥammad; and when they brought the Sulṭān ice on that mountain fort he said,[5] "when Sulṭān Muḥammad, who is now dead and whom I regarded as a god, arrived in this place they brought him a *sharbat* mixed with ice, but he had[6] no inclination for that beverage because I was not with him." Accordingly they made an iced *sharbat* with several elephant and camel loads of cane-sugar which was carried with Sulṭān Fīrūz, and he ordered them to read the whole of the Qur'ān for the soul of Sulṭān Muḥammad and distribute the *sharbat* among the entire army Under these cir- 249.
cumstances they informed the Sulṭān[7] that from the time when Sultān Sikandar Zūl Qarnain arrived at this place the people of that city have preserved an image of Noshāba[8] and keep it in a room, where they worship it. There are one thousand three hundred books of the Brahmans of olden-time in that idol temple which is commonly known as Jawālamukhi;[9] a flame of fire rises from it towards heaven and is not to be extinguished, No, not by thousands of *mashks*[10] of water. The Sulṭān having sum-

1 I take this to be the meaning. The Persian is آن جوی کنده نشد.

2 MS. (A) inserts و.

3 See *Imp Gaz* (Sirhind) XII. 552, and Kāngra VII 414.

4 See Elliot III 318-319.

5 MS. (A) كه.

6 MS (A) ازان

7 MS. (A) adds the word سلطان

8 Firishta's words are صورت نوشابه را ساخته

9 Firishta say Jālāmukhi جالا مکهی

10 مشک *mashk* The goatskin bag for carrying water.

Briggs in his translation adds the words "the wife of Alexander the Great," but upon what authority does not appear. The wives of Alexander were Roxāna the daughter of Oxyartes, whom he married in 327 B C. and

moned the Brahmans, ordered some of his translators to translate some of those books [1] into Persian. Among those translators 'Izzu-d-Dīn Khālid Khānī,[2] who was one of the poets and *munshis* of the time of Fīrūz wrote in verse a translation of a book on the risings and settings of the seven planets, and their good and evil import, and of auguries and omens. Its name is called up to the present day[3] *Dalāil-i-Fīrūzī*, and the author of this *Muntakhab* read it in Lāhor in the year 1000 H. (1591-92 A D.) from beginning to end. It is moderately good, neither free from beauties nor defects; and I saw some other books before that also which were translated in the name of Sulṭān Fīrūz, some of them on the Science of "*Pingal*" [4] that is to say on Music, and the kinds of *Akhāra* [5] which they call *Pātur bāzī*, and some on other subjects. I found most of them to be profitless, and their paucity of interest is for the most part due to the triviality of their subject matter, and the difficulty of explaining it, as is evident.

The Sulṭān leaving there proceeded to Thatha, and the Jām,[6] by which title the ruler of Thatha is called, entrenched himself so that the Sultān was induced by the vehemence of the rainy season, and the amount of water which was out, as well as by the dearness of

(2ndly) at Susa, 324 B.C., Barsine or Stateira the eldest daughter of Darius III, while according to some accounts (Arrian) he also took as his wife Parysatis the daughter of Ochus, at Susa, B C. 325 Arrian is the only author who mentions this last wife (Smith, D G. R Biography).

It نوشابه represents in reality either of the wives of Alexander it must be the first named whose name might have been written روشانه *Rushāna* and by copyist errors perverted to نوشابه *Nūshāba*.

Firishta's original however gives no countenance to the statement in Briggs' translation.

[1] MS (A) omits بعضی but writes بعد

[2] MS (A) reads خالي Beale (O B. D.) calls him 'Izzu-d-Dīn Khālid Khānī and mentions him as the author of the Dalāil-i-Fīrūz Shāhī, probably on the authority of this passage.

[3] MS. A مامعد.

[4] So called from Pingala or Pingalanāga the inventor of the art of prosody. *See* Albirūnī, India I 137, *also* Colebrooke Essays II 57.

[5] The Akhārā is an entertainment held at night and consists of singing and dancing by females *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (Jarrett), III. 258. The word *Pātur* signifies in Hindī a prostitute or dancing-girl.

[6] 'Afīf tells us that Jām the brother of Rāī Unar, and Bānhbana (بانهبنه) his brother's son were in possession of Thatha.

grain, to abandon the siege and make with all haste for Gujrāt,[1] which country he placed under the control of Ẓafar Khān; then having deposed Niẓāmu-l Mulk[2] and appointed him Nāib Wazīr of Dihlī, he returned to Thatha; and on this occasion the Jām asking for quarter[3] had an interview with the Sulṭān, and with all the *Zamīndārs* accompanied him to Dihlī, and from there took 250
his leave after being kindly treated and confirmed on his former footing as ruler of Thatha.[4] In the year 772 H. (1370 A.D.) Khān-i-jahān the *Vazīr*, died, and his son Jūnā Shāh obtained that title;[5] and the book Chandāban[6] which is a *Maṣnavī* in the Hindī language relating the loves of Lūrak and Chāndā, a lover and his mistress, a very graphic work, was put into verse in his honour by Maulānā Dā'ūd. There is no need for me to praise it because of its great fame in that country, and Makhdūm Shaikh[7] Taqīu-d-Dīn Wāiẓ Rabbānī used to read some occasional poems of his from the pulpit,[8] and the people used to be strangely influenced by hearing them, and[9] when certain learned men of that time asked the Shaikh[10] saying, what is the reason for this Hindī Maṣnavī being selected? he answered, the whole of it is divine truth and pleasing in subject, worthy of the ecstatic contemplation of devout lovers, and conformable to the interpretation of some of the Āyats of the Qur'ān, and the sweet singers of Hindūstān. Moreover by its public recitation human hearts are taken captive.

In the year 773 H. (1371-72 A.D.) Ẓafar Khān died and the control of that province was confirmed to his son.[11]

1 Encountering great difficulties on the march, so much so that for some months the impression in Dihlī was that the army had been lost ('Afīf. Text, p. 211).

2 Amīr Ḥusain son of the late Amīr Mīran (Elliott III. 326).

3 Famine appeared and his troops were starved out (Elliott III. 334)

4 'Afīf says the son of the Jām and Tamāchī brother of Bānhbana were appointed to rule over Thatha.

5 *See* Elliott III. 371.

6 MS (A) reads حدایں *Ḥadāyan* without dots, and also reads حندا *Handā* I have failed to obtain any information regarding this work

7 MS (A) omits شیخ

8 MS. (A) برسر منبر.

9 MS (A) reads و مردم را از استماع آن حالات غریبه روی میداد و.

10 MS (A) پرسیده اند

11 According to Firishta, Ẓafar Khān died in 775 H. and was succeeded by his elder son Daryā Khān.

Then in the year 776 H. (1374-75 A D.) an event distressing to the people (death) happened to Fath Khān; and in this year Shamsu-d-Din Dāmaghāni having obtained the yellow girdle and the *Chandol* of silver, that is to say, the palanquin of honour, was appointed governor of Gujrāt in place of Zafar Khān; and since he had boasted when accepting the post on his departure, that he would send to the Court every year a hundred splendid elephants, two hundred Arab horses, and four hundred slaves, Muqaddam-zādas [1] and Abyssinians, together with valuables and money, when
251. he found that he could not perform his promises he was compelled to rebel.

And in the year 778 H (1376-77 A D) the Amīrs of hundreds [2] of Gujrāt put him to death and sent his head to the Court; thus that rebellion was quelled, and thereafter Gujrāt was put under the control of Farḥatu-l-Mulk, otherwise known as Malik Mufarriḥ Sulṭānī.[3]

And in the year 779 H (1377-78 A.D.) he marched towards Itāwa and Akchak [4] and having sent the Rāis of these districts with their families to Dihlī, built many fortresses on these frontiers; then having left Fīrozpūr and Batlāhī, [5] in charge of the son of Malik Tāju-d-Dīn, and having given Akchak to Malik Afghān returned to Dihlī In this year also Malik Nizāmu-d-Dīn the ruler of Oudh, who was in attendance on the Sultan, died, and the governorship of that province devolved upon Malik Saifu-d-Dīn his eldest son.

In the year 781 H. (1379 A D) having gone [6] to Sāmāna and passing through Shāhābād and Ambāla, he came to the country at the foot of Sintūr hills,[7] and receiving many presents from

1 مقدمزاده *muqaddamzāda* has the same meaning as خانه زاد *Khānazād*, born in the house

2 Briggs' "Ameer Jadeeda" is in the original text اميران صده *Amīrān-i-Ṣada* as in Badāoni

3 We see from Firishta that it was now he acquired the title Farḥatu-l-Mulk (Bo text, p 267).

4 Firishta gives the reason of this expedition, which was a rebellion of the zemindars of Itāwa Instead of اکچک *Akchak*, Firishta reads اکهل *Akhal* He says اتاوه و اکهل و تبلای *Itāwa*, *Akhal*, and *Tilai*.

5 تیلای *Tilāi* Firishta

6 MS. (A) رفته

7 Firishta says بدامن کوه سهارن پور To the foot of the hills of Sahāranpūr.

the Rāis and Governors and Commissioners, arrived at the capital and summoning Maliku-sh-Sharq Marwān-i-Daulat, who held the title of Nuṣrat Khān,[1] from the district of Karra and Mahoba, appointed him to the Multān district,[2] with a view to close the door to Mughal intrigues: he then confirmed Karra and[3] Mahoba together with all their dependencies upon the son of Maliku-sh-Sharq[4] Suleimān the son of Malik Marwān, whose adopted son was Saiyyid Khizr Khān, the grandfather of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Badāoni who eventually succeeded to the kingdom of Dihli.

And in the year 782 H. (1380 A.D) he raised the standard for an expedition with the intention of taking vengeance on the Khūkhar Rāi Chief of Kaithar[5], who had invited and put to death by 252 treachery both Saiyyid Muḥammad and Saiyyid 'Alāu-d-Dīn his brother,[6] who were Governors of Badāon. The rebellious Khūkhar[7] fled towards the hills of Kumāon, accordingly after laying waste and plundering the whole of his country, he left Malik Khiṭāb the Afghān in the country of Sambhal[8] to deal with the rebellion of Khūkhar, and turned back after having made over Badāon to Malik Qabūl; Qabūlpūra which at present is a quarter of Badāon lying outside the fort is called after his name; also he used to come every year for the purpose of sport and lay utterly waste the Kaithal[9] country

And in the year 787 H. he built a fortified town in a place called Babūli[10] which is seven krohs from Badāon and is better

1 MS (A). 2 طرف.

3 MS (A)

4 Firishta calls him ملک شمس الدین سلیمان Malik Shamsu-d-Dīn Suleimān.

5 MS (A) reads. رای کهو کهر مقدم کینهر. Firishta reads موسوم بکهرکو مقدم کتهر. The chief of Kaithar called Kharkū.

6 Firishta says Saiyyid Muḥammad governor of Badāon with his brothers Saiyyid 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Saiyyid Maḥmūd.

7 کهرکو Kharkū (Firishta)

8 Firishta سنبل MS (A) سنبهل. Firishta calls him ملک داود افغان Malik Dā'ūd Afghān.

9 MS. (A) کینهر. Kaithar. Firishta states he had given Malik Dā'ūd orders to ravage the country year by year

10 Possibly from the abundance there of the *Acacia Arabica* known as Babūl or Kikar. However Firishta calls it بسولی. Basūli.

known as Mawās,[1] and gave it the name[2] of Fīrūzpūr, and since in later times no other building was ever erected by the Sulṭān it became commonly known as Ākhirīnpūr.[3] Now-a-days although not a trace of that building remains, still from the old bricks and the foundations and general lie of that high ground it is evident that once upon a time there was a building on that site.[4] The age of the Sulṭān was now nearly ninety years, and how truly had these verses come to pass—

When thou reachest eighty or ninety years
Great is the vexation thou reapest from the world;
And going further when thou reachest the hundredth stage
Death will then be to thee a form of life.

Khān-i-Jahān[5] the Vazīr who had obtained great influence in the affairs of the state, and was in a position to overthrow those who opposed his schemes of self-aggrandisement, at a hint from the Sulṭān destroyed one party and put to death another, and making
253. accusations of conspiracy against Shāhzāda Muḥammad Khān and some of the other Maliks who were hand in glove with him, by this means turned the Sulṭān against him, and gave him a fixed idea[6] that this confederacy had for their object to raise the Shāhzāda to the throne; accordingly the Sulṭān set his heart upon the defeat and extinction of those Amīrs. The Shāhzāda, however, after that he had been in terror for some days and had omitted to pay his respects to the Sulṭān, one day in private[7] came into the Sulṭān's presence and loyally told him the whole truth, and informed him also of the treacherous designs of Khān-i-Jahān, so that the tables were turned.[8] Obtaining *carte blanche* from the Sulṭān to defeat and exterminate Khān-i-Jahān, and having brought over to his

[1] Or Mawāsāī MS (A) مواسای

[2] MS (A) نام آن گذاشت. .

[3] i e Last city

[4] MS (A) omits زمین

[5] Briggs says Zaffur Khān Farsy—but this is not in the text. This was Jūnān Shāh who has been mentioned, see next page, *note* 7.

[6] MS (A) خاطرنشان او کرد.

[7] Firishta tells us that he came in concealed in a woman's litter under the pretence that his own wife was visiting the Sulṭān's harem.

[8] MS (A) قصیه منعکس شد و

side[1] the Fīrūzī Amīrs and the mass of the people, in the month of Rajab 789 H. (1387 A.D.) he started with a strong force to attack Khān-i Jahān, and having wounded him plundered his house and family. Khān-i-Jahān fled[2] with a few followers towards Mīwāt, and took refuge there with one Kūkā a *Zamīndār*;[3] and the Shāhzāda destroyed certain of the Amīrs who had been well-disposed to Khān-i-Jahān. Subsequently to this the Shāhzāda became Vazīr with full uncontrolled powers, and the Sultān having given him all the apparatus of royalty, elephants and horses, servants and insignia, and conferring upon him the title of Naṣīru-d-Dīn wa-ud Dunyā Muḥammad Shāh, in the month of Sha'bān of the above mentioned year raised him to the throne, and betook himself to devotion and worship of the Most High, so that in the Friday *Khutbah* the names of both kings used to be mentioned;[4] Sultān Muḥammad ordered upon a new scale the appointments and salaries of the Amīrs, and confirmed the distribution of districts, and having given Malik Ya'qūb the title[5] of Sikandar Khān appointed him to attack Khān-i-Jahān in Mīwāt; Kūkā Chūhān a Zamīndār of Mīwāt[6] bound Khān-i-Jahān and sent him to Sikandar Khan who put him to death,[7] and having sent 254
his head as a present to the Court of Muḥammad Shāh set out[8] for Gujrat.

And in the year 790 H (1388 A D.) Muḥammad Shāh arrived on a hunting expedition at the Sirmūr hills, and Malik Mufarrih who was in Gujrāt, in unison with the Amīrs of hundreds put Sikandar Khān to death, and the whole of his army being utterly despoiled

1 MS (A) منفق گردانیده.

2 Having first put to death Zafar Khān (Firishta)

3 Firishta calls him Kūkāe Chauhān.

4 *See* Thomas' *Pathān Kings*, pp. 297 and 305.

5 The word خطاب must be inserted here though no copy has it

6 MS (A) omits the words زمیندار میوات

7 MS (A) بقتل رسانیده The first Khān-i Jahān was according to 'Afif originally a Hindū He was a native of Telingana and a man of high position in favour with the Rāi of that country His name was Kutlū but on becoming a Muslim he was named Maqbūl 'Afif states that he died in 707 A H and when he died all Dihlī went into mourning. This Khān-i-Jahān was his son Jūnān Khān.

8 MS. (A) روانه شده.

came with the *Sipahsālār* to Dihlī; Muḥammad Shāh, returning from the hill country, with the great carelessness which characterises youth took no thought for avenging Sikandar Khān, but spent his time in enjoyment and luxury, so that the affairs of the kingdom fell into great disorder; and the Sulṭān's soldiery by reason of their enmity and jealousy against Samāu-d-Dīn and Kamālu-d-Dīn, who were the *protégés* of Muḥammad Shāh, set themselves up in opposition to them, and assembled in a spacious plain, and stoned and wounded Malik Zahīru-d-Dīn Lāhorī whom the Shāhzāda had sent to admonish them He came in that state before Muḥammad Shāh and informed him of what had happened, whereupon the Shāhzāda having collected forces set out to do battle with that party. The army of the Shāhzāda was victorious at first, and bore back the army of the Sulṭān, so that they took refuge with the Sulṭān Fīrūz. The battle raged fiercely for two days and when the Sulṭān's body servants found themselves in straits, they bore the Sulṭān, who was little more than a puppet, to the field of battle and displayed him there, and when the troops of Muḥammad Shāh and his elephant drivers set eyes upon Sulṭān Fīrūz they left fighting and came over to the Sulṭān. Muḥammad Shāh with the small following which remained to him, went towards the Sirmūr hills, and the army of the Sulṭān, which was near a hundred thousand cavalry and infantry, fell upon the camp of Muḥammad Shāh, and entering his private apartments sacked them and swept them away. The Sulṭān at the instigation of some interested persons, unwillingly deposed Muḥammad Shāh
255. from his position as heir apparent, and conferring upon Tughlaq Khān[1] the son of Fatḥ Khān, his grandson, the title of Tughlaq Shāh raised him to the position of heir-apparent. Tughlaq Shāh beheaded Mīr Ḥasan the son-in-law of the Sulṭān, who was a special favourite of Muḥammad Shāh, and having exiled Ghālib Khān the governor of Sāmāna, sent him to the country of Bihār. On the sixteenth of Ramaẓān in the year 790 H. Sulṭān Fīrūz attained deliverance from the tortures of existence, and hastened to the world of permanence, and was buried on the borders of the

[1] So Firishta Briggs says here, p 461, "placed his grandson Gheias-ood-Deen .. upon the throne" The text is تغلق شاه ولد شاهزاده فتح خان. Tughlaq Shāh the son of the Shāhzāda Fatḥ Khān This was Ghiāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh II.

Hauz-i-Khāṣṣ, over his tomb a lofty dome was erected which is well-known. They devised two chronograms for the date of his death *Wafāt-i-Fīrūz* and *Naql i-Fīrūz Shāh*, the second of these is deficient by one unit.[1] The duration of his reign was thirty-eight years and some months [2]

All good fortune is till death and no longer,
In the dust one man is no better than another.
When a drop is thrown into the river
It cannot again be recognised.
The nature of the Heavens is to overthrow,
It is of no use to oppose the decree of Fate.
Who knows with the blood of what hearts
This stirred up dust has been mixed !
Every road, if the wise man is not blinded,
Is the hide of the elk, and shagreen from the wild ass.[3]

Among the poets of the reign of Fīrūz Shāh and his boon-companions, is Malik Aḥmad, the son of Amir Khusrū, *may God have* 258.
mercy upon him, and although there is no famous anthology of his, still there are some imitations of the writings of the earlier poets which are entered in the writings of some of the learned men, and are well-known. Among them is an imitation of this poem of Ẓahīr [4]

زهی ربودهٔ زرفعت کلاه گوشهٔ تو
کلاه گوشهٔ گردون زروی عیاری [5]

Hail! thou whose cap of empire snatched in its exaltation the cap of empire of the heaven, by craftiness.

And it is said that in the first hemistich we should read

[زهی طپانچهٔ قهر تو از طریق نفاد

Hail to thee! the blow of whose wrath, in thy supreme power

1 وفات فیروز. *Wafāt-i-Fīrūz*. These words give the value 790 while *Naql-i-Fīrūz Shāh* نقل فیروز شاه give 789.

2 Firishta says nearly forty years, p. 271, Bo. text.

3 That is to say, it is not really dust but the remains of living animals.

4 Ẓahīru-d-Dīn Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad, a co-temporary of Jamālu-d-Dīn Iṣfahānī and Hakim Khāqānī Shīrwānī, was a native of Fāryāb.

He died in the year 598. H. and is buried at Surkhāb of Tabrīz which has been called "the Sepulchre of the Poets." His poetry was held in great estimation. (*Majma'ul-Fuṣaḥā* I. 330) see also Beale O. B. D., p 286.

5 MS. (A) reads جباری for عیاری see also footnote to text.

and in place of ربوده (snatched) in the last hemistich we should read فگنده (thrown)]; [1] and another is this verse

این سهل سهل بود که گوگرد سرخ خواست
گر نان خواجه خواستي آن را چه کردمی

This was extremely easy, that he asked for red sulphur: [2]
If he had asked bread from the Khwāja, what could I have done?

which was thus written,

این سهل سهل بود که آب حیات خواست

This would have been very easy had he asked for the water of life

Another is in this verse,

گر مشک خواند خاک درت ز فلک مرنج
نرخ گهـــر نطعن خریدار نشکنـــد

If the sky calls the dust of your door musk, do not grieve,
For the jewel's worth is not affected by the abuse of the purchaser.

The poet had written,

گر لعل خواند سنگ درت مشتري مرنج

If Jupiter calls the gravel at your door rubies, do not grieve.

257. And some of his poems also I have seen, but I remember none of them, and since Malik Aḥmad was the real son of Amir Khusrū, and reminded them of his father, the King and his companions and the learned men of the age were greatly pleased with these imitations and thought them very valuable.

1 The portion between brackets is not found in MS. (A).
The verse would then read as follows

زهی طپانچهٔ قهر تو از طریق نفاد کلاه گوشه گردون فگنده ز عیاری

2 گوگرد احمر Gūgird-i Aḥmar (Sulphur) The red Gūgird is said to be a mineral of exceeding rarity which is only found in a mine in the Valley of the Ants, the ants of that region are the size of goats It is said that at night a light is emitted from the mine which may be seen for many leagues, but when the mineral is taken out of the mine it does not possess this luminous property. It is an important ingredient in Al-Iksir (Elixir of life) and just as Quicksilver is called Abūl-arwāḥ (Father of spirits), they call this Abūl-ajsād (Father of bodies)

It has various beneficial qualities (*Burhān-i-qāṭi'*)

Another poet was Maulānā Maẓhar Karra,[1] whose descendants are still living in the city of Lakhnauti and have been highly thought of and respected from generations back. There is an anthology of his consisting of fifteen or sixteen thousand verses, but inasmuch as he was more of a Mulla than a poet, his poetry is not so highly esteemed by the learned, although were they to search, they would bring to light many a good thing in the way of rarity (of expression).

Another (poet) is Qāẓī 'Ābid[2] who wrote this poem—

My friends say, 'Ābid with this fine nature of yours
How is it that you have not written more poems and odes?
To whom shall I address poems and odes, since in our time
No suitable lover and no generous patron has arisen.

This is a translation of the following poem in Arabic—

They say, thou hast given up writing poems, I reply, yes! perforce;
The door of claims and causes is closed.
The land is empty—there is no benefactor from whom to hope for favours, nor is there any beauty to love.
And the strange thing is that though no one will buy poetry
Still in spite of this they appropriate and steal it.

SULṬĀN TUGHLAQ SHĀH IBN FATḤ KHĀN IBN SULṬĀN FĪRŪZ

Ascended the throne of sovereignty and power by the consent of the Amīrs in the year 790 A H (1388 A.D.) in accordance with 258.
the will of his grandfather, assuming the title of Ghīyāsu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, and despatched several famous Amīrs to oppose Muḥammad Shāh towards the foot of the hills (of Sirmūr). Muḥammad Shāh after fighting for a little betook himself to Nagar Kot, and the army of Tughlaq Shāh on account of the difficulty[3] of the way turned back (to Dihlī) and Abu Bakr Khān son of Zafar Khān and grandson of Fatḥ Khān, who was his brother's son, being panic-stricken and terrified, went to his father,[4] and Malik Rukun-

1 In the *Majma'ul Fuṣaḥā* he is called Maẓhar-i-Hindī Qāẓī of Agra (? Karra) the panegyrist of Fīrūz Shāh, but no particulars are given. The *Atash Kada-i-Azur* merely mentions his name as Maẓharī.

2 Neither the *Majma' ul Fuṣaḥā* nor *Atash Kada-i-Azur* mention this poet.

3 MS. (A) صعب.

4 MS. (A) بجانبي پدر رفت و.

d-Dīn Chanda Wazīr, in concert with other Amīrs, made friends with Abu Bakr Khān, and killed Malik (Mubārak) Kabīr[1] in Fīrūzābād at the door of the rest house of Tughlaq Shāh, and having pursued Tughlaq Shāh and Khān-i-Jahān the Wazīr[2] when they fled, put them to death and hung up their heads[3] over the gate of the city; this event occurred in the month of Ṣafar[4] in the year 791 H. (1389 A.D.); the duration of the reign of Tughlaq Shāh, was five months and eighteen days.[5]

Verse.

[He laid low in the dust that rose of kingdom which the garden
of the king
Had cherished in its breast with endless care.][6]

Abu Bakr Shāh ibn Ẓafar Khān [ibn Fatḥ Khān[7]] ibn Fīrōz Shāh.

After the martyrdom of Tughlaq Shāh, by the ill-judged agreement of the Amīrs assumed the Government under the above title, and at the commencement of his reign distributed appointments among the Amīrs, and raised Ruknu-d-Dīn Chanda to the dignity of Vazīr, and eventually, when he heard that Ruknu-d-Dīn in concert with certain of the Amīrs, was plotting sedition,
259. and entertained ambitious designs upon the kingdom, got rid of him together with his following, taking possession of his elephants and treasure, obtained complete hold over Dihlī and increased in power daily In the meantime the Amīrs of hundreds of Sāmāna cut to pieces Malik Sulṭān Shāh Khushdil, the Amīr of Sāmāna, who had been sent against the Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh to the country at the foot of the hills, at the head of the reservoir of Sāmāna and sacked his house, and sending his head to the Shāhzāda Muḥammad Shāh at Nagarkot invited him to come; Muḥammad Shāh accordingly left Nagarkot, and came to Sāmāna by way of Jalandhar by continuous marches, and having gathered together the

[1] MS. (A) omits مبارک. Firishta calls him Amīru-l-Umarā.

[2] Firishta tells us that this was Malik Fīrūz 'Alī son of Malik Tāju-d-Dīn.

[3] MS. (A) inserts را.

[4] MS (A) درصفرسنه. Firishta says 21st of Ṣafar.

[5] MS. (A) writes پنجماه بود و هژده روز.

[6] Not in MS. (A).

[7] The words in square brackets are not in MS. (A).

paraphernalia of royal magnificence for the second time raised the standard of royalty in the month of Rabī'ul Awwal in the year 791 H. (1389 A.D.), and in the following month of Rabī'ul Ākhir of the same year, set out to capture Dihlī with a force of 50,000, and alighted at the palace of Jahān Numā where he bestowed upon the Amīrs suitable appointments; among others[1] he conferred upon the Governor of Multān the title of Khiẓr Khān; and Abū Bakr Shāh having raised an army for the assistance of Bahādur Nāhir Khān Zāda of Mīwāt, on the (2nd) of Jumādiu-l Awwal[2] of the aforesaid year engaged in battle on the plains of Fīrūzābād with Muḥammad Shāh, and gained the day. Muḥammad Shāh, with two thousand cavalry, crossed the river Jamna and entered the Doāb, and sent Humāyūn Khān his younger son to Sāmāna, and having obtained thence a great following and the requirements of sovereignty, and taking with him certain Amīrs of Hindustān with fifty thousand cavalry, a second time marched his standards towards Dihlī As it chanced he became engaged in battle with Abū Bakr 260.
Shāh and was again defeated, and Abū Bakr Shāh pursued him part of the way, but considered it an excellent opportunity to return. Muḥammad Shāh arrived at Chaptar,[3] which is a town on the banks of the Ganges, and giving over his following to destruction once more attempted to fight. And in the month of Muḥarram of the year 792 H (1389-90 A.D) Shāhzāda Humāyūn Khān having called together many Amīrs from the frontier of Sāmāna to reinforce him, laid waste the country round Dihlī, engaged in battle in the neighbourhood[4] of Pānīpath with 'Imādu-l-Mulk who had been sent by Abū Bakr (Shāh)[5] with four thousand cavalry to oppose him, and being defeated retreated towards Sāmāna. And in the month of Jamādiu-l Awwal of the aforesaid year Abū Bakr Shāh marched for Chaptar (Chītar) with a strong force, with the object of opposing Muḥammad Shāh, and had encamped at a distance of twenty *kroh* from Dihlī, when Muḥammad Shāh with

[1] MS. (A) از آنجمله.

[2] The text and MS. (A) both read بتاریخ جمید الاول.

[3] MS (A) چپتر. The text reads چیتر *Chitar*. Firishta says الیسر ? *Jālesar*. So text p. 275.

[4] MS. (A) درنواحی.

[5] MS. (A) omits the word شاه.

four thousand men,[1] passing unobserved round his right flank,[2] reached Dihlī by another route and entered the palace of Humāyūn, where the populace both great and small declared in favour of him, Abū Bakr Shāh pursued him and arrived at Dihlī, and having put to death Malik Bahāu-d-Dīn Jangī whom Muḥammad Shāh had left to guard the gates, without hesitation made for the palace of Humāyūn, and Muḥammad Shāh, being taken off his guard, was not able to oppose him and leaving by way of the door of the *Hauẓ-i-Khāṣ* fled again with all haste to Chaptar (Chitar) his original abode and asylum[3] Many of his noted Amīrs and of his body servants were put to death, and although Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh was no longer able to stand against Abū Bakr Shāh, still[4] the soldiery and people were very ill-disposed towards Abū
261 Bakr Shāh, and in the month of Ramaẓān in the aforesaid year, Mubashir Chap and some of the slaves of Fīrūz Shāh's party who had been promoted to the rank of Amīr, and for one reason or another bore a grudge against Abū Bakr Shāh, opened a secret correspondence[5] with Muḥammad Shāh, and invited him;[6] Abū Bakr Shāh when he came to know of this was utterly dumbfounded, and under pretext of asking assistance from Bahādur Nahir set his face to go to *Kotila*[7] of Mīwāt and set out leaving Malik Shāhīn and 'Imādu-l-Mulk and Malik Bahrī and Safdar Khān in Dihlī, then Muḥammad Shāh in obedience to the invitation of the Amīrs entered Dihlī for the third time and ascended the throne of royalty in the palace of Fīrūzābād with great ceremony; and Mubashir Chap,

[1] Firishta says with 4,000 chosen Cavalry.

[2] چپ غلط کردہ Firishta says,

و بعد از آنکه نزدیک گشت راہ چپ کردہ

[3] MS (A) جانب دهلي ايلغار فرمود که مقر و مفر اصلي او بود.

[4] MS (A) adds here چون. [5] MS. (A) خطهای.

[6] MS (A) استدعا نمودند.

[7] کوتله *kotla*. Hindī कोटला *koṭlā*, a small fortress. Bahādur Nāhir was ruler of Mīwāt, *see* Firishta Briggs, 471 This word Kot'la seems to have been made use of by Fīrūz Shāh to designate certain of his hunting palaces. *See* Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p 292, *note* 3, and references there given

By this Kotila however, Kotila of Mīwāt, we may understand probably Hardwār or a town in its vicinity, which appears in Rennell's map G. n. as "Coupele" *see* Elliott, III 455. n. and 458.

having received the title of Islām Khān, was promoted to the rank of Vazir, and after some time he left Fīrūzābād and went to the palace of Humāyūn, Jahān (Numā),[1] and gave orders for the slaves of the Fīrūzī party who had been a source of disturbance in the days of tumult and riot to be put to death without distinction, and many of the free men also, who came from the eastern quarters of Hindustān were taken for slaves by reason of the imperfection of their pronunciation,[2] and were put to the sword. Abū Bakr Shāh after this misfortune could not recover himself, and remained at the *Kotila* (of Miwāt) just as he was till Muḥammad Shāh[3] by continuous marches came against him, and Bahādur Nāhir Mīwātī and Abū Bakr Shāh who had taken refuge with him, after fighting for a long time begged for quarter and had an interview with Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh. Bahādur Nāhir received a robe of honour and other marks of favour, but they imprisoned Abū Bakr Shāh in the fort of Mīrath. In that self-same prison he escaped from the prison house of the world. This event took place in the year 793 H. (1390-91 A.D.)[4] the duration of the reign of Abū Bakr Shāh was a year and a half.

[1] MS (A) omits نما.

[2] This passage is not intelligible in itself, but Firishta's account explains it fully. He tells us that many of these slaves claimed to be natives of the country and not foreigners, whereupon Muhammad Shāh imposed upon them the pronunciation of certain words, and those who failed in their pronunciation of this 'Shibboleth' were treated as foreigners and put to death. He writes,

ناصر الدين محمد شاه فرمود كه هركه از شما كهرا كهري گويد اصيل است و چون بطوريكه پاد شاه ميخواست تلفظ نميتوانستند نمود و بزبان مردم پورب وبنگاله ادا ميكردند كشته ميشدند - Firishta Bo text p. 267.

Muḥammad Shāh said "whoever among you instead of Kharā says Kharī, is a native of the country," and since (as the King in fact desired) they were not able to pronounce these words, but followed the pronunciation of people of the East and of Bengal they were put to death.

The word *Khārī* signified *brackish* as applied to water. natives of Eastern Bengal however use the word *Khārā* in place of Khārī, using the word as if it were an adjective agreeing with the masculine word *pānī*, water.

[3] محمد شاه MS. (A) not in the text.

[4] There is an error in MS. (A) here which writes, درسنه ثلث و خمسين و سبعمايه. 753 H. see Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 303.

Verse.

He reckoned certain days and then he came to nothing
The time smiled to think that he too had passed away.

Verse.

262. This world is like a corpse upon which there are
thousands of vultures
[One continually tears another with its talons,
The other rends it constantly with its beak][1]
At last, they all take to flight and
All that remains of them all is the corpse.

Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh ibn Fīroz Shāh.

After the death of his brother's son Abū Bakr, this monarch ascended the throne of Dihlī in the abovementioned year by the consent of the grandees and nobles of the State,[2] and assumed absolute power there being now no one left to oppose him in the kingdom. And in this same year Mufarriḥ Sulṭānī governor of Gujrāt revolted, and Ẓafar Khān ibn Wajīhu-l-Mulk was ordered to proceed thither.

In the year 794 H. (1391-92 A D) the *zamīndārs* (land-holders) of the Doāb[3] breaking out into rebellion attacked the town of Balārām, and Islām Khān being appointed to proceed against Harsingrāi[4] defeated him, while the Sulṭān went as far as Qanauj and Itāwa, and after punishing the infidels of that district and laying waste Itāwa, returned to Chitrā[5] which was a favourite resort of his, and there built the city of Muḥammadābād.

In the year 795 H. (1392-93 A.D.) he appointed Malik Muqarrabu-l-Mulk to proceed against the mutineers in the district of

[1] Not in MS. (A)

[2] MS. (A) reads·—

سلطان محمد شاه بن فیروز شاه بعد از فوت برادرزادهٔ خود ابوبکر در سنهٔ مذکور باتفاق اعیان دولت و ارکان سلطنت بر سریر دهلي دم از استقلال زد.

[3] MS. (A) omits مواس

[4] Rāja of Itāwa

[5] *See* Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, 307 *n* 1

This place appears to be the same as Jalesar judging from Firishta's account.

For Jalesar *see* Hunter *Imp Gaz*, VII, 103

Itāwa, who by promises and engagements[1] induced the rebels to come in, and took them to Qanauj, where he put them to death and returned to Muḥammadābād. And in the month of Shawwāl in this year, the Sulṭān was attacked by illness; taking advantage 263.
of this Bahādur Nāhir made an inroad upon some of the towns around Dihlī. The Sulṭān notwithstanding his weakness proceeded to Koṭla; Bahādur gave battle once and then fled, and the Sulṭān victorious and triumphant returned to Muḥammadābād, and was engaged in superintending the building of the city when his illness returned.

In the year 796 H. (1393-94 A.D.) he appointed Shāhzāda Humāyūn Khān to oppose Shaikhā Khūkhar who had rebelled and gained possession of Lahore, but the Shāhzāda was still in the city when the Sulṭān[2] took his departure from the populous city of existence to the deserted regions of annihilation, and was buried in the mausoleum of his father on the banks of the *Hauẓ-i-Khāṣṣ*:[3] the duration of his reign was six years and seven months.

Maṣnavi.

What is the world, but a wayside abode of trouble and evil?
A house of labour and toil, a mansion of pain and affliction?
Here is no truth and no faithfulness; here are no friends and no friendship;
Hundreds of times have I seen this, and proved it by frequent experience.[4]

SULṬĀN 'ALĀU-D-DĪN SIKANDAR SHĀH IBN-I-MUḤAMMAD SHĀH IBN-I-FĪROZ SHĀH,

Who bore the name of Humāyūn Khān, ascended the imperial throne in virtue of his being heir apparent, on the nineteenth of

[1] MS. (A) قول و قرار داده.

[2] He died according to Firishta's account on the 17th of Rabī'u-l-Awwal, and was buried beside his father on the banks of the *Hauẓ-i-Khāṣṣ*. Text, p. 278.

[3] The *Hauẓ-i-Khāṣṣ* was a reservoir constructed by Fīrūz Shāh, one of his many public works. It is said in the Zafarnāma of Yazdī to be "so large that an arrow cannot be shot from one side to the other It is filled by rain in the rainy season and the people of Dihlī obtain water from it all the year round. The tomb of Fīrūz Shāh is by its side." Elliott, III, 431–501.

See also Thomas *Pathān Kings*, 310 note 1.

[4] MS. (A) and footnote to Text read دیدها و از صدها مجرب.

Rabi'u-l-Awwal in the year 795 H (1393 A D) and after one month and sixteen days he bid farewell to this hired rest-house, and removed his effects to the permanent mansion.[1]

> So long as the world has been, thus has it been, and thus will it ever be.
>
> 264. The issue of affairs will be at last the same for all.

[And during the time that he was Shāhzāda, a learned man wrote and composed in his honour an imitation of the Maqāmāti Harīrī I have seen a Maqāmah from this work].[2]

Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh ibn-i-Muḥammad Shāh,

Who was his youngest son,[3] ascended the throne[4] on the twentieth of Jumādiu-l-Awwal[5] in the aforesaid year relying upon the allegiance of the Amīrs,[6] with the title of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd, and having bestowed upon Muqarrabu-l-Mulk the title of Muqarrab Khān, he made him his heir apparent,[7] and confirmed to the Amīrs their appointments[8] districts and titles; and with a view to restoring order in the important affairs of State, which had suffered in consequence of the dominance of the perverse infidels, he bestowed the title of Sulṭānu-sh-Sharq[9] upon Khwāja-i-Jahān, and transferred him from Qanauj to Bihār with full powers and uncontrolled authority, and despatched him thither. He proceeded as far as Jājnagar[10] and took possession of it,

[1] And was buried beside his father and grandfather on the edge of the Hauz i-Khāṣṣ He reigned one month and fifteen days (Firishta)

[2] The portion in square brackets is not found in MS (A)

[3] Firishta also says کوچکترین پسران the youngest of his sons. Briggs translates this "a youth, the son of"

[4] MS (A) omits سلطنت

[5] Text reads جمادی الاولی.

[6] The text reads here بر حکم تبیعت, but this is I venture to think wrong MS (A) reads بیعت and taking this together with Firishta's reading, we should, I think read بر حکم بیعت "relying upon the allegiance"

Firishta reads جملهٔ اکابر و امرا باوی بیعت کرده سر در ربقهٔ فرمان آوردند

[7] Firishta says became Vakīlu-s-Salṭanat and Amīru-l-Umarā

[8] MS (A) ولایات و خطابات

[9] So also Firishta Briggs however converts this into "Mullik-oos-Shark," p. 478.

[10] Firishta says Jaunpūr جونپور.

acquiring a large number of elephants and much valuable property, and from that time the king of Lakhnauti began to send elephants annually as presents to Dihlī.

He also rebuilt[1] the greater number of the forts which the infidels had destroyed, in the districts of Karra, Oudh, Sandila, Malūta,[2] Bahraich and Tirhut, and despatched Sārang Khān to the district of Dībālpūr to quell the rising of Shaikhā Khūkhar. And in the month of Zū Qa'dah of the same year Shaikhā Khūkhar[3] fought a sharp engagement with Sārang Khān, at a place called Sāmothala[4] which is twelve *krohs* from Lahore, but was defeated and retired to the hill country of Jamūn; Sārang Khān thereupon left Lahore in charge of his brother 'Ādil Khān,[5] and returned towards Dībālpūr.

And in the month of Sha'bān of this year Sultān[6] Maḥmūd leaving Muqarrab Khān as his Viceroy in Dihlī, and taking with 265.
him Sa'ādat Khān, who was commonly known[7] as 'Abdu-r-Rashīd Sultānī, marched in the direction of Biāna and Gwāhār. In obedience to the order of the Sultān a spacious chief mosque[8] built of stone was erected in the town of Basāwar, and is standing at the present time, and when[9] the Sultān arrived near Gwāhār, Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn Dhārwāl, and Malloo Khān[10] the brother of Sārang Khān, and Mubārak Khān son of Malik Rājū[11] conspired against Sa'ādat Khān, but he, becoming aware of their design, arrested Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Mubārak Khān and had them put to death.[12]

[1] MS (A) تمعير فرمود و

[2] MS. (A) Dalmūr دلمور

[3] MS (A) supplies كهوكهر Firishta says "advancing from Ajūdhan"

[4] Firishta does not give the name of the place.

[5] MS (A) reads لاهور را برادر خويش عادل خان.

[6] MS (A) repeats the words

محمود مقرب خان را به نيابت در شهر گذاشته و سعادت خان را كه بعبد الرشيد سلطاني —

[7] MS. (A.) اشتهار داشت

[8] MS. (A) omits و

[9] MS. (A) omits چون

[10] MS. (A) omits خان. Firishta calls this man Malloo Khān.

[11] So also Firishta

[12] Firishta writes بكشت. Badāonī apparently always uses سياست in the sense of capital punishment.

Malloo Khān fled to Muqarrab Khān in Dihlī. The Sulṭān having returned to the Capital, encamped at some distance from the city, and Muqarrab Khān fearing his displeasure because he had given asylum to Malloo Khān,[1] entrenched himself and prepared to fight[2] and remained in his fortified position three months, and war arose between Muqarrab Khān and Sa'ādat Khān.[3]

And in the month of Muḥarram in the year 797 H. (Nov. 1394 A.D.) Sulṭān Maḥmūd was induced by the deceitfulness of certain friends of Muqarrab Khān to leave Sa'ādat Khān, to enter the fort and come to terms with Muqarrab Khān, who thus obtained the assistance he needed. The following day Muqarrab Khān and Sa'ādat Khān met on the field of battle, and Muqarrab Khān being defeated again entered the fort. Sa'ādat Khān went to Fīrūzābād,[4] and acting in concert with some of the Amīrs summoned Nuṣrat Khān son of Fatḥ Khān and grandson of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh[5] from Mīwāt, and set him upon the throne in the month of Rabī'u-l-Awwal of the aforesaid year, with the title of Nāṣiru-d-
206. Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh. Nuṣrat Shāh was nothing more than a puppet, for Sa'ādat Khān assumed the whole of the authority in state matters, and some slaves of the Fīrūzī party and some elephant drivers joined with Sulṭān Nuṣrat Shāh, and by some clever artifice placed him upon an elephant, and without warning fell upon Sa'ādat Khān unawares in full force; Sa'ādat Khān was paralysed and helpless, and[6] of necessity took to flight and came

[1] MS. (A) omits خان. [2] MS. (A) شده.

[3] This account is unsatisfactory as it throws no light upon the real course of events. Firishta writes as follows:—Muqarrab Khān came out to receive the Sulṭān and to pay his respects, but becoming alarmed at the splendour and array of the royal court, because of his having given asylum to Malloo Khān, fled to the city where he fortified a position and began to fight. The quarrel lasted for some three months, with frequent engagements between the besiegers and the besieged, when recognizing that this was all due to Sa'ādat Khān Bārbak, Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh at the instigation of his intimates entered the city upon a favourable opportunity in the month of Muharram 797 H. and came to terms with Muqarrab Khān, who on the following day started from Dihlī to fight against Sa'ādat Khān, but was defeated and forced to return to the city" (Firishta, Bo. text p 279) *Cf* Briggs, p. 480.

[4] Being compelled by the onset of the rains to decamp (Firishta)

[5] The text reads نصرت خان بن فتح خان بن سلطان فیروز شاه. The above translation is to avoid the ambiguity which a literal rendering involves.

[6] MS. (A) و.

to Dihli, where he sought the protection of Muqarrab Khān, and was treacherously [1] put to death by him: then the Amirs of Nuṣrat Shāh's faction such as Muḥammad Muẓaffar Vazir and Shihāb Nāhir and Malik Faẓlu-llāh Balkhi,[2] and the slaves of Firūz Shāh's party one and all [3] renewed their declaration of allegiance to Sulṭān Nuṣrat Shāh and divided the appointments afresh.

Sulṭān Maḥmud was known as King in Dihlī, while in Fīrūzābād Nuṣrat Shāh enjoyed that title,[4] and Muqarrab Khān placed the citadel of old Dihlī under the command of Bahādur Nāhir Mīwātī, and bestowed upon Malloo Khān [5] the title of Iqbāl Khān,[6] and day by day battles were fought between these two kings,[7] who were like the two kings in the game of chess.[8] Sulṭān Nuṣrat Shāh retained possession of the country of the Doāb, and Sanbhal, Pānīpath, Rohtak, and Jahjar,[9] while a few old ruined forts such as Dihlī and Sīrī and the rest, remained in the hands of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and from that time forward this proverb became a common expression: The rule of the Lord of the world (Khudāwand-i-'Ālam) is from Dihlī to Pālam.[10] And all over Hindustān there arose various parties each with its own Malik.[11]

Verse.

Say, either you rule in the city, or let me rule
For the affairs of the state go to ruin between two rulers.

The affairs of the kingdom continued in this state for a space of three years, at one time the Dihlī party got the better of the Fīrūzābād [12] party and at another time the positions were reversed.

1 MS. (A) omits بغدر.

2 المتغلب بقتلغخان. (Firishta).

3 MS. (A) omits بتمام.

4 See Thomas' *Pathān Kings*, 312, *note* 1, and 318, *note* 1.

5 MS (A) omits خان.

6 Firishta states that these two joined neither king waiting to see how affairs would turn out.

7 For a space of three years (Firishta).

8 That is to say could neither win nor be removed from the encounter.

9 *Cf* Thomas *Pathān Kings*, 313, *notes* 1-2.

10 Ḥukm-i Khudawand-i-'Ālam az Dihlī tā Pālam.

11 *See* Thomas' *Pathān Kings*, p. 315 *n*. 1.

12 MS (A) فيروزبان

Verse.

267. Like the kite which is six months female and six months male.[1]

And in the year 798 H. (1395 A.D.) many battles took place between the *Musnad-i-'Alī*,[2] Khizr Khān, the Amīr of Multān, and Sārang Khān the ruler of Dīpālpūr, and, eventually, owing to the treachery of certain of the slaves of Malik Marwān, who was the tutor of Malik Suleimān the father of Khizr Khān, and in consequence of their throwing in their lot with Sārang Khān the governor of Dīpālpūr,[3] Multān passed from the possession of Khizr Khān to that of Sārang Khān, and his party began to grow weaker and weaker every day.

And in the year 799 H. (1396 A.D.) Sārang Khān having overcome[4] Ghālib Khān the governor of Sāmāna, and Tātār Khān the Wālī of Pānīpath, gained possession of the country as far as the outskirts of Dihlī.[5] Sultān Nusrat Shāh sent Malik Ilyās[6] a slave of the Fīrūz Shāhī party with elephants and an army to reinforce Tātār Khān He accordingly drove Sārang Khān out of Sāmāna and delivered it to Ghālib Khān[7]

And in the month of Muḥarram 800 H. (1397 A.D.) a severe engagement took place between the two parties in the neighbourhood of the village of Kotla, Sārang Khān was defeated[8] and fled towards Multān, and Tātār Khān proceeded to the frontier of Tilaundī, and sending Kamālu-d-Dīn Mubīn in pursuit of Sārang Khān, returned. And in the month of Rabī'u-l-Awwal in the year already mentioned,[9] Mīrzā Pīr Muḥammad, grandson[10] of the

1 The *Burhān-i Qāti'*.

او شش ماه نرو شش ماه مادة ميباشد و بعضي گويند يكسال نرو يكسال مادة است

It is a male for six months and a female for six months, some say one year male and one year female

The *Haiyātu l-Hawān* says nothing about this (art حدا and عقاب,) but mentions a statement that the عقاب *'uqāb* eagle or kite has no male, but the females are impregnated by the fox. See also I K (Slane) iii, 305.

2 *See* Thomas' *Pathān Kings*, p 329, *n* 1

3 MS. (A) omits the words حاكم ديپالپور.

4 MS (A) omits و

5 MS (A) omits و.

6 MS (A) الباس also Firishta

7 In the beginning of Muharram 800 H (Firishta)

8 MS. (A) reads افتاد و سمت ملتان

9 MS (A) reads سنة مذكور

10 MS. (A) نبسه Firishta writes نبيرة

great Amīr Tīmūr Gūrgān[1] King of Khurāsān and Māwarā-an-Nahr, had crossed the river Indus,[2] and was besieging the fortress of Uchh.[3] 'Alī Malik, Sārang Khān's lieutenant fought and held the fort for a month, and when Malik Tāju-d-Dīn Bakhtyār arrived at the fort of Uchh with a thousand cavalry given him by Sārang Khān, Mīrzā Pīr Muḥammad left Uchh, and taking Malik Tāju-d-Dīn Bakhtyār and his thousand sowārs[4] unawares in their position on the banks of the river Bīāh, attacked them. The greater number of Malik Tāju-d-Dīn's force fell by the sword, while those who escaped the sword were drowned in the floods of destruction;[5] and Mīrzā Pīr Muḥammad[6] after gaining this victory pursued them with all speed,[7] and invested the fortress of Multān.[8] Sārang Khān held out against him for six months engaging him frequently, but at last begged for quarter, and had an interview with the Mīrzā,[9] who took up his station in Multān pending the arrival of the great Tīmūr.

1 MS. (A) گورگانی. *Gurgānī* The exact meaning of this title has been much discussed; the most recent opinion is that of Dr. Erdmann, according to whom "Kurkān or Gurgān stands for 'son-in-law' or for a prince who is allied by marriage with some "mighty monarch" In this way, its Mongol sense, it is used, he tells us by Rashīdu-d-Dīn. He also tells us that Kurkān or Gurgān represents the Chinese expression *Fu-mā* and that the Amīr Tīmūr was called *Tīmūr Fu-mā* by the Chinese, because he married the daughter of Chun-ti, the ninth and last Emperor of the Mongol dynasty *Fu-mā* in fact means "son-in-law" in Chinese, when applied to princes, and thus is a translation of the Mongol word."

For fuller particulars see note, page 278 of the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* by Elias and Ross, from which the above is extracted. In M. Pavet de Courteille's Turkī Dictionary we find "گورکان prince de la race de Timour qui épouse une fille de la race de Djenguiz-Khān. prince de race royale qui épouse une fille de roi prince né de parents issus de Khans qui épouse la fille d'un Khakan. surnom de Timour, savant, beau, poli." see also Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I 464. n.

2 By a bridge of boats (Firishta). 3 اوچه (Firishta.)

4 MS (A) omits the words بختیار هزار سوار 5 Firishta says

چنانچه اکثر آن مردم در وقت گریز بقتل رسیدند و بعضی درآب غرق گشتند.

Most of them were put to death as they fled, and some were drowned in the river.

6 MS (A) omits پیر محمد. 7 MS. (A) omits تمام

8 Firishta tells us that Malik Tāju-d-Dīn escaped with a few men and fled to Multān

9 Being compelled by famine (Firishta).

And in the month of S̲h̲awwāl in the aforesaid year Iqbāl K̲h̲ān, who is better known as Malloo, swore many oaths of allegiance to Sulṭān Nuṣrat S̲h̲āh, whom he deported to the fortress of Jahān-numā,[1] taking him away with elephants and an armed force; and Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Muqarrab K̲h̲ān and Bahādur Nāhir shut themselves up in old Dihli. On the third day from this Iqbāl K̲h̲ān made a sudden attack in strong force upon Nuṣrat S̲h̲āh hoping to take him by surprise; Nuṣrat S̲h̲āh fled from Jahān-numā and came to Firūzābād,[2] and leaving there crossed the Jamna and went to join Tātār K̲h̲ān his Vazīr at Pānipath. The whole[3] of the army and elephants of Nuṣrat S̲h̲āh fell into the hands of the astute Iqbāl K̲h̲ān, and for two whole months daily battles were fought between Muqarrab K̲h̲ān and Iqbāl K̲h̲ān, until by the intervention of certain Amīrs peace was established between these two leaders; but after a few days[4] Iqbāl K̲h̲ān proceeded against Muqarrab K̲h̲ān,[5] and without warning suddenly surrounded him and besieged him, and after giving him assurances of safety raised him to the dignity of martyrdom, and getting Sulṭān Maḥmūd into his power made a puppet of him and took the management of the state into his own hands. Then in the month
269. of Ẕū Qa'dah of the aforesaid[6] year Iqbāl K̲h̲ān wrested Pānipath by force from the followers of Tātār K̲h̲ān, and seized all his baggage and his elephants and army Tātār K̲h̲ān previously to this expedition of Iqbāl K̲h̲ān, had left Pānipath with the intention of attempting to reduce Dihli but found himself quite unequal to the task, and throwing his country[7] to the winds left Dihli and went to Gujrāt with a large following to join his father.[8] Iqbāl K̲h̲ān coming to Dihli bestowed upon Malik Naṣiru-l-Mulk, a relation of Tātār K̲h̲ān who had joined him, the title of 'Ādil K̲h̲ān, and placed under his control the district of the Doāb

And in the month of Ṣafar of the year 801 H. (1398 A.D.) Amīr

[1] MS (A) reads جهان پناه but Firishta reads جهان نما as in the text.

[2] MS (A) آمده و. [3] MS (A) تماصي. [4] MS. (A) روز.

[5] Firishta says "from motives of worldly wisdom broke his faith."

[6] MS. (A) سدهٔ مذکور.

[7] اولكه Aulaka or اولكا aulakā A Turkī word signifying "province, ville. pays, fief" according to M. Pavet de Courteille

[8] His father Ẕafar K̲h̲ān (Firishta).

Timūr the Great attacked the town of Tulumba,[1] and taking Multān, put to the sword[2] the whole of the prisoners of the army of Sārang Khān whom Mirzā Pīr Muḥammad had kept in confinement; proceeding thence by continuous marches he also took the fort of Bhaṭ,[3] and having taken prisoner Rāī Jaljīn[4] Bhaṭī put him to death together with the garrison and inhabitants of the fort.

Leaving there[5] and taking Sāmāna, he put to death crowds of fugitives from Dīpālpūr and Ajūdhan and Sarsuti,[6] who were helplessly fleeing in all directions in terror of their lives, and taking large numbers of them prisoners he took them along with him, and covering great distances he crossed the river Jamna, and entered the Doāb,[7] and sweeping the greater part of the country

1 Text تلبنه MS. (A) طلبيه Firishta تلبهنه. Tulumba (*see* Hunter *Imp Gaz.*, XIII. 163) is shewn in Rennell's map at the junction of the Jhelam and the Chenāb, Langana being at the junction of the Chināb and Rávi: (Tieff. III.).

Firishta says. "Arrived at a place where the river of Jamū and the Chenāb meet where there was a strong fortress called Talanbha." Briggs says "to the conflux of the Chunab with the Ravy."

From Ṭulumba Firishta tells us Timūr marched to Shāhnawāz where they took all the grain they required and burned the remainder. From thence he went to Ajūdhan and Bhatnīr. Shāhnawāz is shewn in Rennell's map on the Eastern bank of the Rāvī, Long 72° E. Lat 30 5. N. Ajūdhan is Pāk Pattan, and is about 80 miles S.-W. of Shāhnawāz Here is the tomb of Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganji Shakkar which was visited by Timūr. From Ajūdhan to Bhatnīr is about 90 miles. Firishta says from Khāliṣkol to Bhatnīr is fifty *Kroh*. *See* Elliott III. 415 *et seqq*, for the description of this campaign translated from the *Malfuẓāt-i-Timūrī*. Timūr calls Khāluṣ kol, Khāliṣ Kotalī, and says it is ten *kos* from Ajūdhan and fifty from Bhatnīr.

2 MS. (A) گذرانيده.

3 MS. (A) بهت پور. *Bhatpur* This should be بهت نير Bhatnīr, see *note* 1 above. Firishta says that Timūr's force accomplished the distance between Ajūdhan (Khāliṣ kol) and Bhatnīr in one day This is a long march but as they were cavalry it is perhaps possible.

4 The Bombay text of Firishta has راو خلجي Rao Khiljī, *see* also Briggs Firishta p. 488 *footnote*. Both MSS. agree with the text in giving Rāī Jaljīn as the name of the governor of the fort. The *Malfūẓāt-i-Timūrī* calls him Rāo Dūl Chain, see Elliott III. 422-423.

5 On the 3rd of Rabī'u-l-Awwal.

6 5th of Rabī'u-l-Awwal, *see* Elliott III 426-428.

7 MS. (A) عبرة كردة ميان دوآب در آمده.

with the bitter whirlwind of rapine and pillage, camped on the banks of the river Jamna opposite the town of Lūnī[1] not far from Dihlī;[2] and at this camp he put to the sword about fifty thousand prisoners who had fallen[3] into the hands of his soldiery before reaching the river Ganges; and some of the ecclesiastical dignitaries of his army also, who had not the slightest acquaintance with the sword, taking all these Hindustānī Muslims for Hindūs, in their desire for the reward of holy war[4] sent many of them with their own hands into the next world

270. Then in the month of Jamaidu-l-Awwal 801 H. the great Tīmūr crossed the Jamna and encamped at Fīrūzābād[5] and the next day encamped above the Hauz-i-Khāṣṣ. Iqbāl Khān having got ready a force of men and elephants, came out against him and engaged his troops, but was defeated in the first engagement, and in spite of all their efforts they were not able to withdraw even a portion of the elephants into the city,[6] so complete was the rout. And in this defeat[7] many were killed, and when the glittering soldiers of the army of the night had routed the troops of the day, Iqbāl Khān and Sultān Maḥmūd leaving their families and friends

1 Lūnī, seven miles N. N.-W. of Dihlī Tieff I 136 *Louni* ville autre fois peuplée et munie d'un fort Tīmūr arrived there on the 27th Rabī'u-l-Awwal. Lūnī was situated on a Doāb between the Jamna and the Halīn.

2 MS. (A) نزديكي.   3 MS (A) اوفتاده بود.

4 The reward of the غازي "Ghāzī" or one who fights in the cause of Islām is thus defined "God is sponsor for him who goes forth to fight in the road of God, for his satisfaction and for that of his Prophet." He shall if he be not killed, return to his home with plunder and rewards. And if he die, his reward is Paradise (*Mishkāt*, XVII, 1).

The جهاد *jihād* or holy war is a duty enjoined in several passages in the Qur'ān and the Traditions, and its rewards are those of Paradise (*See* Hughes Dict of Islām, Art. *Jihād*).

5 Firishta states that he dug a deep trench and fastened a number of cows and buffaloes together with raw hide, stationing sharpshooters behind them, and when Iqbāl Khān came out against him with his troops and 120 elephants defeated him with great slaughter and advanced to the Hauz-i-Khāṣṣ, and *see* Elliott, III, 438, *et seqq*

The date given by Badāonī is apparently wrong, as the *Malfūẓāt-i-Tīmūrī* says that Tīmūr crossed the Jamna on the 5th Rabī'u-l-Ākhir. *See* Elliott, III 448 and *note* 1.

6 MS (A) omits دروں and writes بشهر.

7 Not in MS. (A) which reads وخلقي عظيم

in the bonds of shame and disgrace, took flight.[1] Sulṭān Maḥmūd fled straight to Gujrāt, and Iqbāl Khān crossing the Jamna escaped to the town of Baran. On the following day the Great Tīmūr gave quarter to the inhabitants of Dihlī, receiving from them much valuable property and many presents as the price of quarter. In the meantime however, the people of the city killed some of the soldiers, accordingly on the fourth day he ordered all the inhabitants to be made prisoners,[2] and took them all off towards Transoxiāna; eventually Shaikh Aḥmad Kathū[3] whose tomb is well known at Sar Khez[4] in Gujarāt near to Āḥmadābād, went along with the army and had an interview with the Great Tīmūr, and made apparent to him his condition as a Darvesh, and his surpassing knowledge, moreover he argued with and confuted over and over again[5] the learned doctors who were with the

1 On the 7th Rabī'u-l-Ākhir.

2 Firishta حکم بغارت واسر اهل دهلي فرمود. *See* Elliott, III 447.

3 MS (A) کتو.

Shaikh Aḥmad Khaṭṭu was born at Dihlī A H. 737 (A.D. 1336) of a noble family of that city. His name was Naṣīru-d-Dīn. He was a disciple of Bābā Isḥāq Maghribī, and came to Gujarāt in the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmad Gujarātī (A D 1411–13) He was buried in Sarkhech near Aḥmadābād, (*Āīn-i Akbarī* [Jarrett], III 371)

Shaikh Aḥmad Khaṭṭu surnamed Ganjbakhsh was surnamed from Khaṭṭu a village near Nāgor, the residence of his spiritual guide Bābā Isḥāq Maghribī. After his return from a pilgrimage to the holy places he came back to Gujarāt and settled first at Sarkhej and afterwards at Aḥmadābād, in the building of which he was associated with Sulṭān Aḥmad, A.H. 813-20.

He died at Sarkhej in 849 A H., aged 111 years, and his mausoleum with the buildings attached are said to have been begun by Muḥammad Shāh I, the son of Aḥmad Shāh, and to have been completed by his son and successor Quṭbu-d-Dīn Shāh. *See* Bayley, *History of Gujarāt*, pp. 90-91, *notes*.

4 The text reads سرکهیج احمد اباد *vide* Āīn-i-Akbarī (Blochmann), Text, II 220.

The text of Badāonī reads سرخیز MS (A) reads سرکنج.

Tieffenthaler, I. 377 speaks of it as follows —"A trois milles de *Guzarate* se trouve *Sarkés*, village où est le mausolée construit à grands frais par *Gaus Ahmad* Roi du Guzarate" again at page 375 we find "*Gaus Ahmad*, dont le magnifique tombeau porté par des arcades voutées, a rendu fameux le village de Sarkés, distant de 3 milles de la ville."

Sarkhej was three miles South-East from Asāwal in the vicinity of which Ahmadābād was built by Sulṭān Ahmad, 820 A.H. (1417 A.D.).

5 MS (A) بحثهای الزامي کردة

Transoxiāna force, and begged for the prisoners' lives. The Great Tīmūr conceived such a strong liking for him that he acceded[1] to his request and liberated all the prisoners.

This signal service of the Shaikh remained ever as a debt upon the people of Hindustān; and a full detail of this circumstance is given at length in the *Maqāmāt* of the Shaikh. A few days after
271 this victory Khizr Khān and Bahādur Nāhir Mīwātī,[2] who had taken alarm and fled to the hill country of Mīwāt, came in and paid their respects to the Great Tīmūr;[3] orders were issued to make all of their party prisoners, with the exception of Khizr Khān, who had apparently done some former good service which saved him. After this he raised the banner of return and seized the country at the foot of the Siwālik hills,[4] and greatly shook that hill country as it were with an earthquake, ere he reached Lāhor.

For the date of this victory they assigned the two words رخا (*Rakhā*, affluence, prosperity) and خار (*Khār*,[5] a thorn); and Shaikhā Khūkhar[6] also, who had formerly served the Amīr and had taken Lāhor by fraud from Sārang Khān, fell into his hands. He accordingly imprisoned him together with his wife and family, and gave orders to sack Lāhor and take the inhabitants prisoners. Then having made over Dīpālpūr and Multān to Khizr Khān he

1 MS. (A) قبول فرموده.

2 On Friday the 24th of Rabī'u-l-Ākhir according to the Malfūẓāt-i-Tīmūrī, which gives a different account of the treatment accorded to them.

3 Badāonī omits to mention the capture of Mīrat (29th Rabī'u-l-Ākhir) and the victories on the Ganges (Jumādīu-l-Awwal 1st to 15th).

4 According to the account in the *Malfūẓāt-i-Tīmūrī* this was in response to an embassy sent to Bahādur Nāhir by Tīmūr at Kūtila.

5 Both of these words give the date. رخا $=200+600+1=801$

خار $=600+1+200=801$.

6 Tīmūr captured seven forts in the Siwālik hills, fighting twenty battles in thirty-two days with invariable success. The eighth fort belonged to Shaikhā Khukhar and was taken about the 15th of Jamādīu-l-Awwal (Elliott III. 467). Malik Shaikhā Khūkhar was brother of Nuṣrat Khūkhar who was formerly governor of Lāhor on behalf of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Dihlī. He was taken prisoner by Prince Pīr Muḥammad and Rustam and Amīr Jahān Shāh, who had been sent by Tīmūr with an army to Lāhor for that purpose and to levy a ransom from the city of Lāhor. The *Malfūẓāt-i-Tīmūrī* states that Tīmūr proceeded straight to Jammū whence his route was by Jabbān, Sambast, Barūja to Attock where he crossed the Indus. This was during the days between the 24th of Jumādīu-l-Ākher and the 3rd of Rajab. *See* Elliott III 474-477, *see* also *Zafar Nāma* of Yazdi, Elliott III. 520-52.

said to him [1] 'I have taken Dihlī and have made a present of it to you.' Leaving Lāhor he proceeded by uninterrupted marches by way of Kābul to his capital Samarqand while Khiẓr Khān went to his own territory (*jāgīr*).

At this time such a famine and pestilence fell upon Dihlī that the city was utterly ruined, and those of the inhabitants who were left died, while for two whole months not a bird moved a wing in Dihlī. In this interval Sultān Nuṣrat Shāh, who after his defeat by Iqbāl Khān had gone into the Doāb, seeing that he had an open field, went first to Mīrath and, thence to Fīrūzābād, and fortified the city of Dihlī 'Ādil Khān and the other folk who had escaped from the hands of the Mughuls, coming out of the various holes and corners where they had been hiding, gathered round him; when he had got together this company he nominated Shihāb Khān to proceed to Baran against Iqbāl Khān. Whilst he was on the way, a body of Hindūs attacked Shihāb Khān suddenly by night, and raised him to the dignity of martyrdom. Iqbāl Khān with great energy and promptitude obtained possession of his elephants and army, so that from day to day his power increased, while the affairs of Nuṣrat Shāh, became more and more entangled. Iqbāl Khān leaving Baran, started in the direction of Dihlī, and Nuṣrat Shāh leaving Fīrūzābād made for Mīwāt where 272.
he died, and the four quarters of Hindustān came under the dominion of Maliks of the various tribes [2]

Then in the year 802 H. (1399 A.D) Iqbāl Khān marched against Shams Khān Auḥadī [3] the ruler of Baiāna, and the hostile forces met in the vicinity of Nūh and Paṭal, fortune favoured Iqbāl Khān and Shams Khān proceeded to Baiāna. Iqbāl Khān led his army towards Kaithar and exacted contributions of money and services from Rāi Harsingh.[4] And in this same year Khwāja-i-Jahān was received into the mercy of God in Jaunpūr.

1 MS (A) reads here حواله نمودة بروزبان میرفت.

2 Firishta tells us the names of these various independent rulers. *See* Briggs I 498.

3 According to Firishta this was in 803 H.

4 MS. (A) رای هرسنگه Rāi Harsing was Rāi of Itāwa By Kaithar or Katehar is meant Rohilkhand. *See* Thomas *Pathān Kings*, p 325, *note* 2

Quatrain.

How long wilt thou say "Who has drunk the cup of pleasure?"
How long wilt thou say "Who has gained the palm of fortune?"
What avail all these idle tales, for we must depart,
What profit in all these empty stories, since death must come.

And Malik Mubārak Qaranqal,[1] having assumed the title of Mubārak Shāh, took his place.

And in Jamaidu-l-Awwal[2] in the year 803 H. (1400 A.D.) Shams Khān of Baiāna and Mubārak Khān son of Bahādur Nāhir had an interview with Iqbāl Khān, who taking them with him fought a battle near Baitālī on the banks of the Blackwater, which is known as the Kālāpānī, with Rāi Sir[3] the ruler of that district, and overcame him, and pursued the infidels as far as the confines of Itāwa; and on his arrival at Qanauj, Sultānu-sh-Sharq Mubārak Shāh came up from Jaunpūr and sat down over against him on the other bank of the river Ganges, but inasmuch as neither of them could effect a crossing, they each returned[4] to their own
273 country without doing anything. As he returned, Iqbāl Khān treacherously put to death Shams Khān and Mubārak Khān.[5] In this same year Turkbacha Sultānī, the son-in-law of Ghālib Khān of Sāmāna, collected a large army, and on the ninth of Rajab of this year fought a battle with Khiẓr Khān near Ajūdhan, and being defeated went to the town of Bhūhar, where Ghālib Khān in concert with the other Amīrs put him to death.

1 His adopted son Malik Wāṣil.

2 All MSS. write this constantly جميد الاول instead of جمادي الاول

3 Firishta (Bo. text) says.

و چون بقصبهٔ بيتالي كه كدار نهر گنگ است رسيد راى سنير .... بمقابله آمد

Whence he arrived at the township of Baitālī on the banks of the Ganges Rāi Sanīr . came out to oppose him.

Briggs says —"When he reached the village of Puttyaly on the Ganges the Ray of Sernagr opposed him"

The Kālāpani is the Kālī Naddī or Kālinī (see Hunter *Imp. Gazett* VII 327) lying between the Jumna and Ganges. Tīmūr calls it the Karasū (Black water), Elliott, III 472.

4 The text here is wrong, for باز كشند read بازگشتند MS. (A)

5 MS (A) only says Shams Khān but Firishta's account includes Mubārak Khān so that the text is probably correct.

And in the year 804 H. (1401 A.D.) Sulṭān Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Shāh arrived at Dihlī from Dhār, and although Iqbāl Khān went out to receive him, and caused him to alight at the Jahān Numā[1] palace with all expressions of service and manifestations of respect, still, since Iqbāl Khān was in possession of all the paraphernalia of royalty, Sulṭān Maḥmūd became very jealous of him and took him with him towards Qanauj. And in this year Maliku-sh-Sharq Mubārak Shāh died, and his younger brother Sulṭān Ibrāhīm succeeded him, and came out to fight with Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Iqbāl Khān. Sulṭān Maḥmūd before engaging in conflict left the army of Iqbāl Khān under pretence of a hunting expedition, and had an interview with Sulṭān Ibrāhīm who treated him with scant ceremony; Sulṭān Maḥmūd accordingly removed Shāhzāda Fatḥ Khān of Herāt, who was holding Qanauj on behalf of Mubārak Shāh, and took that fortress under his own control. The populace of Qanauj, both people and soldiery, joined Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and Sulṭān Ibrāhīm returned to Jaunpūr, while Iqbāl Khān retraced his steps towards Dihlī, so that Sulṭān Maḥmūd was left in undisputed and contented possession of Qanauj.

And in the year 805 H (1402 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān made an attack upon the country round the fortress of Gwāliār, which Rāi Harsingh[2] had taken by treachery from the Muslims during the invasion of Tīmūr, and wresting it from the possession of Bairām Dev the son of Harsingh,[3] took it into his own control. 274.

And in the year 806 H. (1403 A.D.) Tātār Khān the son of Ẓafar Khān, forgetting his filial duty took his father prisoner by treachery and sent him to Asāwal, assuming to himself the title of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, and set out at the head of a large army with the intention of attempting to reduce Dihlī. While he was on the way his uncle Shams Khān administered poison to him and removed him, then he released Ẓafar Khān and the whole army joined him.

[1] MS (A) reads جهان پناه *Jahānpanāh.* This was the name given to the central portion of the triple citadel of Dihlī connecting old Dihlī with Sīrī. It was situated in the midst of the inhabited city, and had thirteen gates; of the other two, Sīrī had seven gates, and old Dihlī ten gates. *See* Elliott, III 448. The palace was called *Jahān Numā* as in the text.

[2] Firishta calls him نرسنگه *Narsingh*

[3] Both MSS and text read هرسنگه *Harsingh*

Verse.

A parricide is not fitted to be a king,
And even if he is fitted he will not last for more than six months.

And in the year 807 H. (1404 A.D.) Iqbāl Khān marched towards Gwāliār and Itāwa, the Rāis of which districts all took refuge within the fortress of Itāwa, and stood siege for four months; at last they made overtures for peace, sending four elephants and other presents of suitable nature. Iqbāl Khān leaving there came to Qanauj, and fought with Sulṭān Maḥmūd, but was unable to effect his purpose owing to the strength of the fortifications, so returned to Dihlī without accomplishing his object.

And in the Muḥarram of the year 808 H. (1405 A.D.) he marched for Sāmāna, and from thence came to Rūpar,[1] and by stratagem laid hands upon Bahrām Khān Turkbacha, who had been an antagonist of Sārang Khān, and flayed his head Leaving Rūpar he proceeded towards Multān, intending to fight with Khizr Khān, and at Talaundi taking with him Rāi Kamālu-d-Dīn Mubīn and the other *Zamīndārs*, on the nineteenth of the month of Jumādiu-l-Awwal in the abovementioned year, he engaged in battle with Khizr Khān in the neighbourhood of
275. Ajūdhan,[2] on the banks of a tributary (of the Satlaj),[3] and since

[1] In the Umballa district, 43 miles North of Ambāla city, Lat 20° 57′ N. Long 76° 33′ E on the south bank of the Sutlej, (Hunter *Imp Gaz*, XII 82).

[2] Ajūdhan the ancient name of Pākpattan. Lat. 30° 20′ 40″ N. Long 73° 25′ 00″ E It is known as Pākpattan, or Ferry of the Pure, from Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganj Shakkar who is buried there. The saint was called Ganj Shakkar as he was reputed to have the miraculous power of turning into sugar whatever he put into his mouth, even earth and stones. Pilgrims from all parts of India, Afghanistān, and Central Asia flock to this shrine, and during the *Muharram* festival as many as 60,000 persons have been present. During the afternoon and night of the last day the crowds vie with one another in attempting to gain access to a narrow opening in a wall near the shrine known as the "Gate of Paradise." Whoever can force his way through this opening during the prescribed hours is assured of an entrance into Paradise For this reason the crush is excessive and many are injured.

See Hunter *Imp. Gaz* X 532-533, also Cunningham (A. G I) 214–219.

[3] In the text and MSS. we read اجودهن درکنار دهنده *Ajūdhan dar kinār i-dahinda*, which at first sight seems difficult to understand, until the old maps are consulted We see in Rennell's map (A.D. 1782) that Ajūdhan was situated (G. g) upon an island surrounded by the Satlaj to the north, and a

ill-fortune attended Iqbāl Khān,[1] he was defeated in the very first engagement, and his horse being wounded could not bear him off the field, so that the soldiers of Khiẓr Khān pursued him, and cutting off his head sent it to Fatḥpur, one of the dependencies of Multān. And in the month of Jumaidu-l-Ākhir of this year Sulṭān Maḥmūd came from Qanauj at the invitation of the Amīrs of Dihlī, and once more sat upon the throne of Dihlī, and conferred appointments upon the Amīrs, and sent the family of Mubārak Khān to Kol. And in the month of Jumaidu-l-Awwal of the year 809 H. (1406 A.D.) Sulṭān Maḥmūd marched with a force towards Qanauj, and Sulṭān Ibrāhim came out thence and crossed the Ganges, but they both turned back without fighting.[2]

Sulṭān Ibrāhim went towards Jaunpūr, and Sulṭān Maḥmūd towards Dihlī, but seeing that the Amīrs of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's army one after the other left for their own districts as they came to them in the march, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm turned back and besieged Qanauj; Malik Maḥmūd Tarmatī, who was holding Qanauj for Sulṭān Maḥmūd, kept Sulṭān Ibrāhīm engaged in fighting for four months, but when he saw that no reinforcements were arriving from any quarter he was forced to sue for peace, and surrendered Qanauj to Sulṭān Ibrāhīm.[3] Sulṭān Ibrāhīm passed the rainy season at Qanauj, and then having made over that district to Ikhtiyār Khān the grandson of Malik Daulat Yār of Kampila, started to reduce Dihlī.

tributary stream which left the main river to the eastward of Ajūdhan, and flowing south-west joined it again some 35 miles lower down. This explains Badāonī's statement. The town of Ajūdhan is generally said to have stood upon the bank of the Satlaj itself. Cunningham (A G of India 214) says "The ancient town of Ajūdhan is situated on the high bank of the old Satlej 28 miles to the south-west of Depalpur and 10 miles from the present course of the river" (1871 A.D.) But from Badāonī's statement it is clear that Ajūdhan stood, not on the banks of the Satlaj itself, but on a southern loop or tributary stream. It is the modern Pākpattan, see note 2

1 There is a play on the words اقبال *Iqbāl*, good fortune and ادبار *Idbār*, bad fortune.

2 According to Firishta Ibrāhīm Shāh was induced to return to Jaunpūr by the intelligence that Muẓaffar Shāh of Gujrāt had taken prisoner Alp Khān, commonly called Sulṭān Hoshang, and was now marching on Jaunpūr.

3 MS. (A).

The text has the words فتح کرده which seem to be superfluous. They are not in MS. (A).

And in the year 810 H. (1407 A.D.) Nuṣrat Khān Karkandāz,[1] and Tātār Khān the son of Sārang Khān, and Malik Marḥabā the slave of Iqbāl Khān, turned against Sulṭān Maḥmūd and joined Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, and Asad Khān Lodi fortified himself in Sambhal. The following day Sulṭān Ibrāhīm reduced the fortress of Sambhal and gave it to Tātār Khān: then crossing the Ganges he encamped on the banks of the Jamnā near the fort of Kicha in the vicinity of Dihlī, where he learned that Ẓafar Khān had taken the district of Dhār[2] and was making his way to Jaunpūr;[3] accordingly leaving Malik Marḥabā in Baran, he reached Jaunpūr by continuous marches; Sulṭān Maḥmūd pursued him and having killed Malik Marḥabā in battle, and taking Sambhal[4] without a fight, left there Bāsad Khān after his usual custom. Tātār Khān marched to Qanauj and the Sulṭān came to Dihlī. And in this year Khiẓr Khān came with a large force and drove Daulat Khān out of Sāmāna.[5] The Amīrs of that district all sought an interview with him, and the whole country as far as to the outskirts of Dihli fell into his hands; only Rohtak and the Doāb remained in the possession of Sulṭān Maḥmūd

And in the year 811 H. (1408 A D) Sulṭān Maḥmūd proceeding to Ḥissār Fīrūz took it[6] from Qiwām Khān to whom Khiẓr Khān had given it, and having taken possession of it, on arriving at the village of Rata[7] turned back towards Dihlī Khiẓr Khān then

[1] Or probably Gurgandāz "the wolf-slayer" MS (A) reads كنجه. (?) kinja, *which means a huge elephant.*

[2] In Central India. Lat. 23° 36′ N. Long. 75° 4′ E. see Hunter *Imp Gaz* IV. 248.

[3] In Central India, between Lat. 25° 23′ 45″ and 26° 12′ N. Long. 82° 10′ and 83° 7′ 45″ E.

Sulṭān Ibrāhīm built at Jaunpūr the Atala Masjid, using for this purpose the stones of a Hindū temple the votive offering of Jai Chand which he destroyed *See* Hunter *Imp Gaz* VII 152.

[4] In Rohilkund Lat. 28° 35′ 5″ N Long 78° 36′ 45″ E., 23 miles S. W of Moradābād and four miles W. of the Sot River See Rennell's map Tieff. III. where he places it 45 miles N. E. of Bareilly The Sambalaka of Ptolemy. See McCrindle's *Ancient India*, p 133. See also Hunter XII 187.

[5] Tieff I. 133, about 25 miles S. W of Hānsī and 100 miles to the eastward of Dihlī.

[6] MS. (A) reads ان حصار را Firishta call the fortress فیروزه Firuza.

[7] Or رته Rana MS. (A)

came by way of Rohtak with a large army from Fatḥābād to oppose Sulṭān Maḥmūd,[1] and laid siege to Dihlī, but was not able to maintain the siege by reason of the severe famine which prevailed in Dihlī, then having taken possession of the Doāb he returned to Fatḥpūr.[2]

And in the year 812 H. (1409 A.D.)[3] Bairām Khān Turkbacha,[4] who after the death of Bahrām Khān Turkbacha had become master of Sāmāna, and had been defeated in a battle with Daulat Khān, and again revolting against Khiẓr Khān had had a second interview with Daulat Khān, now offered his services to Khiẓr Khān, and received a confirmation of the grant of the districts formerly held by him in fief. And in the year 813 H. (1410 A.D.) Khiẓr Khān besieged the fortress of Rohtak[5] for six months, and after reducing it proceeded to Fatḥpūr.[6] In this year Sulṭān Maḥmūd made an expedition to Kaithar and arrived at the capital Dihlī. 277.

In the year 814 H (1411 A.D.) Khiẓr Khān came to Narnūl[7] and Mīwāt[8] and ravaged that country, and blockading Sulṭān

[1] MS. (A) reads here از فتحا باد برآمده رهتک بجنگ سلطان آمده دهلي را محاصرة کرد

[2] For some inscrutable reason Briggs passes over the events of two years here cf. Firishta, Bo text, p 292, and Briggs, pp 503-504.

[3] The text says 712 H MS (A) gives 812 H.

The editor of the text gives a footnote to say that all three MSS. give 712 H.

[4] MS. (A) inserts به before بیرام خان and omits را after سامانه.

Firishta says that Ikhtiyār Khān joined Khiẓr Khān seeing he was the stronger.

[5] Held according to Firishta by Malik Idrīs on behalf of Maḥmūd Shāh.

[6] By way of Sāmāna (Firishta).

[7] Which was held by Iqlīm Khān and Bahādur Khān (Firishta)

[8] *Miwāt* For an account of this Province see Hunter *Imp Gaz.* Vol. IX. pp. 418 and *seqq.* from which the substance of this note is taken

The Meos, a tribe which gave their name to this province were of obscure origin claiming to be Rājpūts, but probably a combination from various stocks and sources and nearly allied to the Mīnas The original Meos probably became converts to Islam at the time of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn; their customs are a mixture of Hindū and Musalmān observances.

The province of Mīwat lay south of Dihlī and in Mughul times formed part of the Ṣūbah of Agra. Its most famous towns were Narnaul, Ulwur,

Maḥmūd in the fortress of Sīrī, which is part of Dihlī,[1] and Ikhtiyār Khān in Fīrozābād, and fighting several fierce battles, was prevented from maintaining the siege[2] by reason of the dearness of grain, and returned to Fatḥpūr by way of Pānīpath.[3]

And in the year 815 H. (1412 A.D.)[4] Sulṭān Maḥmūd departed from this world, and the kingdom passed from the family of Fīrūz Shāh. The duration of his reign, full as it was of turmoil and vicissitudes, was twenty years[5] and two months, during which Sulṭān Maḥmūd had had only the name of sovereignty.

Verse.

Who is there in this long-enduring world
Who can say " Mine is the kingdom " save the Almighty ?

Verse.

A head which the fates exalt to a lofty position
They later on entangle its neck in a noose.

Tijāra and Rowāri Bahādur Nāhir (who is frequently mentioned in the text) was the founder of the Khanzāda race, long the rulers of Mīwāt.

The province of Mīwāt included part of the British districts of Muttra, Gurgaon, a considerable portion of Ulwar, and some of Bhartpūr.

See Tieffenthaler. Vol III Map. where the province is marked.

[1] In the *Malfūzat-i-Tīmūri* we read that Tīmūr plundered "all the three cities of Dihlī, by name Sīrī, Jahānpanāh and old Dihlī."

See Elliott, III p 447, also Thomas *Pathān Kings*, p 313, *note* 3

[2] MS. (A) omits قرار.

[3] *Pānīpath.* A town of great antiquity. Lat. 29° 23′ N. Long. 77° 1′ 10″ E. 53 miles N. of Dihlī It was the scene of decisive battles on three occasions in historical times The famous surgeons, father and son, Shaikh Hasan and Shaikh Bīna were natives of Pānīpat, *see* Āīn-i-Akbari (B) I 543, *note* to No 94

See Hunter *Imp. Gaz.* XI. 44

[4] In the month of Ẕū Qa'da (Firishta). Firishta does not state the year though taken in connection with what has gone before he appears to mean 814 H. but *see* n 2 Badāoni however agrees, with the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*. On this point see Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 317, *note*

[5] MS. (A) reads here,

و مدت ملک بان همه تزلزل و انقلاب نوزده سال و دو ماه بود

Firishta has almost the same words but says بیست سال twenty years as in the text So also the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*.

Firishta's statement is not very clear as to the year in which Maḥmūd died, but as he goes on to say that after his death the *Amīrs* gave in their

Save the blood of kings there is nought in this bowl,
Save [1] the dust of lovers there is nought in this desert.

Of the poets of the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd is Qāẓi Ẓahir Dihlavi [2] who has left a Diwān (anthology) full of *qaṣīdahs* in eulogy (of Maḥmūd) of which this is one.

Heir to the mighty monarchy, Sulṭān Maḥmūd,
Who succeeded his father and grandfather in the sovereignty of the world; 278.
He removed Dabarān [3] from the sky to serve as his signet,
While Taurus complained saying I have but this one eye left.[4]
By the first strain of his bow string he has wakened the Lion,
And after that he has stretched him out in sleep with the deep-piercing arrow.
The whole world boasts of full satiation at the board of thy favour,
Save only the lute which complains that its belly is empty.[5]
Oh thou whose world-conquering sword flashes in the darkness of infidelity like to the lightning flashing through the darkness of night,
Although the heaven has made thine enemies intoxicated like the eyes of the beloved idols for some time, still at last it has overthrown them.

allegiance to Daulat Khān Lodī, who struck the coinage, &c., in Muḥarram of 816 H it is tolerably clear that he means Zu-l-Qa'da 815 H. as the date of Maḥmūd's death, and not 814 H as Briggs would have it.

1 Misprint in the text MS. (A) reads بجز

2 Qāẓi Ẓahir Dihlavi I can find no mention of this poet.

3 الدبران The *Hyades* one of the two clusters of stars included within the constellation *Taurus* the other being the *Pleiades*

Ancient astronomers were not agreed as to the number of stars included in the Hyades Thales reckoned two only (α and ε) the two eyes of the Bull. (Smith, Dict. Greek and Rom. Antiq 150 a).

4 The constellation *Taurus* is here spoken of as having lost one of his two eyes by which must be meant the two clusters of stars above mentioned, and not α and ε of Taurus as reckoned by Thales.

5 The رباب *rubāb* or lute, is a stringed instrument like a guitar but having the body shaped like a hollowed gourd somewhat resembling the body of the mandolin.

It is envy of thy generous hand which throws the ocean into tumult, for if it be not so, the ocean is never so disturbed by the winds of heaven.

The following is also by the same author:

Thou art a monarch before whom the heavens bow in adoration,
Thou art a King in whose reign time itself exults.
Qiblah [1] of the nation, and mainstay of kingdoms and religion, Maḥmūd
Whom the assemblies of Sulṭān have chosen as their Imām.[2]
The Qāẓī of the heavens [3] comes out on foot to receive him
279. When the Governor of his unerring judgment sends the summons.
He keeps constant watch [4] lest sedition should make a night assault.
Thy vigilance stands with a drawn sword in its hand while the people sleep (in safety).
In order that thy enemy may not enjoy the sweet breezes of the garden of thy favour
The heavens have afflicted him with fever and headache in addition to catarrh.[5]

1 This line should read as in MS (A).

قبلهٔ خلق و قیام دول و دین محمود

A foot-note to the Calcutta text states that the reading there given is the same in all three MSS. of Badāonī and that probably the word شه has dropped out after the word دین This is a quite unnecessary supposition The reading above given fulfils all requirements. MS (B) corresponds save that for دول it reads ودل an evident copyist's error,

قبلة *Qiblah.* This is the direction in which Muslims are bound to turn during prayer: This is laid down in the Qur'ān, Sura II. "We see thee often turn thy face about in the heavens, but we will surely turn thee to a qiblah thou shalt like Turn then thy face towards the sacred Mosque, wherever ye be turn your faces towards it" (v 139). From the Hijra, Muḥammad at first directed his followers to turn towards the temple at Jerusalem, but in the second year of the Hijra the Ka'bah at Mekka was fixed as the qiblah. *See* Hughes' *Dict of Islam*, s v Qiblah.

2 امام *Imām.* In this passage the word is used in the sense of Khalīfah.

3 قاضی چرخ Qāẓī-i-Charkh The planet Jupiter,

4 MS. (A) reads incorrectly هیدار پاس.

5 This couplet is inevitably ridiculous to English ears: the meaning is that in order to deprive him of the pleasures of the perfumed breezes, he has been afflicted with the anosmia which results from a cold in the head.

The heavens have apportioned every arrow of thine to one of the various families,
It were not possible to allot the arrows [1] in any better way than this.

The following is also his:

My love has gone outside, do thou my life also go outside,
For if thou art not outside with my love, thou wilt be outside the pale of love.
Specially that now, in order to uproot the infidels and rebels, [2]
The royal standards have gone out clothed in good fortune.
Shāh Maḥmūd, he who when he sallied forth against the infidels,
Thou would'st say 'Īsa has come forth to slay Dajjāl [3]
Thy reign has cast sedition into the bondage of annihilation.
I said to the heavens, Beware! this is a prisoner [4] of the Sultān, free him not!

[1] سهام Sihām, called also قداح qidāh, These are the arrows used by the ancient Arabs for gambling in the manner called الميسر Al-maisar (forbidden in the Qur'ān, II 216, v 92, 93) In this game a camel was bought and slaughtered, and divided into twenty-eight portions which were drawn for with ten arrows called الازلام azlām The numbers after the names of the arrows indicate the value of the share drawn, فذ fazz (1), توأم tau'am (2), رقيب raqīb (3), نافس nāfis (4), حلس hils (5), مسبل musbal (6), معلى muallā (7)

The remaining three arrows were blanks and gained no share. Their names were سفيح safīḥ, منيح manīḥ, وغد waghd. The name of each arrow was written upon it and they were all put into a bag called ربابة ribābah, and given into the charge of a trustworthy man known as المجيل al-mujīl or المفيض al mufīz whose duty was to shake the arrows up and draw out one for each in turn. Whoever drew a blank had to pay the cost of the camel, while those who drew a winning arrow received a proportionate share according to the value of the arrow. See *Majma'u-l-Bahrain*, *Maqāmah*, XIII p. 99

[2] The couplets are here given in the order in which they occur in both MSS. (A) (B).

[3] دجال Dajjāl. See page 278 n 4 "A name given in the Hadīs to certain religious impostors who shall appear in the world, a term equivalent to our use of the word Antichrist. Muhammad is related to have said there would be about thirty." Hughes' *Dict of Islām*. 64. *See* also Albirūnī *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, pp 195-196

[4] MS (A) بندی MS. (B) بسته.

This is also his :

The month of Dai[1] has arrived, and the air has in consequence become so cold[2]
That nothing save the icy breeze can move from its place.
The earth is cold and frost bound,[3] the air is even colder than the earth,
In very truth the air is chill with the weariness of age.
In the garden the fire of the tulip and Gulnār have died down,
From the cold the (graceful) trees of the garden have become mere sticks.
The water is hard frozen from the cold, and says with petulance,
I will break if anyone places his foot upon my head.
No single bud comes out from its resting place in the heart of the tree, although it wears upon its cypress-like body a cap and mantle.
The bird has ceased its song when it saw the havoc wrought by autumn,
When a general pillage is going on, lamentation is futile.
Seek not for leaves and seed-bearing fruit in the garden, for to-day
The leaves have been scattered by the wind, the seeds remain hidden beneath the earth
The morning breeze draws every breath like a deep drawn sigh,
Seeing that it has cast to the winds so beauteous a being as the rose.
So far has the rose gone that should you search the East and the West,
You will not find it save in the assembly of the King of the World
Shāh Maḥmūd from the splendour of whose assemblies, there is eternal spring in the month of Dai, and the world is like Paradise.

[1] دی The tenth month of the Persian Shamsi year when the Sun is in Capricorn, corresponding to the commencement of winter.

[2] MS. (A) omits شد.

[3] MS. (A) reads گشت از برف in place of گشت آگین. Text and MS. (B).

He who when he draws up his array, and orders it for battle,
The lines of the enemies at the very sight of him pale with terror.[1]
His heart is the rising place of sacred knowledge,[2] and he has knowledge,
Because[3] he fathoms the secrets of Fate with a glance.
Oh thou who in the rules of Government art an example to vazirs,
The vazirs have issued no order save on the authority of thy judgment.
If it be not the intention of the wind to write a memorial of thy virtues[4]
Why does it scatter the leaves of the rose in the garden, 281.
The sun in comparison with thy (brilliant) judgment looks like Suhā[5]
Although Suhā cannot be seen in the bright light of the Sun.
Thou slayest thine enemies, and Time confesses thy excellence;
Thou art the refuge of the people, and the evil doers take shelter under thy wing.
The cupbearer of thy feast bears a cup of joy in his hand,
The herald of thy fame has the whole world beneath his feet.
The banquet of Truth cannot be spread save in praise of thee
Although the whole feast terminates with the distribution of sweetmeats.
Hail Khusrū! even should I remain excluded from attendance upon thee
I shall not take one moment's rest from praising and eulogising thee
My duty is thy service, since were I to refrain from that
I have no other occupation save singing thy praises

[1] An adequate translation of these lines seems impossible There is a تجنیس لفظي *tajnīs-i-lafẓī* or play upon words here which cannot be preserved in English The words آرد صفرا *ārad Safrā*, have two meanings, 1st, draws up its lines, and 2nd, grows pale, according as صفرا is taken as two words or as one.

[2] MS. (A) and (B) write دل او مشرق عیب است ووقوفی دارد.

[3] MS (A) write گر. Text and MS (B) كه.

[4] MS. (A) reads incorrectly خواهم بنوشت

[5] Suhā is the name of a dim star in Ursa Major. *See* Lane s v. السها

Thou hast led thine army against thy enemies, and I follow thee
Sending early and late the army of benediction to thy assistance.
As long as the nights of the month of Dai are longer than its days,
And until the season of Nauroz comes round unpreceded by winter,
May the garden of thy enjoyment blossom like the season of spring
May the life of thy enemies be shorter than the days of winter

This is another of his compositions.

The scent of the rose has arisen, haste my companion to the rose-garden,
Seek for the old wine, and re-call that old love of thine.
282 The branch of the rose, like the date-palm of 'Īsā, refreshes the soul in the garden
Because the breeze gently shakes it continually like Mariam.[1]
Although the tender branch inclines with the wind, from one side to the other
Yet a stream flows, *Praise be to God*, up to the Ṣirāṭ-i-mustaqīm [2]
The branch is full of leaves, why does the nightingale complain in its song ?
How is it possible that Moses should have patience when he has Khiẓr for companion ? [3]

[1] "So she conceived him and she retired with him into a remote place And the labour pains came upon her at the trunk of a palm-tree and she said, 'O that I had died before this, and been forgotten out of mind!' and he called to her from beneath her, 'Grieve not, for thy Lord has placed a stream beneath thy feet, and shake towards thee the trunk of the palm-tree, it will drop upon thee fresh dates fit to gather, so eat and drink and cheer thine eye.'" Qur'ān Palmer's translation *See* Qur'ān Sura XIX vv. 20–28

[2] *Ṣirāṭ-i-mustaqīm.* The hair-like bridge over the midst of Hell over which the righteous will pass like lightning.

Qur'ān, I 5, Hughes *art* Ṣirāṭ It is also interpreted to mean the religion of Islām Qur'ān, III. 44 *See* also Lane, *s v.*

[3] This refers to the legend told by Muhammadan commentators on certain verses of the Qur'ān, that when Khiẓr had disappeared in search of the water of immortality, Moses was inspired to search for him and was told that he

The wind draws lines across the stream like the scribe as he drives his pen,
The eye of the narcissus points to the sky like the eye of the astronomer as he prepares his tables.
The parrots flaunt in green attire, the ringdove wears white garments,
The crow is devoid of any such honourable vestments, wearing as it does a black blanket.[1]
You would say[2] that the narcissus has produced a transcript of these people (*umam*) who sleep below the dust. Look! it has for each *alif* two *mīms*[3]
The sumbul and narcissus are copies of the locks and eyes of the fair ones;
Of those two, one falls prostrate stricken with blackness, the other comes intoxicated (with love).[4]

would meet him by a rock where two seas met, and where he should lose a fish which he was directed to take with him The companion spoken of is said to have been Joshua, and the servant who guided them (v 64) was no less than Khizr himself, and when Moses asked if he should follow him said, "Verily thou canst never have patience with me How canst thou be patient in what thou comprehendest no knowledge of" Khizr upon being assured by Moses that he would be patient bade him to follow but not to ask about anything he might see They embarked in a ship which Khizr scuttled, whereupon Moses naturally asked the reason and was rebuked Further on they met a boy whom Khizr killed and again roused Moses' impatience; again they found a wall which Khizr prevented from falling without exacting any reward for his services, and again Moses became impatient whereupon Khizr said, "This is the parting between me and thee" and explained to Moses the reason for his action in each case See Qur'ān XVIII 64 and following verses.

1 The couplets are arranged in the order in which they come in the MSS.

2 The text reads گوئي with a foot note variant بيلي MSS. (A) (B) agree with text.

3 نرجس or نرگس *Nargis* The poet's narcissus Narcissus poeticus N O. Amaryllidaceæ This natural order has a single style with three stigmas, and six stamens of which the anthers burst inwards The poet here likens the three divisions of the style to three *alifs* (ا) and the stamens to six *mīms* (م) the anthers forming the head of the letter, and the curved filament its downward stoke. Thus the single *alif* (ا) and two *mīms* (م) form he says the word أمم *umam* the plural of أمة *ummatun* meaning the followers of a prophet, or a people of one religion, hence generically a generation of men as in the saying قد مضت أمم *generations of men have passed away.*

4 سنبل *Sumbul.* Nardostachys Jatamansi N.O. Valerianaceæ See *note* 6.

The rose-bud has blossomed by the blast of the breeze of the garden,
In truth, he who has a resigned heart rejoices even when misfortune befalls him.
You would say that the black spot which has come in the heart of the tulip from the cruelty of autumn
Is a Hindū who has fallen [1] into the flames of hell.
She stands there on one foot lifting upwards two eyes [2]
Beseeching the merciful Lord [3] to grant the King eternal life
283 He in comparison with whose youthful fortune the heaven is as an old man bowed with age, [4]
And for instructing his judgment, abstract Wisdom [5] is as an intelligent child.
When once the power of growth [6] has obtained sufficient intensity from his sharp sword, it splits the fruit-stone, as his sword does the enemy, into two halves beneath the earth.
The star of sovereignty, [7] which has left its orbit to seek thy auspicious presence,
Will find its proper orbit if it becomes stationary at thy court.

page 146 · see also *Asiatic Researches*, Vol II, pp 405 *et seqq* for a paper on this, the Indian Spikenard, from which the following is taken "the *true nard* or Jatāmānsi which, by the way, has other names in the *Amarcōsh*, the smoothest of which are *gatilā* and *lōmasā* both derived from words meaning *hair*." The comparison of the narcissus to the eye is so familiar as to need no reference.

[1] MSS. (A) (B) فرورفتة

[2] The scape of the tulip is here spoken of as bearing two flowers.

[3] MS (A) رب عظيم

[4] I read here پیر نگونست *pīr-i-nigūnast* for پیر نکوست (MSS and text) *pīr-i-nekūst* which has no intelligible meaning Probably the author wrote نگونست *nigūnast*

[5] عقل کل *'aql-i-kull* The first or supreme intelligence, a name given to the Angel Gabriel. In the language of the Ṣūfīs the *'aql-i-kull* (called also *'aql-i-awwal*) appears to answer to the "Logos" of the Alexandrian School. See *Kashshāf-fi-Iṣṭilāḥ-i-l-funūn*, II p 1028

[6] نامية for قوت نامية.

[7] رجوع کوکب *Rujū'-i-kaukab*, called also رجعة *Rija't*, is the motion of a star in opposition to the movement in the normal direction which is known by the term استقامة *Istiqāmat*. *See* Kashshāf, *s. v* رجوع

And in truth after Qāzī Ẓahīr no poet arose in Hindūstān whose poetry repaid the trouble of reading. After the death of Sulṭān Maḥmūd the great Amīrs of Hindūstān as for instance Mubāriz Khān and Malik Idrīs who was the ruler of Rohtak, quarrelled with Khiẓr Khān and were disposed to make common cause with Daulat Khān, Khiẓr Khān accordingly stood fast in Fatḥpūr and made no expeditions to any country.

In Muḥarram of the year 816 H. (1414 A D.) Daulat Khān having gone towards Kaithar on a hunting expedition and having brought the Rāis of that district into his toils, went to Baitālī, and Mahābat Khān the Wālī of Badāon came thither and joined him. And in this year Sulṭān Ibrāhīm besieged Qādir Khān the son of Maḥmūd Khān in Kālpī, and Daulat Khān being very short handed, ignored him, and omitted to send reinforcements to either of these places; and Khiẓr Khān in Ẕū-l-qa'da of this year came to the fortress of Fīrūzābād,[1] the Amīrs of which district came into him, and Malik Idrīs was besieged in Rohtak. Khiẓr Khān marched by that route to Mīwāt and taking with him Jalāl Khān Mīwātī the brother's son of Bahādur Nāhir, conveyed him to Sanbal which place he pillaged, and in Ẕū Hijjah of that same year he encamped before the gates of Dihlī with the intention of taking it; Daulat Khān held out for four months, but at last was compelled by the want of agreement with Malik Lonā and the other supporters of Khiẓr Khān to sue for peace, humbly and earnestly. He had an interview with Khiẓr Khān who threw him into prison, and delivered him to Qiwām Khān who conveyed him to the fortress of Fīrūza and slew him. This happened in the year 816 H. (1414 A.D.) on the seventeenth of Rabī'u-l-Awwal.[2] 284.

Verse

Everyone whom the world favours, she at last[3] spills his blood,
What can be the condition of that child, whose mother is his enemy.

MASNAD-I-'ĀLĪ KHIẒR KHĀN IBN MALIKU-SH-SHARQ[4] IBN MALIK SULEIMĀN,

In the year before mentioned after the conquest of Dilhi, having

1 MS. (A) reads به حصار فیروزه آمد

2 Firishta adds. The duration of his reign was one year and three months.

3 MS. (A) reads عاقبة for آخرش

4 MS (A) The text reads ملک اشرف.

raised the standards of monarchy, became firmly established upon the throne of sovereignty.

This Malik Suleimān had been exalted in his childhood by Malik Naṣīru-l-Mulk Marwān Fīrūz Shāhī to the rank of a son, and had been educated accordingly. In real truth he was a Saiyyidzāda of high family, so that on one occasion Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Saiyyidu-s-Sādāt, the fountain of dignities, Shaikh Jalālu-l-Haqq wau-s-Shara'wau-d-dīn al-Bukhārī *may God sanctify his soul*, came for some important purpose into the house of Malik Marwān Daulat, food was served, and Malik Suleimān brought the ewer and bason to Makhdūm intending to pour water over his august hands. Makhdūm addressing him by the title of Malik Marwān Daulat, said, This lad is a Saiyyid Zāda, and it is derogatory to him to allot him such a menial service. From that
285. day forth, it was known that Malik Suleimān was an undoubted Saiyyid, but besides this, the signs of Saiyyidship, and good qualities and praiseworthy traits became manifestly visible in the character of Masnad-i-'Ālī Saiyyid Khiẓr Khān.

Verse

The Saiyyid was a man in whom were manifested
The virtues of Muḥammad, and the grace of 'Alī the accepted.

The following is an epitome of the career of Malik Marwān Daulat. He was governor of Multān in the time of Fīrūz Shāh, and after the death of Malik Marwān Daulat, the Government of that district devolved upon his son Malik Shaikh, shortly after whose death it was confirmed to Malik Suleimān. He also bade farewell to this world in that reign, and the country of Multān with its dependencies was conferred upon Saiyyid Khiẓr Khān on behalf of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh, up to the date when the aforesaid Saiyyid was advanced to the Sulṭānate by the Amīrs. He however would not assume the title of King; but received the title of Rāyāt-i-A'ala [1]

On the date mentioned he alighted at the palace of Sulṭān Mahmūd, and gained over the hearts of great and small by public *largesse* and unbounded favours, distributing titles, offices, and territories among his personal attendants; in the very first year of his accession he conferred upon Malik Naḥv [2] (Tuḥfa) the title

[1] See Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 329, and *footnote*

[2] MS. (A) تحفه *Tuḥfa*.

of Tāju-l-Mulk, and appointed him with a considerable following to the command of the eastern districts of Hindūstān; he accordingly crossed the river Ganges at the ford of Pīlāhā,[1] and entered the country of Kaithar. Rāi Har Singh and the rebels of that district sought refuge in the forests of that country[2] and lay hid there. Then he gave over Kaithar to rapine and plunder, whereupon Mahābat Khān Ḥakim of Badāon also came in and had an interview with him, and Rāi Har Singh being reduced to extremities submitted to him, agreeing to the conditions imposed of the payment of tribute and of a yearly offering. Tāju-l-Mulk and Mahābat Khān seized the banks of the river Rahab, and on arriving at the ford of Sargdawārī crossed the Ganges, chastised 286.
the infidels of Kahwar (which is now known by the name of Shamsābād)[3] Kanpila and Baitālī, and passing by the towns of Sakīna[4] and Pādham came to Rāparī;[5] and Hasan Khān and Malik Ḥamza his brother, who held the government of Rāparī, and Rāi Sar the governor of Chandawār, together with the infidels of Gwāliār all came and joined hands with him, agreeing to pay tribute, and voluntarily assuming the yoke of obedience. From thence Malik Tāju-l-Mulk came to the township of Jālesar,[6] which he wrested from the grasp of the infidels of Chandawār, and restored as of old to the control of the Muslims who had held it in days of yore, and gave fresh currency to the Muhammadan religion. Then having appointed his own agents and

[1] MS. (A) از گذر پیرانها.

[2] MS (A) در جنگل آنولایت

[3] Shamsābād. Town in Farukhābād district N.-W. P. situated on the South bank of the Burī Gangā river, 18 miles North-West of Fatehgarh town (Hunter, *Gaz. Ind.*, XII, 375).

[4] Sakīna. For this we should perhaps read Sakita (MS. (A) lends countenance to this view).

Sakīt lies in the direct route indicated between Kanpila and Rāparī, 12 miles South-East of Etah town. It was here that Bahlol Lodi died on his return to Dihlī from an expedition against Gwāliār (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*).

[5] Rāparī. Village and ruins 44 miles South-West of Mainpūrī town. Local tradition ascribes the foundation of the ancient city to Rāo Zorāwar Singh, also known as Rāpar Sen (Hunter, *Gaz. Ind.*, XI, 511).

[6] On the Doāb plain, 38 miles East of the Jumna, and of Muttra. (Hunter, *Gaz. Ind.*, VII, 103)

having seized the right bank of the Black water,[1] inflicted condign punishment upon the infidels of Etāwah, and then returned towards the city.

And in the year 818 H. (1415 A.D.) he gave to Saiyyid Khiẓr Khān the younger son[2] of Malik Mubārak, whose countenance betokened royal dignity, the territory of Fīrūzpūr and Sihrind, together with the whole of the districts which were in the possession of Bairam Khān Turkbacha, and subjected the supreme control and administration of that tract of country to his will and pleasure, while Malik Sadhū Nādir,[3] having assumed the control of the western portion of Hindūstān, was appointed to this office with the rank of *Nāib-i-Shāhzāda* (*i.e.*, vicegerent of the Prince).

And in the aforesaid year the Prince here alluded to having, in concert with Malik[4] Sadhū Nādira and Zīrak Khān the Amīr of Sāmāna and other Amīrs and Maliks,[5] set in order the important affairs of that province, and put everything upon a satisfactory footing, returned to Dihlī his capital city.

And in the year 819 H. (1416 A.D.) he appointed Malik Tāju-l-Mulk[6] with a large army to carry the standards of Khiẓr Khān[7] towards Baiāna and Gwālīār; Malik Karīmu-l-Mulk, the brother of Shams Khān Auḥadī came and had an interview with him.
287. Having cleared those regions of the thorns of infidelity he returned; and in this selfsame year some of the Turkbachas of Bairam Khān's party seized by treachery Malik Sadhū Nādira, who was holding the district of Sihrind as the Shahzāda's deputy, raised him to the dignity of martyrdom, and took possession of Sihrind. Khiẓr Khān thereupon sent Zīrak Khān to put down this rebellion, and he accordingly went thence to the foot of the hills in pursuit of those rebels, but after encountering many difficulties he returned.

1 The Kālī Nadī or Kālindī, or Kālinī, rises in the Muzaffarnagar district, and drains the whole eastern portion of the Doāb. The name in the text آب سیاہ *ab-i siyāh* means *Black water*, and is a translation of the Hindūstānī *kālī naddī*

2 MS. (A) reads wrongly پسر حورد for پسر خورد

3 MS. (A). The text reads نادرہ

4 MS. (A).

5 Omit و after ملوک

6 MS. (A) reads تاج الدین *Tāju-d-Dīn*.

7 MS. (A) رایات اعلی خضرخانی

In this year also Sulṭān Aḥmad, who was the ruler of Gujerāt, laid seige to Nāgor,[1] but upon hearing of the march of Khiẓr Khān abandoned the siege and withdrew. Khiẓr Khān came to Chhāin,[2] and Alyās Khān the governor of Chhāin gave in his allegiance to him. Thence he proceeded to Gwāliār, and although he did not reduce that fortress, still he levied tribute and offerings from it, and thence came to Baiāna where Shams Khān Auḥadī gave in his submission. And in the year 820 H. (1417 A.D.) Tūghān the Ra'īs with his band who had been the murderers of Malik Sadhū revolted. Zīrak Khān was again appointed (to chastise them), and scattered that gathering in all directions.

And in the year 821 H. (1418 A.D.) Khiẓr Khān went up against Kaithar, and Har Singh Dev, who has already been mentioned, laid waste the whole of Kaithar, and took to the forest of Ānwla, the circumference of which is twenty-four *krohs*. After several engagements he was defeated, and eventually withdrew to the hill country of Kumāon. Tāju-l-Mulk crossed the river Rahab and pursued him as far as the hills, and from there came to Badāon, and taking with him Mahābat Khān, the governor of Badāon, crossed the Ganges by the crossing of Bajlāna: then having dismissed Mahābat Khān, he himself went on to Itāwa,
whence he returned to Dihlī laden with spoil. In this same year, 288.
also, Khiẓr Khān[3] again led an army against Kaithar, and proceeding by way of Kol arrived at Baitālī, where he crossed the Ganges and came to Badāon. On this occasion Mahābat

[1] *Nāgor* In Brigg's translation of Firishta this appears as Bagore (I. 509). It is Nagaur in Jodhpur State, Rajputānā 48 miles North-West of Nasirābād and 75 North-East of Jodhpūr city.

[2] The text reads جهابن *Jhāban* but MS (A) reads چهاین *Chhāin*

In Brigg's (I 509) we find this place called Jalwur, with a footnote: "I have some doubt as to the true name · it is differently written in my various MSS." In the lithographed edition of Firishta the name is written plainly enough جانور *Jānūr* (Bombay Edn I, 294), and it is said that without waiting for Khizr Khān to advance, Aḥmad withdrew in the direction of Mālwa, and that when Khizr Khān arrived at Jānūr, Alyās Khān who was governor of the new city called 'Arūs-i-Jahān, which was one of the cities built by 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji, came to pay his homage. Evidently, then, the city mentioned in our text and this "'Arūs-i-Jahān" are the same.

[3] MS (A) reads here باز بدهلي آمد و هم در سنة مذکوره باز. which appears to be a copyist's error.

Khān Badāonī being afraid of him, shut himself up in the fortress, and opposed Khiẓr Khān for a space of six months; he was on the point of being defeated, when Qiwām Khān and Ikhtiyār Khān, and certain of the other Maḥmūd Shāhī Amīrs who had seceded from Daulat Khān and had espoused the cause of Khiẓr Khān, meditated treason against Khiẓr Khān: but Khiẓr Khān becoming aware of this state of things[1] abandoned (the siege of) Badāon, and returned to Dihlī. And in the year 822 H. (1419 A.D.) he put those traitor Amīrs to death on the banks of the Ganges, in vengeance for the treachery of which they had been guilty. In the same year also an obscure person on the confines of Bajwāra,[2] falsely gave himself out to be Sārang Khān who had been killed some time before, and upon his assuming this name several adventurers flocked to him. Khiẓr Khān deputed Sultān Shāh Lodī[3] to proceed against him. They fought a fierce battle in the neighbourhood of Sihrind, and Sārang Khān the impostor fled and took to the mountains. Sulṭān Shāh made Rūpar his head quarters.[4] In this same year Khiẓr Khān sent Tāju-l-Mulk to Itāwa. Rāi Sipar was holding out in that fort, but sought for quarter, and consented to pay revenue to Tāju-l-Mulk.[5] Thence he came to Chandwār, and having laid it waste and pillaged it, proceeded by way of Kaithar to Dihlī. In this same year Malik Tāju-d-Dīn died, and the duties of his Vazīrship were entrusted to his elder son Malik Sikandar. Tūghān Ra'īs again raised an insurrection in Sihrind, and Malik Khairu-d-Dīn was appointed to oppose him, and returned after having satisfactorily quelled his rebellion.

1 MS (A) reads قضیة which is preferable to قصه as found in the text.

2 Firishta, (I. 295) says نزدیکِ ماچیوارة near Māchīwāra, and in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* we find it stated that Māchīwārah is situated on the banks of the Sutlej (Jarrett, II 310). In Rennell's Map (Tieff. III) we find Māchīwārah figured between Rūpar and Lūdhiāna. It lies 23 miles south of Lūdhiāna, and is a very ancient city mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Bajwāra is further north near Hoshiārpūr. (See Hunter, *Imp Gaz.*, II. 439)

3 Firishta adds, "called Islām Khān who was the governor of Sarhind."

4 This appears to be the meaning of the text. Firishta tells us that Islām Khān pursued "Sārang Khān" with his own forces and those of certain other Maliks, but returned upon finding that he had hidden himself.

5 MS (A) مال واجبی Firishta calls him Rāi Sanīr.

And in the year 824 H. (1421 A D) Khizr Khān proceeded to Miwāt and took Kotla; thence he hastened to Gwāliār, from the Rāi of which place he levied considerable sums and returned to Itāwa. Rāi Sipar had gone to hell, and [1] his son had tendered his submission. In this interval [2] a severe illness attacked Khizr Khān which led to his return towards Dihlī Having arrived at that city on the seventeenth of Jumādiu-l-Awwal in the above year, he was received into the mercy of God and passed away from the world. 289.

Verse.

Every evening is followed by the morning.
At last there comes an end to every labour.

The duration of his reign was seven years and some months.[3]

SULṬĀN MUBĀRAK SHĀH IBNI KHIẔR KHĀN IBNI MALIK SULĪMĀN,

In accordance with his rights as heir-presumptive ascended the throne with the consent of the Amīrs in the year 824 H. (1421 A.D.)[4] and became firmly settled in the administration of his kingdom. In this year Jasrat Khūkar [5] the son of Shaikhā Khūkar raised a rebellion, the reason of which was that he had taken unawares Sulṭān 'Alī the king of Kashmir, who had started with the intention of conquering Tatta [6] and had defeated him in one of the mountain passes,[7] a vast amount of plunder falling into his hands. Emboldened by this victory, he used the royal treasures which he had obtained to further an attempt to seize the kingdom of Dihlī, and having crossed the rivers Biāh and Sutlej with a

[1] MS. (A) و. [2] MS. (A) و درین اثنا.

[3] Firishta adds, "He was a just and wise king, kind and true to his word, his subjects loved him with a grateful affection so that great and small, master and servant, sat and mourned for him in black raiment till the third day, when they laid aside their mourning garments, and raised his son Mubārak Shāh to the throne"

[4] MS (A) reads correctly اربع for احدی MS. (B) has the same reading as the text.

[5] MSS (A) and (B) omit کهوکهر Firishta writes کهکر Khakar and calls him the brother of Shaikhā Khakar

[6] Thus the text and MS (B) MS (A) reads simply بقصبهٔ تته *Baqasbai Tatta*, i e, for the town of Tatta

[7] MS (A) درون گهاتي كوه شكست داد The text reads گهاتی

large army, and assaulted Talaunḍi which was in the possession of Rāi Kamālu-d-Dīn Mubīn,[1] and Rāi Firūz fled from before him.
290. Jasrat came to Ludhiāna[2] and plundered and pillaged along the banks of the river Sutlej as far as the boundaries of Rūpar;[3] there he crossed the river and came to Jālandhar.[4] Zīrak Khān had taken refuge in the fort of Jālandhar. Jasrat descended the bank of the river Sarsuti whereupon the question of peace arose; Jasrat by some treachery made Zīrak Khān prisoner. Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh moved towards Sihrind, upon hearing which Jasrat Shaikhā[5] released Zīrak Khān who went to Sāmāna and offered his services to Mubārak Shāh who proceeded to Ludhiāna Jasrat having crossed the Ludhiāna river drew up to oppose him, being in possession of the whole of the boats The army of Mubārak Shāh was unable to cross the river, until after the rising of Canopus[6] when the river became fordable. The Sulṭān then crossed the river; Jasrat fled and having

[1] We must read تلوندی کمال الدین This is shown to be the right *reading by the collateral passage* in Firishta which reads (I, p. 207), و تلوندی که برای کمال تعلق داشت غارت کرد "and laid waste Talaundī which belonged to Rāi Kamāl."

[2] The text and both MSS. read کداهنه Kudāhna, but it is evident that we should read لدهیانه Ludhiāna. We find in Firishta (*loc. cit.*). و جسرت بلودیانه آمده. "Jasrat having come to Lūdiāna." Talaundī I cannot identify, but there is a place on the North bank of the Sutlej in Rennell's map, called Tulloom, this with the affixed genitive feminine termination (Punjābi) *di*, would give Tulūmdī or Tulūndī, *i.e.*, the village of Tulūm Tulloom lies about 20 miles S. S.-W. of Ludhiāna (*see* Rennell's map, Tieff, III), on the opposite bank of the river.

[3] Rūpar in Rennell's map is placed North-East of Ludhiāna about 50 miles distant · but on modern maps it is shewn almost due East of Ludhiāna and about 35 miles from it.

[4] A place of considerable antiquity, the original capital of the Rājput kingdom of Katoch. It is described by Hwen Thsang as having been a town of two miles in circuit in the 7th century A D.

It is mentioned by Ptolemy by the name of *Kulindrine* or *Sulindrine*, *see* Cunningham, A. G. I, pp. 135, etc, and Hunter, *Gaz Ind*, VII 91.

[5] MS. (A) omits بن probably correctly as we have seen from Firishta's account.

[6] Firishta tells us they crossed on the 11th Shawwāl (October, 8th A D 1421).

crossed the river Chhināb[1] came to Talhar[2] in the hill tracts. The troops of Mubārak Khān followed him and the greater part of his infantry and cavalry were killed, and all his wealth and treasure was plundered and lost. Rāi Bhīm[3] the chief of Jammoo offered his services to Mubārak Shāh and guided his army.[4] Mubārak Shāh returned thence to Lāhor.

And in the year 825 H. (A.D. 1421) he remained encamped on the bank of the river Rāvī for nearly a month, rebuilt the city of Lāhor which had been laid in ruins during the late invasion, and completely repaired the citadel where it had been breached and levelled;[5] then having left there Malik Maḥmūd Hasan who bore the title of Maliku-sh-Sharq, returned to Dihlī. Five months later Jasrat Khūkar again came against Lāhor with a large army and encamped at the abode of Shaikhu-l-Mashāikh Shaikh Hasan Zinjānī,[6] *may God sanctify him,* and every day for a month made repeated efforts to take the city by assault, but eventually failing to attain his object[7] withdrew to Kalānor[8] and fought a battle with Rāi Bhīm, and when both sides were in the midst of the fight they agreed to make peace. **291.**

Malik Sikander Tuḥfa who had been despatched from Dihlī to reinforce Malik[9] Maḥmūd Hasan crossed the Rāvī by the ford of Pūhī[10] and encamped at Lāhor, and Jasrat feeling that he was not able to cope with the conjoint forces[11] crossed the Chhināb

1 The Chenāb

2 In the Kashmīr hill tracts.

3 Firishta tells us that Rāi Bhīm offered his services and guided the army to Bīsal, the strongest of Jasrat's strongholds. Jasrat fled from there, his men were killed and he lost all his possessions.

4 MS. (A) reads رای سلیم both here and some lines lower down.

5 MS. (A) reads شکستگی و پستگی حصار.

6 Firishta says نزدیک شیخ حسین زنجانی فرود آمد.

7 MS (A) بمقصود خود نرسیده.

8 Seventeen miles west of Gurdāspur town. Lat. 32° 1′ N. Long. 75° 11′ 30″ E. It was here that Akbar in later times received the news of his father's death and ascended the throne (Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, VII. 323).

9 MS. (A) omits ملک and reads از گذر پوهی in the next line.

10 Firishta لوئی Lū'ī. See however note 1 next page.

11 Firishta says that Maḥmūd Hasan was also joined by the forces of Malik Rajab, Governor of Depālpūr and of Islām Khān Lodī, Governor of Sihrind

river and proceeded to the hills of Talwāra,[1] and the army of Mubārak Shāh having put down that rebellion returned to Dihlī.

In the year 826 H. (1422 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh proceeded to Kaithar, and Mahābat Khān of Badāon who had revolted against Khiẓr Khān came in and submitted himself, and was distinguished by special marks of favour. Leaving there[2] he crossed the Ganges and attacked the country of the Panwārs[3] in the neighbourhood of Khor otherwise known as Shamsābād,[4] and having put the majority of them to the sword ravaged the country; then having left Malik Mubāriz and Zīrak Khān and Kamāl Khān with a large force in the fortress of Kanpila to quell the insurrection of the rebels he returned to Dihlī.

And in this year Alp Khān Governor of Dhār[5] came with the object of chastising the Rāi of Gwāliār and with the intention of

and that Jasrat withdrew, crossed the Chhināb and Rāvī, and took refuge in the hills.

[1] This is the reading of the text. Talwāra is possibly the same as Talhar mentioned above. Dr Stein, whom I have consulted, considers that Talwāra in the text refers to the village Talwāra on the right bank of the Chināb just opposite to the town of Riāsī (74° 52′ Long. 33° 6′ Lat.). This is, he says, a common place for crossing the Chināb as the route connecting Ponī with Riāsī and Jammu is shown on the survey map (Atlas of India, Sheet 29), as passing Talwāra. Dr. Stein cannot ascertain whether the hill range rising to the north of Talwāra is designated by that name. Pūhī in the text is probably identical with Ponī. The reading of MS. (A) is در کوتله رفت went to Kotla.

[2] Firishta tells us that Mahābat Khān in obedience to the orders of the Sulṭān crossed the Ganges and invaded the territories of the Rāthor tribe.

[3] The Rāthors are a clan of the Rājputs, and the Panwārs form another of their clans regarding whom Abul-Fazl says "In ancient times the royal dynasty of Hindūstān came from this tribe." Mārwār is mentioned by the same author as the head-quarters of the Rāthor tribe. (See *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett), II. 270 and III. 118).

For a full account of the Panwārs *see* Sherring (*Hindū Tribes and Castes*), II p. 93, see also Elliot, (*Races of N.-W. P. of India*).

[4] On the south bank of the Burī Ganga river, 18 miles North-West of Fatehgarh.

[5] The text reads دهلی Dihlī with a foot-note variant دهار Dhār. MS. (A) reads دهار Dhār. Firishta says, Sulṭān Hoshang Wālī of Mālwa. The town of Ujjain and Dhār have at one period or another supplied a capital fo the legendary Hindu dynasties of Mālwā. (*See* Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, IV. 245, Dhār.)

subduing that region; Mubārak Shāh upon receiving intelligence of this proceeded towards Gwāliār; when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Baiāna, Shams Khān Auḥadī[1] the son of Auḥad Khān Auḥadī, Governor of Baiāna, who had put to death by treacherous means his uncle Mubārak Khān, became alarmed and revolted, and after laying waste Baiāna entrenched himself[2] in the fortress, but eventually submitted

Mubārak Shāh left that place and marched towards Gwāliār, but Alp Khān proceeding along the banks of the Chambal river[3] would not permit the army of Mubārak Shāh to cross: however the soldiers of Mubārak Shāh crossed by another ford, scattered the forces of Alp Khān, and returned triumphant This 292
engagement led to a peaceful settlement, and Alp Khān sent in many presents and returned towards Dhār, while Mubārak Shāh proceeded to Dihlī.

And in the year 827 H. (1423 A.D.) he again ordered an expedition towards the hills of Kumāon and Kaithar, on returning whence he laid waste Mīwāt In this year a severe famine occurred throughout the whole of Hindūstān In the year 829 H. he again proceeded towards Mīwāt and reduced the fortresses of Indor and Alwar.

1 MS (A) The text omits the words Shams Khān Auḥadī Firishta calls him Amīr Khān ibn-i-Dā'ūd Khān ibn-i-Shams Khān (*see* Bombay Edition, p 299 last line), and says that he had entrenched himself on the heights

2 MS (A) reads متحصن گشته. The text reads متحصن شده.

3 Firishta writes of this. And Sulṭān Hoshang seized the fords of the Chhanbal river and opposed his progress, but Mubārak Shāh discovered another ford and crossed rapidly; and certain of the Amīrs of the advance guard of the Dihlī forces pillaged the camp of the Sulṭān of Mālwa and took many prisoners, but inasmuch as these were Muslims Mubārak Shāh set them free

Sulṭān Hoshang sued for peace sending in suitable offerings, and withdrew towards Dhār Mubārak Shāh halted on the banks of the Chhanbal levying taxes on the old scale from the landholders of that district, and eventually arrived at Dihlī in the month of Rajab 827 H.

The Chambal or Chhanbal river is a river of Central India and one of the principal tributaries of the Jamna, it rises in Mālwa; about eight or nine miles south-west of Mhow it is joined by the Kali-Sind, Parbatī and Banas, flows past Dholpūr into Etāwah and joins the Jamna 40 miles below Etāwah town The Charmanwati of Sanskrit writers (*See* Hunter *Imp. Gaz* III 331)

And in the year 830 H he took Baiāna from Muḥammad Khān Auḥadī, and sent the family of Auḥadī to the palace known as Jahān Numā,[1] and assigned it to t m a residence. He then gave Baiāna to Malik Muqbil Khān one of his retainers, and Sikrī to Malik Khairu-d-Dīn Tuḥfa, while he himself led an army against Gwāliār receiving the submission of the Rāis of that district.

And in the year 831 H. (1427 A.D) ambassadors arrived in Dihlī from Qādir Khan, governor of Kālpī, bringing tidings that Sharqī[2] was besieging him. Mubārak Shāh marched to oppose Sharqī; but in the meantime tidings arrived that Sharqī had attacked Bhūngāon[3] and was encamped there, intending to proceed to Badāon.[4] Mubārak Shāh, who had crossed the river Jamna at the ford of Nūh Patal, and had attacked Jartaulī,[5] on arrival at the township of Atraulī[6] received intelligence that Mukhtaṣṣ Khān[7] the brother of Sharqī had arrived on the borders of Itāwa with an army and many elephants; Mubārak Shāh detailed Maliku-sh-Sharq Mahmūd Ḥasan with ten thousand cavalry to oppose Mukhtaṣṣ Khān. Mukhtaṣṣ Khān joined hands with Sharqī who proceeded along the banks of the Black-Water,
293. otherwise known as the Kālinī,[8] and arrived in the vicinity of the township of Burhānābād one of the dependencies of Itāwa. Mubārak Shāh marching from Atraulī encamped at the town of

[1] This palace was in Dihlī. Firishta writes "Sent his family and relations to Dihlī"

[2] Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī.

[3] The text reads بهون گانون *Bhūn gānw* MS. (A) reads بهوکانور *Bhūkānūr*. In Firishta we find افواج شرقیه بهوکانورا تاختند, The troops of Sharqī attacked Bhūgāon Bhongāon is in the Mainpūrī District, 9½ miles east from Mainpūrī at the junction of the Agra and Grand Trunk roads. The town was founded according to tradition, by Rājā Bhim Sen who was cured of leprosy by bathing in the *jhīl* or lake (Hunter, *Imp Gaz* II 403)

[4] Badāon lies N of Bhongāon at a distance of about fifty miles.

[5] Firishta writes, جرتولی را که از مشاهیر بلاد مواس بود تاخت. Attacked Jartaulī, one of the famous cities of Mawās I fail to locate this place but it must have been in the Doāb. I can find no mention of it.

[6] Atraulī, 16 miles from Aligarh town. (Hunter, *Imp Gaz.* I. 180).

[7] Firishta calls him Mukhliṣ Khān

[8] MS (A) The text reads Kālī Pānī This is the Kālinī, the Karā Sū of the *Malfūẓāt i Tīmurī* (see note 3 page 360).

Kota,[1] but Sharqī declined battle and withdrew towards Rāpri, and thence, after crossing the Jamna, proceeded to Baiāna and encamped on the bank of the river of Kaithar. Mubārak Shāh pursued him as far as Chandwār; a space of four *krohs* lay between the two armies so that the outposts of the forces could see each other. They remained thus confronting each other for twenty days; at last Sharqī came out in force, and from mid-day till nightfall hard fighting went on between the two armies, and the event was not decided on that day; on the following day Sharqī turned back towards his own country,[2] and Mubārak Shāh, considering that both sides were Muslims, no longer pursued him, but went towards Satgāna,[3] and having conquered that country followed the bank of the Chanbal river and came down to Baiāna.

Muḥammad Khān Auhadī, who on account of having had an (unsatisfactory) interview with Sharqī had taken fright, and had entrenched himself in the fortress, came and sought protection in an interview with Mubārak Shāh.[4] Mubārak Shāh thereupon retraced his steps to Dihlī.

And in the year 832 H Maliku-sh-Sharq Mahmūd Ḥasan, who had been left in Baiāna by Mubārak Shāh as his Viceroy, and had put the affairs of that place in order, and had also chastised[5] those infidels who had made common cause with Muḥammad Khān and had raised disturbances, came to Court and received substantial favours, and the fortress of Fīroza was confirmed to him. In that same year Malik Rajab Nādira, governor of Multān died, and Malik Maḥmūd Ḥasan received the title of 'Imādu-l-Mulk (Pillar of the State) and proceeded to Multān.

And in the year 833 H (1429 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh went to Gwāliār by way of Baiāna, and having taken the Rāpri district from the son of Ḥasan Khān gave it to Malik Hamza, and returned 294

1 Firishta writes مالی کوته *Mālikota.*

2 Took the road to Jaunpūr (Firishta).

3 Went to Gwāliār by way of Halghāt. (Firishta). MS. (A) ستگانه *Satgāna.*

4 Firishta says "Muhammad Khān Auḥadī ... for the reason that he despaired of any help from Sulṭan Sharqī, asked for quarter and tendered his submission" and was freely pardoned.

5 تنبیه نموده MS (A) تنبیه داده Text

to the city (Dihlī). On the way thither Saiyyid Sālim, who had served Khizr Khān for thirty years, [1] and held the fief of Tabarhinda, died. The title of Saiyyid Khān was conferred upon one of his sons, and that of Shujā'u-l-Mulk upon the other. [2] And Fūlād, a Turkbacha slave, one of the servants of the aforesaid Saiyyid Sālim, raised a rebellion in Tabarhinda and took possession of the enormous wealth which had been amassed by Saiyyid Sālim. Mubārak Shāh imprisoned the sons of Saiyyid Sālim, and appointed Malik Yūsuf Sarūr and Rāi Hansū Bhatī [3] to oppose him (Fūlād). Fūlād Turkbacha made a night attack upon them and scattered their forces, and much valuable booty fell into his hands. Mubārak Shāh led an army against Tabarhinda, and the Turkbacha slave was besieged there. Mubārak Shāh summoned 'Imādu-l-Mulk from Multān, and sent him with a message to the Turkbacha slave, who, after suing for quarter, came out from the fort and had an interview with 'Imādu-l-Mulk, but did not rely upon his assurances, and returned in alarm to the fort and continued to fight Mubārak Shāh permitted 'Imādu-l-Mulk to proceed to Multān and himself returned to Dihlī. The slave (Fūlād) continued to engage in battle at intervals with the troops of Mubārak Shāh during the six months during which he was absent. At last he sent considerable sums of money [4] by way of presents to Shaikh 'Alī Mughul who was the ruler of Kābul. Shaikh 'Alī accordingly came to his assistance from Kābul with a vast army, which was reinforced by a large number of men from the borders of the Panjāb He removed the slave

[1] Firishta writes

گویند سید السادات سید سالم مدت سی سال در حضور خضر خان از زمرهٔ امرای عمده بود -

"They relate that Saiyyidu-s-Sādāt Saiyyid Sālim was for a period of thirty years reckoned by Khizr Khān as one of his best Amīrs"

[2] MS (A) داد Text دادند Firishta also adds that the whole of their father's privileges together with all the immense wealth he had amassed were confirmed to these two sons, but that these favours were not sufficient to secure their fidelity to Mubārak Shāh Badāonī's account does not explain the incident related in the subsequent passage Firishta does, he says that these two sons of Saiyyid Sālim sent Fūlād to Tabarhinda and incited him to raise a rebellion.

[3] Firishta's text reads Malik Yūsuf and Rāi Hahūlī. (?)

[4] مبلغهای نمایان MS (A) The text reads مبلغها بوجه.

'ūlād) together with all his family and relations from Tabar-
nda and taking them with himself returned, and having crossed
e river Bīāh came to Lāhor. Maliku-sh-Sharq Malik Sikander,
vernor of Lāhor, who used to pay a yearly tribute to Shaikh
lī, discharged his obligation and induced him to turn his
tentions elsewhere. Accordingly Shaikh 'Alī passing by Lāhor
thout sacking it[1] made towards Depālpūr, and 'Imādu-l-Mulk
me out from Multān to oppose him Shaikh 'Alī taking the 295.
nk of the river Rāvi, proceeded to within a short distance of
ılumba,[2] and turning aside from thence came to Khūṭpūr.[3]
mādu-l-Mulk) fought with Shaikh 'Alī but was defeated, and
alik Sulaiman Shāh Lodī, who was with the advance guard
the army of 'Imādu-l-Mulk, fell in this battle;[4] [and Shaikh
lī came to Khusrūābād and for a long time daily engagements
ere fought between him and 'Imādu-l-Mulk][5]
And in the year 834 H. (1430 A D) Mubārak Shāh sent a vast
my to the assistance of 'Imādu-l-Mulk, and appointed Fatḥ
ḥān ibn-i-Sultān Muzaffar Khān of Gujrāt to the command of
at force Shaikh 'Alī was not able to stand against them,[6] so
anged front, and retired under cover of night into an entrench-
ent which he had thrown up around his position, when they
rrounded his entrenchment he retreated towards Jhīlam, and
ving crossed the river there lost the greater part of his men by
owning, some were killed and some taken prisoners.[7] Shaikh
lī and Amīr Muzaffar proceeded with a certain number of men
the town of Shīwar;[8] all their baggage and property having

[1] This appears to be the meaning of the Persian.

[2] Tulumba is on the left bank of the Rāvī 52 miles N E of Multān. The
l fort was situated a mile to the south of the present town. It has been
entified with a town of the Malli conquered by Alexander the Great during
s campaign in the Panjāb, and also as the place where he crossed the Rāvī.
ee Hunter *Imp Gaz.* XIII 163, *also* Cunningham *Anc Geog of India*, 224)

[3] Firishta says خطیبپور *Khatībpūr.* The text reads somewhat obscurely
re I have supplied the words in brackets to restore the sense in English.

[4] Which took place according to Firishta at Khyrābād three stages from
ultān.

[5] The words within brackets are not in MS (A).

[6] MS. (A) نیاورده Text نتوانست آورد.

[7] MS. (A) شدند Text کشتند.

been taken, the army of 'Imādu-l-Mulk pursued them up to that point. Amir Muzaffar remained entrenched within the fortress while Shaikh 'Ali set his face to go to Kābul. The victorious army abandoned the siege and returned to Dihlī. Multān was taken away from 'Imādu-l-Mulk and given to Malik Khairu-d-Dīn Khān which led to great disturbances on the borders of Multān.

And in the year 835 H (1431 A D) Malik Sikander,[1] governor of Lāhor, set out to quell the rebellion which Jasrat Khūkhar had stirred up at the foot of the hills Jasrat took him[2] unawares and engaged him in battle, Sikander falling into the hands of
296 Jasrat Khūkhar was taken prisoner near Jālandhar. Jasrat took his prisoner to Lāhor and besieged the city, and Saiyyid Najmu-d-Dīn the regent of Sikander, and Malik Khushkhabr[3] the slave of Sikander, fought several battles with him In the meantime Shaikh 'Alī collected an army and again came on to the borders of Multān,[4] and assaulted Khūtpūr,[5] taking prisoners the greater portion of the inhabitants of Jhīlam and its vicinity, and seized Tulumba, pillaging and despoiling all the inhabitants and making them prisoners, most of them he put to death, and took the rest of them, great and small, to his own country.

In the meantime Fūlād Turkbacha, who has been mentioned above, left Tabarhinda and invaded the territory of Rāi Fīroz[6] who engaged him in battle and was slain, Fūlād sending his head to Tabarhinda

In this year also the Sultān again led an army towards Lāhor and Multān, when he arrived in the vicinity of Sāmāna, Jasrat withdrew from in front of Lāhor towards the foot of the hills, and Shaikh 'Alī also retired to his own country. Lāhor and Jālandhar were taken from Shamsu-l-Mulk and given to Nusrat Khān Gurgandāz, and Mubārak Shāh gave orders for the family and relations of Shamsu-l-Mulk to be removed[7] from Lāhor to Dihli, whither he himself returned.

1 MSS The text reads wrongly بملک
2 MS (A) omits اورا
3 MS (A) reads خوشنجر Khushhanjar (?)
4 At the instigation of Jasrat Khūkhar, according to Firishta
5 See note 3 page 389 MS (A) omits را
6 MS (A) reads تاختند و instead of تاخت و as in the text.
7 Text برند MS (A) برد

And in the year 836 H. (1433 A.D.) Mubārak Shāh once more hastened to Sāmāna [1] to put down the rebellion of Jasrat; when he arrived at Pānīpath he received intelligence of the death of his mother, who was called Makhdūma-i-Jahān (Mistress of the world), and turned back with a small retinue [2] to Dihlī, and having remained there ten days to perform his mourning for her, again joined his army, and detailed Yūsuf Surūru-l-Mulk to proceed to Tabarhinda to put down the insurrection of Fūlād. Mubārak Shāh after taking Lāhor and Jālandhar from Nuṣrat Khān gave them to Malik Allahdād Kālū Lodī When [3] he arrived near Jālandhar, Jasrat, having crossed the river Biāh, had engaged Allahdād Kālū [4] at Bajwāra,[5] and had defeated him. 297.
Malik Allahdād had fled to the hill-country.

In this year the Sulṭān brought an army into Mīwāt against Jalāl Khān, and from thence despatching a force to operate towards Gwāliār and Itāwa, returned (to Dihlī). In this same year Shaikh 'Alī coming down into the Panjāb again caused disturbances there. Mubārak Shāh accordingly nominated 'Imādu-l-mulk to reinforce the Amīrs of that district Shaikh 'Alī invaded the country from Shiwar to the banks of the Biāh, and taking great numbers prisoners and plundering, went to Lāhor. Zīrak Khān and the other Amīrs [6] who were in Lāhor fortified themselves there, and fought repeated engagements with him, till, one night, the inhabitants of Lāhor were careless about their guards and sentries, and Malik Yūsuf Surūru-l-Mulk and Malik Isma'īl under cover of night succeeded in joining Zīrak Khān, then sallying from the fort,[7] gave battle and were defeated. Shaikh 'Alī pursued them, some of the fugitives were put to death, and some were taken prisoners. The following day Shaikh 'Alī took Lāhor and put to death great and small, [8] and taking many prisoners

[1] MS. (A) بجوانب سامانه.

[2] جریده. Firishta says تنها he returned alone.

[3] Omit و MS. (A).

[4] MS. (A) omits کالو *Kālū*. [5] Bajwāra A village 1½ miles E. of Hoshiārpur about 25 miles N. E. of Jālandhar.

[6] MS. (A) دیگر امرای که

[7] MS. (A) supplies the words از حصار

[8] M.S. (A) reads خاص و عوام the textual reading is probably incorrect, read خاص و عام.

remained there. And after some days, he came to Debālpūr, which Malik Yūsuf Surūru-l-Mulk was intending to abandon. Malik 'Imādu-l-Mulk [1] on hearing of this despatched his brother Malik Aḥmad from Tabarhinda to the fort of Debālpūr with orders to hold it. Shaikh 'Alī becoming aware of this returned from that direction: Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh proceeded as far as Sāmāna in order to quell these disturbances.[2] From Sāmāna he proceeded to Talaundi and thence to the ford of Pūhī, where he crossed the the Biāh and came to Debālpūr. Thence he marched along the banks [3] of the Rāvī, and Shaikh 'Alī crossed the Jhīlam and fled,[4] Mubārak Shāh pursued him as far as the fortress of Shīwar and crossed the Rāvī near Ṭulumba.[5] Amīr Muẓaffar
298. Khān, brother's son to Shaikh 'Alī, who was holding the fort with Shaikh 'Alī's troops, fought against the king for a month, and at last sued for quarter, and gave his daughter together with a large amount of money and valuables to the prince. A part of Shaikh 'Alī's forces who were besieged in Lāhor sought quarter from Shamsu-l-Mulk and evacuated the fort As soon as Mubārak Shāh had completed the affair of Shīwar and the conquest of Lāhor, he proceeded with a small retinue to visit the holy shrines of the Shaikhs at Multān, and returning almost immediately came to Debālpūr and remained there for some days Having regard to Shaikh 'Alī (as a source of danger), he gave the districts of Lāhor and Debālpūr to Maliku-sh-Sharq 'Imādu-l-Mulk, and taking away the districts of Bayāna from 'Imādu-l-Mulk he gave them to Shamsu-d-dīn. Marching thence in light order by forced marches, he reached Dihlī on the day of the 'Īd-i-Qurbān [6] and

[1] MS. (A) omits ملک

[2] MS. (A) omits وفساد and writes با سامانه for تا سامانه.

[3] MS. (A) reads incorrectly کتاب for کنار.

[4] The text and both MSS (A), (B) read گذشته و رفت. The و is to be omitted.

[5] Besieging the fort Shīwar (Firishta)

[6] The festival of Sacrifice This is the festival held on the 10th day of Zū-l-ḥijjah It is known also as the '*Īdu-l-aẓḥā*, see Qur'ān xxii 33—36. It commemorates the intention of Ibrahīm to sacrifice his son Ismā'īl in obedience to the command of God It is the chief of the Muḥammadan festivals and is called '*Īdu-l kabīr*, the great festival, to distinguish it from the '*Īdu-l-Fiṭr* which is known as '*Īdu-ṣ-ṣaghīr* which ushers in the month of Shawwāl and celebrates the termination of the fast of Ramaẓān (*See* Hughes *Dict of Islām*).

conferred the office of *vazīr* upon Sarwaru-l-Mulk and gave to Malik Kamālu-l-Mulk,[1] who was the Military Secretary (Nāib-i-Lashkar), charge of the civil administration in conjunction with Sarwaru-l-Mulk.

There was a hypocritical bond of fellowship between these two,[2] inasmuch as Sarwaru-l-Mulk had a grievous thorn rankling in his breast on account of the deprivation of Debālpūr, and bore a grudge against Mubārak Shāh: so that at such a juncture, seeing that he had less than ever to hope from him, he entered on a course of secret treachery and deceit. He entered into a conspiracy with the sons of Kāngū Khatri and Kajwi Khatri and Mirān Ṣadr Nāib-i-'Arz, (who for generations had been *protégés* of the Mubārak Shāhi family, and held several high offices) and also with another party of Muslim vagabonds, to seek an opportunity of destroying Mubārak Shāh.[3]

And in the year 837 H. (1433 A.D.)[4] Mubārak Shāh built a city on the banks of the river Jamna,[5] and gave it the name of Mubārakābād (City of Prosperity), though in reality it should have been called Kharābābād (City of Ruin), and was so zealous in building it that he spared no pains in its superintendence. In 299.
the meanwhile news of the capture of the fortress of Tabarhinda reached the court, accompanied by the head of the slave Fūlād Turkbacha.[6] Mubārak Shāh could not contain himself for joy at this intelligence, and proceeded by forced marches to Tabarhinda[7] and returned thence speedily to Mubārakābād. In this year tidings arrived that hostilities were going on between Sulṭān Ibrahīm Sharqi and Alp Khān, governor of Kālpī, who had re-

[1] Firishta says كمال الدين *Kamālu-d-dīn.*

[2] MS. (A) omits اين.

[3] Firishta names as the accomplices Sidāran, son of Kāngū Khatrī and Sadpāl, grandson of Kanjūi Khatrī, with Mīrān Sadr Nāib-i-'arz-i-Mamālik, Qāẓī 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣadr Hājib-i-Khāṣṣ and others (Firishta. *Bombay text*, I, p. 308).

[4] MS. (A) چورن.

[5] Briggs in his translation of Firishta (Vol. I, p. 529) assigns 839 H. as the date of the building of this city, but a reference to the original shews that the historian gives 837 H. as the date.

[6] The text reads here بافولاد غلام but a footnote gives a variant مرفولاد and this reading is confirmed by MS (A) and also by Firishta.

[7] Firishta says he returned direct to Mubārakābād.

ceived the title of Hoshang.[1] Mubārak Shāh accordingly sent commands in all directions for forces to be collected and held in readiness to march towards Kālpī, and that they should assemble at the Court. At this juncture Mubārak Shāh persisted in his invariable custom of visiting the site of the new city in season and out of season. One day when he had ridden out there with a body of attendants without ceremony, and was preparing to say the Friday prayers,[2] the infidels under Mirān Ṣadr, who had continually lain in wait for him at the instigation of Sarwaru-l-Mulk, seeking an opportunity (to slay him),[3] with one accord entered the private apartment of Mubārak Shāh on some pretext or another, and Sidh Pāl,[4] the grandson of the scoundrel Kajwī Khatrī, put that auspicious monarch to a martyr's death. This event took place in the year 837 H The days of his reign were thirteen years three months and sixteen days.

Verse.

Wonder not at the vicissitudes of time, for the heavens
Retain a recollection of thousands of such stories as this.
Set not your affections upon that which passeth away, for the river Dajla[5]
Will continue to pass by Baghdād, while many Khalifahs come and go.

[1] Firishta throughout calls him Hoshang.

[2] On the 9th Rajab 837 (Firishta Bombay text i 303)

[3] MS. (A) omits وقت.

[4] The text is followed here as it agrees closely with the account given by Firishta. MS. (A) reads در محل پادشاهي در آمده سده مال......ساختند

[5] دجله *Dajla* or *Dagla*, as it may also be pronounced, is the Hiddekel of the Bible (Gen. ii. 14; Dan x. 4) חִדֶּקֶל lit., *the swift*. The old Persian form is Tigrā, "swift as an arrow," whence is derived Tigris, the modern name of this river. According to Pliny (VI 27), the river in the upper part of its course where it flowed gently was called Diglito, and lower down, where it is more rapid, on account of its velocity it is called Tigris, for the Medes call an arrow by this name. According to Gesenius, in modern Persian both the river Tigris and an arrow have the common name تير *tir*, which in the Zend becomes *Tedjer*. See Gesenius *Thes*. also Smith *Dict. G. R. Geog.*

"The Tigris is navigable for light steamers up to Baghdād, but owing to the rapidity of the current, the traffic is all down stream carried on mainly by a primitive style of craft, which is broken up at Baghdād and transported by camels back to Mosul."

Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh ibn i Farīd Khān,

The brother's son of Mubārak Shāh ibn i Khiẓr Khān, whom 300
Mubārak Shāh had adopted as his own son, ascended the throne in succession to Mubārak Shāh in the year [1] 837 H. (1433 A.D.) and Sarwaru-l-Mulk, whose head was filled with treacherous designs, ostensibly owned his allegiance. Muḥammad Shāh, in spite of the foregoing circumstances, conferred upon him the title of *Khān-i-Jahān* and bestowed a *khil'at* upon him, he also appointed Mīrān Ṣadr *Mu'īnu-l-mulk*, and for a short time winked at the doings of those infidels. Maliku-sh-Sharq Kamālu-l-mulk, who was co-partner with Sarwaru-l-Mulk in the vazīrship, elected to reside outside the city, and gave in his allegiance to Muḥammad Shāh. The second day after the accession Sarwaru-l-Mulk made some pretext for arresting [2] certain of the servants of Mubārak Shāh, and put them to death, and left nothing undone to secure the overthrowal of the family of Mubārak Shāh; moreover, he began to divide the country among his own partisans, giving the territory of Baiāna, and Amroha, and Nārnol, and Kuhrām, together with certain districts in the Doāb, to Sidh Pāl and Sidhāran Khatri who were the (actual) murderers of Mubārak Shāh. Rānūn the Black, a slave of Sidh Pāl, arrived in Baiāna with a large following, and attempted to enter the fort; but in the meantime Yūsuf Khan Auhadī arrived from Hindwān,[3] and giving him battle defeated him, and sent the greater portion of those infidels to hell. Their women and children fell as prisoners into the hands of the Muslims, and the head of Rānūn the Black was hung up over the gate of the fort. Inasmuch as Sarwaru-l-Mulk and his infidel horde began to commit violence, the Amīrs of Khiẓr Khan and Mubārak Shāh, who were scattered here and there about the country, in several places shewed symptoms of revolt and set on foot many insurrections. Sarwaru-l-
Mulk had the self-same object, namely to damage the kingdom. 301
Malik Allahdād Kāla Lodi, governor of Sambhal and Ahār,[4]

[1] 9th Rajab 837.

[2] MS (A) دستگیر ساخت و.

[3] The text and both MSS read هندون Hindūn. Firishta reads Hindwān. Hindaun lies about 20 miles S of Baiāna, it is situated in the Jeypore State.

[4] Ahār. In Bulandshahr District, N.-W P., 20 miles N.E. of Bulandshahr.

and Malik Chaman[1] governor[2] of Badāon, grandson of Khān-i-Jahān, and Amīr 'Alī Gujrātī, together with some other Amīrs, raised a large following to avenge the death of Mubārak Shāh, and started towards Dihlī. Maliku-sh-Sharq, Kamālu-l-Mulk, and Saiyyid Khān, son of Saiyyid Sālim, who had received the title of *Khan-i-Ā'zam* from Mubārak Shāh, were appointed by the *durbār* to proceed against those Amīrs, and Malik Yūsuf, the son of Sarwaru-l-Mulk, together with Sidhāran and Kāngū were ordered to accompany Kamālu-l-Mulk. The Dihlī army crossed by the ford of Kicha and came to Baran (Bulandshahr). Malik Allahdād and the other noted Amīrs having arrived at the township of Ahār desired to cross the Ganges without fighting and go where they could safely. But when they saw clearly that Malik Kamālu-l-Mulk was heartily bent upon taking vengeance upon Sarwaru-l-Mulk, they took courage and did not leave their positions. Sarwaru-l-Mulk becoming aware of this sent his lieutenant Malik Hushyar, under pretence of reinforcing Kamālu-l-Mulk, as a spy into their army. Yūsuf Khān and Malik Hushyār, and Sidhāran the infidel, entertaining suspicions regarding Kamālu-l-Mulk left the army and went to Dihlī: and the Amīrs of Sambhal and Badāon joined Kamālu-l-Mulk and came in great force to the ford of Kicha. Sarwaru-l-Mulk was engaged in strengthening his fort. The following day the loyal Amīrs having crossed the Jamna encamped in the Bāgh-i-Jūd[3] while the traitors and infidels sallied out from the fort and engaged them in battle, but suffered defeat in the very first onset and retreated to the fort, but before they could enter it a large number were put to death and most of the remainder were taken prisoners.

The day following this victory the Mubārak Shāhī Amīrs
302 encamped near the fort of Sīri, and the greater part of the Amīrs who were inside the fort, came out and joined them. Fighting went on between the two parties for three months.

At the latter part of this year Zirak Khān, Governor of Sāmāna

[1] MS (A) writes ملک حمیں *Malik Hamīn*, by Firishta, and in Elliott's translation of the Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī (IV 82) he is called Malik Chaman

[2] The word in the original is مقطع *Muqti'*, i.e., holder of a قطع *qit'*. Firishta calls him حاکم بداون *Hākim-i-Badāon*.

[3] MS. (A)

died, and the country was confirmed to his son Muḥammad Khān. Muḥammad Shāh, although outwardly he held friendly relations with Sarwaru-l-Mulk, still in his inmost heart was in unison with his father's Amīrs. Sarwaru-l-Mulk became aware of this, and accordingly began to plot treachery against him also, and was only waiting his opportunity.

On the eighth of Muḥarram in the year 838 H. (1434 A.D) Sarwaru-l-Mulk and the sons of the perfidious Mīrān Ṣadr suddenly broke into the tent of the king with the intention of doing him a grievous injury, but at this moment Muḥammad Shah became aware of their design; and with all despatch sent messengers to Kamālu-l-Mulk, while the attendants who were near the person of Muḥammad Shāh were on their guard, and killed the traitor Sarwaru-l-Mulk, and seizing the sons of Mīrān Ṣadr executed them in presence of the *darbār*. The traitorous infidels blockaded themselves in their own houses Kamālu-l-Mulk, accompanied by all the Amīrs, entered the fort by the Darwāza-i-Baghdād (Baghdād gate). The ruffian Sīdh Pāl set fire to his house and property, and after performing the *jauhar* [1] which is a well-known custom expressed by that word in the Hindī language, went himself into battle and became food for the flames of the pitiless sword,[2] and his impure soul went to hell.[3] Sidhāran Kāngū and the rest of the Khatrī confederation, were one and all taken prisoners, and were impaled near the *ḥaẓīra* [4] (mausoleum)

[1] جوهر *Jauhar* or *Jūhar* जौहर is a Hindī word derived from the words जीव *jīv*, and हर: *hara* signifying *taking one's own life* The custom of the Rājpūts when reduced to the last extremity in warfare was in olden times to perform a rite of self-sacrifice known by this name as for instance on the occasion of the siege and capture of Chitor by Sultān 'Alāu d Dīn "Huge piles of timber were raised up and set on fire. The women approached in funeral procession and threw themselves into the flames The men arrayed themselves in saffron-coloured garments and rushed out of the fortress sword in hand, most of them were cut to pieces." The evident object of the rite was to protect the persons of the women from the indignities to which they would be submitted if they were to fall alive into the hands of the enemy.

[2] MSS omit بيدريغ

[3] The word جوهر *Jauhar*, here used for "Soul," has the primary meaning of "essence." It is a Persian word and is used here as a play upon the Hindi word *jauhar* used above (Note 1)

[4] حظيره *Ḥaẓīra*. The literal meaning of this word is *an enclosure*, here

of Mubārak Shāh, and Malik Hushyār and Mubārak Kotwāl were executed along with them. The following day Kamālu-l-Mulk and the other noted Amirs renewed their fealty to Muḥammad
303. Shāh; Kamālu-l-Mulk obtained the rank of *vazir* and Malik Chaman of Badāon received the title of *Ghāzīu-l-Mulk*, and was reinstated in his former position as governor of Badāon, Amroha being also added to his province; Malik Allahdād Lodī would not accept any title, the title of *Daryā Khān* however he accepted for his brother. Thus after settling the important affairs, Muḥammad Shāh gave durability to his rule, and conducted his Government in tranquillity.

And in the year 840 H. (1436 A D) he turned his attention towards Multān, and halted for some days at Mubārakpūr to give time for the Amirs of the various districts to join him. When the Muḥammad Shāhī's troops were all assembled at Mubārakpūr he marched thence towards Multān, and after visiting the shrines of the holy men at that place [1] came to Dihlī. And in the aforesaid year, marching towards Sāmāna he despatched a force to proceed against Shaikhā Kuūkhar.[2] Accordingly they laid waste his country and returned.[3] In the year 841 H. (1437 A.D.) tidings arrived that the tribe of Langāhs had raised an insurrection in Multān, and in the meantime Sulṭān Ibrahīm Sharqī obtained possession of certain divisions of Dihlī, and the Rāi of Gwāliār and the other Rāis refused to pay the customary tribute. Muḥammad Shāh affected to be indifferent to this, and disturbances sprung up in all directions, and everyone was hankering after something. The Khānzādas of Mīwāt, who are the ancestors of Ḥasan Khān of Mīwāt, invited Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khiljī from Mālwa to assume the imperial power of Dihlī.

And in the year 844 H. (1440 A.D.) Sulṭān Maḥmūd arrived at Dihlī, and Muḥammad Shāh drew up his forces and sent out his son Saiyyid 'Alāu-d-Dīn to engage him in battle, giving the
304. command of the force to Malik Buhlūl Lodī. Sulṭān Maḥmūd also

it means a tomb enclosed within walls or a palisade. Firishta writes "were put to death with great tortures" بعقوبت تمام بقتل رسیدند.

[1] MS. (A) omits آنجا.

[2] MS. (A). برسر شیخا.

[3] MS. (A) تا ولایت اورا خراب کردة مراجعت نمودند.

appointed his two sons Ghiāṣu-d-Dīn and Qadr Khān [1] to oppose them. A fierce battle resulting they at last agreed to make peace, and Sulṭān Maḥmūd taking advantage of that, and alleging as an excuse that he had seen in a dream that the kingdom of Multān was being ruined, marched in light order under cover of night towards Mālwa. Malik Buhlūl pursued him and seized a portion of his baggage and valuable equipment. Sulṭān Muḥammad was so pleased at the energy displayed by Buhlūl Lodī that he called him his son,[2] and bestowed upon him the country of Lāhor and Detālpūr.

And in the year 845 H. (1441 A.D.) he marched to Sāmāna, and having despatched Buhlūl to chastise Jasrat Khūkhar, returned to Dihlī. Jasrat concluded a peace with Malik Buhlūl and held out to him the pleasing prospect of becoming Sulṭān of Dihlī,[3] till at last Buhlūl began to collect Afghāns from all directions and took forcible possession of a large number of *parganas*, then without any ostensible reason he picked a quarrel with Muḥammad Shāh and revolted against him, leading an army against Dihlī. He held Sulṭān Muḥammad for a considerable time closely besieged, but could not accomplish his purpose, and returned without effecting anything. In the meantime Muḥammad Shāh was afflicted with a grievous disorder,[4] and the Amīrs who were at a distance of twenty *kiohs* from Dihlī revolted against him, and sending for his son 'Alāu-d-Dīn who held a *jāegir* in Badāun, and had left there on a hunting expedition at the foot of the hills, made him[5] heir-apparent. And in the year 847 H.[6] he passed away, the duration of his reign was fourteen[7] years and some months, or thereabouts.

1 The text reads مدن خان *Madan Khān*. MS. (A) reads قدن خان Qadan Khān. Firishta says قدر خان *Qadr Khān*. So also *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

2 MS (A) اورا پسر خوانده See Elliott IV 85.

3 Firishta says: Incited him to aspire to the kingdom of Dihlī. MS. (A). instead of مبشر writes مسرور.

4 بزحمت صعب مبتلا شده Firishta says: روز بروز سستي پذيرفته becoming day by day weaker.

5 MS. (A) اورا.

6 Firishta says that he died in 849 H. which is probably correct, see n. 7.

7 As he came to the throne in 837 he had reigned only some ten years, not fourteen as here stated. Both MSS. (A) and (B) however read چهارده.

The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* according to Elliott IV, 86, says ten years and some months. With regard to this see Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, p. 336 and note 1,

Come and cast one look upon their dust, and take warning.
For the dust is the resting-place of trusted emperors.

305. SULṬĀN 'ALĀU-D-DĪN IBN I MUḤAMMAD SHĀH IBN I MUBĀRAK SHĀH[1] IBN I KHIẒR KHĀN,

In accordance with the testamentary disposition of his father succeeded to the throne, and Malik Buhlūl with the other Amīrs gave in their allegiance to him, and seeing that the indolence of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn was even greater than that of his father, a still more violent ambition to secure the throne began to work upon the excited fancy of Buhlūl.

In the year 850 H (1445 A D.) Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn made an excursion towards Baiāna; while on the road he heard a false rumour that the King of Jaunpūr was on his way to attack Dihlī, and without attempting to ascertain its truth returned in hot haste to Dihlī. In the year 851 H. (1447 A.D.) he went to

where it is said that Firishta "makes a less venial mistake in insisting upon a twelve years' reign in spite of his own expressed figures of from "839 to 849" A H Briggs, pp 332—339." This is not Firishta's error but is the fault of his translator Firishta says clearly that Muḥammad succeeded to the throne on the very day on which Mubārak Shāh was assassinated (Bo text, p 309) that is, "on the 9th Rajab 837" (Bo text, p. 308), so that while his date as regards the death of Muhammad Shah may be wrong, his calculation based upon the dates he gives is correct I am not aware of any direct evidence that Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn ascended the throne in 847 H. The *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, if Elliott's translation (Elliot, IV, p 86) is to be trusted, says, "Upon the death of Muḥammad Shāh the *amīrs* and nobles assembled, and raised his son to the throne under the style of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn' and in a footnote on the same page referring to the conflict of testimony between Badāonī and Firishta as to the date of Muhammad Shāh's death, he says "Firishta seems correct in making it 849," and with this opinion I am inclined to agree. The mistake appears to have arisen from accepting the date given by Briggs in his translation of Firishta, instead of confirming it from Firishta himself, who gives 17th Jamādī I 824 as the date of Khiẓr Khān's death and Mubārak Shāh's accession, and states (Bo text 309) that Mubārak Shāh reigned thirteen years three months and sixteen days This would bring us to 837 H. not to 839 H. Therefore, unless there is evidence to shew that 'Alāu-d-Dīn came to the throne in 847 H. we are justified in accepting Firishta's plain and coincident statement that Muhammad Shāh reigned twelve years and some months, dying in 849 H.

[1] MS (A) omits مبارک شاه and writes فرید خان Farid Khān. *See* Thomas, *Pathān Kings*, 335, *footnote*.

Badāon and elected to take up his abode there, and after making preparations for remaining there [1] returned to his capital Dihlī.

And in the year 852 H. (1448 A.D.) having made his two brothers-in-law *Shahna-i-Shahr* (City Constable) and *Mīr-i-Kūe* (Superintendent of Roads) he returned to Badāon. A disturbance arose between those two brothers, and at last both were put to death by the people of Dihlī. Husāin Khān who was *Umdatu-l-Mulk* (a Privy Councillor), and loyal to the Sulṭān, but from time to time spoke the direct truth to the Sulṭān in connection with the administration of State affairs, had for this very reason, fallen out of favour with the Sulṭān, and had been deposed from his office. Ḥamīd Khān, *Vazīr-i-mamlukat*, (vazīr of the State) who had fled to Dihlī fearing punishment at the hands of the Sulṭān, and dreading an attempt upon his life, [2] joined with Ḥusain Khān in inviting Malik Buhlūl and in raising him to the throne. He accordingly took advantage of the absence of the Sulṭān to pro- 306.
ceed to Sirhind [3] and having assumed to himself the title of Sulṭān read the Khuṭbah, and coming a second time with [4] his whole army seized upon Dihlī. Leaving his viceroy there he proceeded towards Dībālpūr, where he set about raising an army, and wrote a letter couched in hypocritical terms to Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn saying, "I am your obedient servant, and am undertaking all this marching backwards and forwards solely out of loyalty to your person." The Sulṭān in reply, wrote as follows: "The deceased King, Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, called you by the name of Son. There is neither fruit nor profit for me in sovereignty; living in solitary contentment at Badāon I resign the empire of Dihlī [5] to you. Sulṭān Buhlūl leaving Dībālpūr ascended the throne of Dihlī [6]

[1] MS. (A) طرح اقامت انداخته. The text reads درانجا طرح عمارت انداخته *having laid the foundations of a palace*, but there seems no authority for such a statement.

[2] Firishta gives a full account of this, and says that the Sulṭān was instigated to this attempt by Quṭb Khān and Rāi Pertāb, the latter of whom had a blood-feud against Ḥamīd Khān (see Firishta, Bombay text I. p. 315).

[3] MS. (A).

[4] His eldest son Khwāja Bāyazīd. At this time, according to Firishta, the Khuṭbah used to be read in the joint names of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Sulṭān Buhlūl, who upon first marching against Dihlī had written to 'Alāu-d-Dīn alleging as his excuse that he was marching to oppose Ḥamīd Khān.

[5] MS. (A) سلطنت دهلي.

[6] MS. (A) جلوس نمود.

without fighting or opposition; and Sulṭān ʻAlāu-d-Dīn by the orders of Sulṭān Buhlūl was invested with the sovereignty of Badāon and the districts appertaining to it, towards the river Ganges as far as Khairābād and the foot of the hills, and used to read the Khuṭbah in his own name in those districts, till at last after some time, in the year 855 H. (1451 A.D.) he bade farewell to this world.[1] The duration of his reign was seven years and some months.

Verse.

This is the sum and total of the world's conduct.
It has never proved faithful to any man.

SULṬĀN BUHLŪL [*IBN I* KĀLĀ][2] LODĪ,

Who in the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh had obtained the title of Khān-i-Khānān,[3] in the year 855 H. (1451 A.D.) in concert with Ḥamīd Khān Vazīr (who, after the execution of Ḥusāin Khān at the hands of Sulṭān ʻAlāu-d-Dīn, had gained possession of the family and relations of Sulṭān ʻAlāu-d-Dīn in Dihlī, and had brought the key of the fortress and had given ~~it to~~ Sulṭān Buhlūl)
307. ascended the throne of sovereignty, and by degrees contrived to secure the imprisonment of Ḥamīd Khān,[4] and in the same year proceeded to Multān to set that province in order.[5]

And in the year 856 H (1452 A D) Sultān Maḥmūd Sharqī at the instigation of certain of the Amīrs of the party of Sulṭān ʻAlāu-d-Dīn, came with a large army and laid siege to Dihlī,

[1] According to Firishta ʻAlāu-d-Dīn died in Badāon in the year 883 H. (1478 A D) having reigned in Badāon some twenty-eight years.

Badāonī's statement is wrong in this particular In 855 H. according to Firishta, *ʻAlāu-d-Dīn* retired into obscurity, leaving the kingdom of Dihlī to Buhlūl Lodī, and reigned in Badāon for twenty-eight years, dying in 883 H. (Bo. text 316) *See n* 4 page 405.

[2] MS. (B) omits the words in brackets

[3] MS (A) writes خطاب خاني يافتة بود.

[4] A long account of the way in which Ḥamīd Khān was taken prisoner is given by Firishta.

[5] Firishta gives an account of the circumstances attending the birth of Buhlūl Lodī, telling us that the mother of Buhlūl Lodī, when close upon her confinement of him, was killed by the falling of her house upon her; she was taken out lifeless, and to save the child the mother was instantly submitted to the Cæsarean operation and the child removed, as it shewed signs of life it was carefully tended and grew up (Bo. text p. 317).

and after severe fighting gained possession of it,[1] and Fatḥ Khān Ḥarawi[2] who was one of the most trusted Amīrs of Sulṭān Maḥmūd was killed. Sulṭān Maḥmūd[3] not being able to bear up against this went to Jaunpūr; and the following year came into the same neighbourhood, proceeding from Jaunpūr to Itāwa, and concluded peace upon the following terms, namely, that so much of the kingdom of Dihlī as was under the sway of Mubārak Shāh should belong to Sulṭān Buhlūl, while that portion which was under the rule of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqī should revert to Sulṭān Maḥmūd;[4] and having promised that after the rainy season he would give Shamsābād to Sulṭān Buhlūl,[5] which was held by Jūnā Khān as the deputy of Sulṭān Mahmūd, each of them went to his own country.

Sulṭān Buhlūl at the expiration of the appointed time marched against Shamsābād, took possession of it, and gave it to Rāi Kiran, ruler of Bhūnganw. Sulṭān Maḥmūd being displeased at this, proceeded again[6] to the borders of Shamsābād and fought with Sulṭān Buhlūl.[7] In the meantime Sulṭān Maḥmūd quitted this existence for the house of eternity, and Muḥammad Shāh, the son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, was nominated to the kingdom of Jaunpūr in the room of his father, and having arranged peace upon the terms formerly agreed upon between Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Sulṭān[8]

1 MS (A) has here a different reading (note 7) افتادن. The text seems right agreeing with MS (B).

2 هروی *Harawi*, of Herāt.

3 MS (A) reads here ..افتادن فتح خان هروی..... و کشته شدن او سلطان.
Sulṭān Maḥmūd was not able to bear the fall of Fatḥ Khān and his being killed.

4 MS. (A) محمّد. *Muhammad*. Firishta says that another term of the agreement was that Buhlūl was to return the seven elephants taken in battle from Fatḥ Khān, and should receive Shamsābād in place of Jūnān Khān (Bo. text p 322).

5 MS. (A) omits را. Firishta tells us that Jūnān Khān refused to quit Shamsābād when called upon to do so by Buhlūl Lodī, who consequently marched against him and drove him out, giving Shamsābād into the charge of Rāi Kiran, and conquering all that country. (Bo. text p. 322).

6 MS (A) درآمده.

7 In this engagement Quṭb Khān Lodī was taken prisoner in consequence of his horse stumbling and throwing him, and was sent by Maḥmūd to Jaunpūr where he was imprisoned

8 Firishta says that Bībī Rāchī, the mother of Muḥammad Shāh Sharqī

Buhlūl proceeded to Jaunpūr, and, inasmuch as Qutb Khān, the cousin of Sultān Buhlūl had fallen a prisoner into the hands of Muhammad Shāh,[1] Sultān Buhlūl, in defiance of the existing treaty, again brought up his army against Muhammad Shāh, who also leaving Jaunpūr came to Shamsābād and took it from the Hindūs
308. by force,[2] and on the borders of Rāprī confronted Sultān Buhlūl. Muhammad Shāh was defeated and retreated towards Qanauj. Sultān Buhlūl pursued him.[3] And in the aforesaid year Sultān Husain Sharqi, ibn-i-Sultān Mahmūd revolted against his brother Muhammad Shāh, and seized the throne of Jaunpūr with the assistance of the Amīrs, and detailed[4] a large army to proceed against Muhammad Shāh, whom they finally put to death on the banks of the Ganges in the vicinity of Rāj Gaṛ. Sultān Husain made peace with Sultān Buhlūl, and sending for Qutb Khān Lodī who was still in prison, from Jaunpūr, presented him with a horse and a robe of honour and sent him to Sultān Buhlūl[5] and returned from Qanauj to Jaunpūr[6].

intervened, and arranged peace upon these terms, that Muhammad Shāh should retain his father's kingdom, while Buhlūl should be in undisturbed possession of all that he already held.

[1] *See* preceding page n 4.

[2] There is a rather important difference here in the account given by Firishta (Bo text p 323) who writes "When Sultān Buhlūl arrived near Dihlī Shams Khatun, the sister of Qutb Khān Lodī sent him a message, saying, "So long as Qutb Khān remains in the prison of Muhammad Shāh Sharqī food and sleep is unlawful for thee O King" Accordingly Buhlūl broke the truce and came to Dihlī, whence he returned towards Jaunpūr On his arrival at Shamsābād he took it out of the hands of Rāi Kiran, and gave it to Jūnān Khān who had arrived before him, and Muhammad Shāh Sharqī also had come out to meet him, consequently the two Kings encamped near Sarsutī facing one another at close quarters, and engaged each other early and late." From this it appears that Shamsābād was taken by Buhlūl from Rāi Kiran, whereas Badāoni makes it seem as though Muhammad's forces re-conquered it Firishta's account is undoubtedly the correct one as subsequent events show.

[3] MS (A) تعاقب او کرد

[4] MS (A) نامزد کرده

[5] The account of the circumstances given by Firishta show that Husain Khān started with his army under pretence of opposing Buhlūl but changed direction to Qanauj When Buhlūl heard of this he had despatched a few of his Amīrs to meet Husain Khān and himself took prisoner Jalāl Khān, brother of Husain Khān who was also coming out after his brother, and kept him as a hostage for Qutb Khān, for whom he was eventually exchanged (Bo text, p 323)

[6] MS (A) از قنوج بجانب جونپور The text and MS (B) are wrong here

Sultān Buhlūl also despatched Jalāl Khān, the brother of Ḥusain Khān, whom he held in confinement as hostage for Quṭb Khān, to Sultān Ḥusain after conferring honours upon him. And after some years[1] Sultān Ḥusain coming to the borders of Chandwār, fought a battle with Sultān Buhlūl, and having concluded a peace for three years again returned to his own country. At this juncture Aḥmad Khān Jilwānī, the ruler of Baiāna read the *Khutbah* in the name[2] of Ḥusain Khān; and Sultān Ḥusain, upon the expiration of the period for which peace had been concluded, proceeded towards Dihlī with 10,000 cavalry and a thousand elephants. They met near a place called Bhatwāra, and Sultān Ḥusain having agreed to peace encamped at Itāwa. Sultān Buhlūl came to Dihlī. The fact of these two kings being thus within a seven days' journey is not without its ridiculous side.

Verse

Who has ever seen a scabbard which can contain two swords!
Who has ever seen the thrones of two Jamshīds in one place!

And in this year Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, whose daughter [Malika- 309
i-Jahān][3] was married to Sultān Ḥusain, passed away in Badāon, as has been already related,[4] and left his kingdom to Sultān Buhlūl and Sultān Ḥusain.

Verse

Even supposing that thou hast attained to that which thou desirest,
Even supposing that thou hast been all that thou shouldest be,
Has not everything which has attained perfection, suffered afterwards from loss?
Does not the azure heaven taken away again all that it has bestowed?

And Sultān Ḥusain came from Itāwa to Badāon to perform the

[1] A peace had been arranged for a term of four years (Firishta).

[2] Both MSS. (A) (B) omit بنام.

[3] The name is omitted in MS. (A).

[4] See note 1 page 402 'Alāu-d-Dīn really died in 883 H according to Firishta. In the former place our author says he died in 855 H. but here he corrects the mistake.

duties of mourning for him,[1] and having taken those districts from the sons of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, took possession of them himself, and thence went [2] to Sambal, and having taken prisoner Tātār Khān, [3] the Governor of that place, sent him to Sāran,[4] and with a large army and the number of elephants already mentioned, arrived at Dihlī in the month of Zū Ḥijjah, in the year 880 H [5] and encamped on the banks of the Jamna near the ford of Kīchā.[6] Sulṭān Buhlūl coming from Sihrind summoned[7] Ḥusain Khān, the son of Khān-i-Jahān from the vicinity [8] of Mīrath, and despatched him to oppose Sulṭān Ḥusain,[9] while he himself held Dihlī against him. And on this occasion also, owing to the exertions of Quṭb Khān, Sulṭān Ḥusain agreed to peace, taking into his own possession the whole of the country on the further side of the Ganges ,[10] then relinquishing this side of the river to Sulṭān Buhlūl he returned. Sulṭān Buhlūl [11] seized his opportunity, and when Sulṭān Ḥusain marched, crossed the river Jamna and captured some baggage and other property [12] which Sulṭān Ḥusain, relying upon the truce, had left on the camping-ground : a certain proportion of the treasury also which was laden on elephants and horses, fell into the hands of Sulṭān Buhlūl, and as many as forty [13]
310. noted Amīrs of Sulṭān Ḥusain's force, were taken prisoners, among others for instance, Qāẓī Samā'u-d-Dīn entitled Qutlugh Khān the Vazīr, who was the most learned of the doctors of his time.

[1] MS (A) reads بتعزیت او *ba-ta'ziyat i-ū* which agrees with the words of Firishta (Bo text, p 325) and is far preferable to the reading of the text and MS (B) بتقریب او *bataqrib-i-ū*, i e., on his account.

[2] MS (A) رفت [3] Firishta calls him مبارک خان Mubārak Khān

[4] Thus also both MSS (A) and (B) The text has a footnote variant بشاران *ba Shārān*

[5] There is a serious discrepancy here in the dates Firishta says in 883 H (Bo text, p 325) and this must be correct

[6] MS. (A) reads گذر گنجینه *Guzr i-Ganjīna*, but the text is right Firishta reads کچهه *kachha*.

[7] MSS (A) and (B) omit طلبیده

[8] MSS (A) and (B) read جانب for ولایت (Text)

[9] Firishta says بضبط میرک, to take Mīrak.

[10] MS (A) reads گرفته That is to say eastward of the Ganges

[11] MS (A) omits و [12] MS (A) اشیای که MS (B) اشیای را که.

[13] Firishta says "thirty or forty"

Sulṭān Bahlūl made over Qutlugh Khān in chains to Quṭb Khān Lodi, and himself giving chase went as far as Shamsābād [1] in the Doāb, which was held by Sulṭān Ḥusain, and seizing it, appointed commissioners [2] of his own over [3] that country; this occurrence took place in the year 884 H. (1479 A.D.) [4] the chronogram for that year was *Nawīd-i-Kharābī* (Tidings of ruin). [5]

And Sulṭān Ḥusain seeing that he was being very closely pursued, determined to make a stand at Rāprī, and once more peace was agreed to between them upon the old conditions, namely, that each should rest contented with the countries of which he was in possession, and should retire. Upon the conclusion of this peace Sulṭān Ḥusain remained at Rāpri, and Sulṭān Buhlūl at a place called Dhopāmaū'; and after a time Sulṭān Ḥusain again collecting an army came up against Sulṭān Bahlūl, and a fierce engagement took place in the vicinity of Sonhār. [6] Sulṭān Ḥusain again suffered defeat, a great deal of treasure and valuables beyond computation falling into the hands of the Lodi party, and was a means of increasing their influence and power. Sultān Buhlūl left Dhopāmaū' for Dihlī to mourn [7] for Khān-i-Jahān who had died in Dihlī, [and having conferred the title of Khān-i-Jahān upon his son, again returned to attack Sulṭān Ḥusain, and reaching Rāprī fought a battle in which he gained a victory]; [8] and when Sulṭān Ḥusain took refuge in flight a number of his family and

[1] Firishta enumerates Khanpal (Kanpila?) Paitālī Shamsābād, Sakīt Māihara and Jālesar, as the townships seized on this occasion by Buhlūl

[2] شقداران *Shiqqdārān* Officers appointed to collect revenue from provinces

[3] نران MSS (A) (B). The text reads بدان.

[4] Firishta includes this among the events of 883 H. *See* note 17.

[5] Our author here shews that he is wrong, as the total of the letters given amounts to 883 not 884 Thus نوید خرابی 50+6+10+4+600+200+1+2+10=883

[6] This passage is differently worded in the text In both MSS. (A) and (B) it runs thus —

وبعد از صلح سلطان حسین براپری و سلطان بهلول در موضع دهوپامؤ قرار گرفت و بعد از مدتی سلطان حسین بار جمعیت نموده بر سر سلطان بهلول آمد و در سواد موضع سونهار محاربهٔ سخت افتاد.

[7] The text reads incorrectly بتقریب instead of بتعزیت MS (A).

[8] MS. (A) omits the portion in brackets

children were drowned in the Jamna. Sulṭān Ḥusain continued his march towards Gwāliār, and was still on the way when the rebel tribes of Hatkānt,[1] who are a clan of the Bhadauris, attacked his camp; Rāi Girat Singh, the Governor of Gwāliār came to the assistance of the Sulṭān offering his services, and having presented
311. him with money and property, horses, camels, and elephants, with tents for himself and his troops, sent an army to accompany him, proceeding himself with the Sulṭān[2] as far as Kālpi; Sulṭān Buhlūl pursued him, and the two Kings[3] met in the neighbourhood of Kālpi and a considerable time was spent in hostilities. In the meantime Rāi Tilūk[4] Chand, the Governor of the country of Baksar,[5] came and offered his services to Sulṭān Ḥusain,[6] and enabled him to cross the Ganges at a place which was fordable. Sulṭān Ḥusain not being able to stand against him withdrew to Thatta,[7] and tho Rāja of Thatta came to receive him, and having presented him with several *laks* of *tankahs* in cash, and other valuables,[8] together with several elephants, escorted him to Jaunpūr.

Sulṭān Buhlūl made an attempt to conquer Jaunpūr, accordingly

[1] MS (A) omits the word متمردان leaving a hiatus, and writes هتكانت *Hatkānt* which is correct, see n. 2.

Hatkānth is said by Abūl Fazl to be the chief town of Bhadāwar a district S. E of Āgra. Its inhabitants are called Bhadauriahs. They were known as daring robbers and though so near the capital managed to maintain their independence till Akbar had their chief trampled to death by an elephant, when they submitted. *Āin-i-Akbari* (B) I. 488. Elliot. *Races of N. W. P.*, vol. I, p. 25

[2] We should probably read here مشايعت *Mushāi'at* for متابعت *Mutabi'at* see Firishta.

[3] MS. (A) reads ميان.

[4] Both MSS. Also Firishta who calls him Rāi Tilok Chand, Governor of Khatra (? Katehr)

[5] Baksar is situated on the left bank of the Ganges 34 miles S. E. of Unao town, and has an interest in connection with the massacre of 1857 at Cawnpore (see Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, I, 450) MS. (A) reads يكسر *Yaksar*.

[6] Firishta says بخدمت سلطان بهلول آمده. Offered his services to Sulṭān Buhlūl, from our author's subsequent words it would appear that it was Sulṭān Buhlūl, and not Sulṭān Ḥusain.

[7] MSS. (A) and (B) read بهته *Bhatta* instead of پتنه *Patna*. Firishta has تهته *Thatta*, and this seems to be the proper reading.

[8] MS (A) جنس.

Sulṭān Ḥusain leaving Jaunpūr went by way of Bahraich towards Qanauj, and engaged [1] Sulṭān Buhlūl for some time on the banks of the Rahab, and met with the defeat which had become a second nature to him. On this occasion his whole retinue and regalia fell into the hands of the Lodīs, while his chief wife Malika-i-Jahān, Bībī Khūnzā, [2] who was the daughter of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, and the grand daughter of Khiẓr Khān, was taken prisoner; [3] Sulṭān Buhlūl treated that lady with the utmost respect and regard, and when he again attempted to conquer Jaunpūr, Bībī Khūnzā by some artifice effected her escape and joined her husband. Jaunpūr fell into the hands [4] of Sulṭān Buhlūl. He gave it to Mubārak Khān Lūhānī, and himself proceeded to Badāon. Sulṭān Husain took the opportunity to march against Jaunpūr in full force: the Amīrs of Sulṭān Buhlūl evacuated it, and went to Quṭb Khān Lodī who was in Mahjaulī, [5] and approached Sulṭān Ḥusain with expressions of fealty, and by pretending to take his part kept him at bay till reinforcements arrived from Sulṭān Buhlūl Sulṭān Buhlūl sent his own son Mubārak Shāh to the assistance of these 312.
Amīrs, while he himself also set out [6] for Jaunpūr, following his son; Sulṭān Ḥusain not being able to stand against him went to Bihār. In the meantime tidings of the death of Quṭb Khān reached Sulṭān Buhlūl at the camp of Haldī, [7] and having performed the requirements of mourning for him, he proceeded to Jaunpūr, and after placing his son Barbak Shāh upon the throne of the Sharqī dynasty, [8] returned, and came to the Kālpī country, which he gave to A'zam Humāyūn, another nephew, who had the

[1] MS. (B) reads مقابله *muqābala*, i.e., met him

[2] MS. (A) reads خوت را *Khūtrā* MS (B) خوترا *Khutrā*. Firishta reads خونزه *Khūnza*.

[3] MS (A) گرفتار گشت. [4] Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit در

[5] MS (A) reads مجهولي *Majhaulī*. Firishta محجولي *Mahjaulī* A village in the Gorakhpur District on the banks of the Gandak There are two villages forming one Majhaulī, which is Hindū, on the north bank, and Salīmpur, which is Muḥammadan, on the South See Hunter *Imp Gaz* IX. 213.

[6] MSS. (A) and (B) read روانه شد.

[7] Firishta says When Sulṭān Buhlūl arrived at the township of Haldī, he heard of the death of Quṭb Khān.

[8] Firishta says: "expelled Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī, again conquered Jaunpūr, and placed his own son Barbak Shāh upon the throne of the Sharqī Kings."

name of Bāyazīd,[1] and having arrived at Dholpūr[2] levied several *mans* of gold as tribute from the Rāi of that place; then passing by Bāri went to Ilāhpūr,[3] one of the dependencies of the fortress of Rantanbhūr, and having laid waste that country came to Dihli and remained there. Some time after this he hastened to Ḥissār Firoza, where he remained a few days and then returned to Dihlī Once more he went to Gwāliār, where Rāja Mān the Governor of Gwāliār sent an offering of eighty laks of *tankas* of that period; accordingly Buhlūl confirmed him at Gwaliār, and proceeded to Itāwa, and was making his way back to Dihli when he was taken ill in the neighbourhood of a township of the dependencies of Sakīt.[4] And in the year 894 H. (1488 A. D) he died, the duration of his reign was thirty-eight years,[5] eight months and eight days.[6]

Verse.

Whether it be Afrāsiyāb or his son Zāl,
He will meet with chastisement at the hand of Fate.
To a cup whose measure the wine-bearer has appointed
313. It is impossible to add a single drop, however much you may strive.

[1] MS (A) writes پسر دیگر another son Firishta says نبیرۀ خورد خواجه اعظم همایون بن خواجه بایزید 'his grandson Khāja Ā'zam Humāyūn son of Khwāja Bāyazīd' (Bo. Text, p. 327) This is correct. Bāyazīd was the eldest son of Buhlūl.

[2] Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit خورد

[3] The text and MS. (B) read *Pālhanpūr*. MS. (A) reads بالهنپور *ba Ilhanpur* Firishta's text however reads clearly (p. 327) بجانب اله پور *ba janib i-Ilāhpur* Briggs (p 560) says Ruttunpoor'

[4] Text and MS (B) have سکیپت *Sakpat* MS (A) reads سکیب *Sakīb.* In Firishta we read (Bo text 327) that "Buhlūl took Itāwa from Sakīt Singh and set out to return to Dihlī but fell ill on the way" Later on we read that "he died near Bhadāuli one of the dependencies of Sakīt" Sakīt is in the Etah District of the N -W. Provinces, and it is here according to Hunter (*Imp. Gaz.* XII. 146), that Buhlūl Lodī died Abul Fazl states (*Āin i Akbari* text I 532) that he died near the township of Saketh, but places Bhadāwah in the Sarkār of Sahār in the Āgra Sūbah, while he places Saketh in the Sarkār of Qanauj (see Āin-i-Akbari (Jarrett) (II 309 *n* 3). Sakīṭ was probably the head quarters of the Sakit Singh whom Firishta mentions

[5] MS (A) reads بود after سال.

[6] Firishta says *seven* days.

Whether it be a king or a *khas*-seller[1]
Fate brings to his hearing the summons-of death.
The date of his death[2]
In eight hundred and ninety and four
The world conquering Khedive, Buhlūl left the world;
With his sword he seized-provinces, but for all his bright
sword and burnished dagger,
He was not able to repel death.[3]

Sultān Sikandar ibn i Sultān Buhlūl,[4]

Who was known by the name of Nizām Khān, upon hearing the tidings of his father's decease, came in haste[5] from Dihlī to the township of Jalālī, entered the camp[6] and despatched the corpse of his father to Dihlī. On Friday, the seventeenth of the year above mentioned, he ascended the throne in the palace of Sultān Fīrūz, which is situated on the banks of the Black water, with the concurrence of Khān-i-Jahān ibn i Khān-i-Jahān, and Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī,[7] and all the Amīrs, and was addressed by the title[8] of Sultān Sikandar. It is said that at the time of leaving Dihlī, he went to Shaikh Samā'u-d-Dīn Kanbū,[9] the spiritual guide of Shaikh Jamālī,[10] who was one of the greatest among the Ulamā Shaikhs of his time, on pretence of taking an

1 خس فروش *Khas-furūsh* Khas is a fragrant grass (*Andropogon muricatum*) from which screens are made and wetted with water for the purpose of cooling rooms by the air which blows through them commonly known as "Khas Khas tatties" in India

2 MS. (A) reads تاریخ وفات. This is omitted in the text

Prior to his death Sultān Bahlul had made a partition of his dominions, assigning Jaunpūr to Shāhzāda Bārbak Shāh, and Karra Mānikpūr to Shāhzāda 'Ālam Khān, Bahraich to his sister's son Shaikh Muhammad Farmalī, who was known as Kālā Bhār, and Lakhnau and Kālpī to A'zam Humāyūn ibn i Khwāja Bāyazīd Khān (Firishta Bo text 327).

3 These same verses are found in Firishta

4 MS (A) has no further words MS (B) adds لودي *Lodī* The text adds ابن کالا *ibn i Kālā*.

5 Neither MS (A) nor (B) has تمام as in the text.

6 MS (B) باردوی درسید

7 MS. (B) خانخانان دهلي *Khān-i-Khānān Dihlī*, it omits فرملي *Farmalī*.

8 MS. (A) omits خطاب

9 MS (A) كينو *Kinū*.

10 MS (A)

omen,[1] for this reason that he feared lest the Shaikh might favour the claims of the other brothers,[2] so making his customary daily walk a pretext, he enquired the meaning of the expression *As'adak Allāh*[3] from the Shaikh.

314. When he answered, It means *may God Most High make you fortunate*, he besought him saying, Kindly let this expression fall three several times from your auspicious lips; the Shaikh did so,[4] then he arose and said I have gained my request, then

[1] تفاؤل *tafā'ul* Taking a فال *fā'l* or omen from the words of a book. Sortilege, in the manner of the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, or the oracle of Præneste. Among Muhammadans it is a not infrequent custom, before embarking upon any important undertaking, to consult the Qur'ān, or the works of Ḥāfiẓ in this way. The word فال *fā'l* properly means a good omen, as opposed to طيرة *ṭiyarat* a bad omen, this distinction is however not strictly observed. The prophet Muhammad directed his followers not to put faith in a bad omen, but rather to take a good one, on being asked the meaning of a good omen he said "a good word which any of you may hear · such as if a person in search of anything be addressed thus, O Finder!" (*Mishkātu-l-Maṣābīḥ* Mathew ii 381) *see* also Lane *s. v* فال, also Lane's Modern Egyptians 259, where a full account of one of the methods of sortilege by the *Zāirgah* is given.

[2] MS. (B) reads برادر دیگر another brother. Firishta gives a detailed account of the circumstances attending the accession of Sikandar; he says that most of the Lodī Amīrs favoured Ā'zam Humāyūn, and before Buhlūl's death practically forced him to summon Sikandar from Dihlī, intending to make a prisoner of him. This plot came to the ears of 'Umr Khān Shirwānī who was a friend of Sikandar, and he consequently agreed with the mother of Sikandar, who was in the camp at the time, to warn Sikandar of his danger. Sikandar accordingly made excuses from day to day, and eventually delayed coming so long that Buhlūl died The Amīrs then held a consultation, most of them favouring Bārbak Shāh the eldest surviving son, but some leaning to Ā'zam Humāyūn Zebā, the mother of Sikandar, spoke from behind a curtain in favour of her son, but was rudely repulsed by one 'Īsā Khān a cousin of Buhlūl, who said, "the son of a gold worker's daughter is not fit to be king' Thereupon Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī rebuked him, and words ensued which led to a quarrel. Khān-i-Khānān took his party of Amīrs with him, and removed Buhlūl's corpse to Jalālī, summoning Sikandar from Dihlī where they placed him on the throne in the palace of Sulṭān Fīrūz on the banks of the Biāh, as Sulṭān Sikandar He then sending his father's body to Dihlī, marched against 'Īsā Khān and defeated him, but pardoned him (Firishta Bo. text 338-339).

[3] اسعدک الله *As'adak allāh*, i e., May God prosper thee. MS. (A) reads صرف هوای ساختهٔ معنی

[4] MS (A) omits the words سه بار and reads و بعد.

he besought the Shaikh to assist him, and set out to go to the army, and after that his rule was firmly established,[1] he left Dihli, and marched towards[2] Rāpri and Itāwa to conquer the country, and spent seven months there. He also sent Isma'īl Khān Lūhānī[3] with overtures of peace to King Bārbak Shāh at[4] Jaunpūr, while he proceeded in person against[5] 'Īsā Khān Governor of Patiālī;[6] and[7] 'Īsā Khān confronted and fought with him and was wounded, and after tendering his submission succumbed to his wounds. Rāi Ganesh,[8] the Rāja of Patiālī who was friendly to Bārbak Shāh, came in and had an interview with the Sultān who[9] confirmed him in the Government of Patiālī.[10] Bārbak Shāh coming from Jaunpūr to Qanauj, the parties met and an engagement took place between them.[11] Mubārak Khān Luhānī,[12] who was with the army of Bārbak Shāh, was taken prisoner in this battle,[13] Bārbak Shāh fled to Badāon, Sultān Sikandar besieged[14] that fortress, and Bārbak Shāh being reduced to extremities sought an interview with the Sultān, who reassured and encouraged him, and took him along with him to Jaunpūr, restoring him to his former position upon the throne of the Sharqī kings, except that he divided certain *parganas* of these territories[15] among his own Amīrs, detailing armies for each place and appointing trusted officers of his own following to assist Bār-

1 MS (B) wrongly استقراء. 2 MS. (B) جانب

3 The text and MS. (B) read نوحاني Nūhānī, MS (A) نوخاني Nūkhānī

4 MS (A) درجونپور. 5 MS. (A) برعيسي خان 6 MS (B) پتيالي

7 MS (A) omits و

8 MS. (B) reads راى كشن *Rāi Kishan* MS (A) reads راى كنبس *Rāi Ganish* (?) The text reads راى كنيس *Rāi Ganes* Firishta reads راى كيلن *Rai Kilan*

9 MS. (A) omits سلطان reading.. او مقرر گشت و درو جهة.

10 MS. (B) پتيالي Patiālī.

11 MS (A) reads درميان طرفين instead of طرفين را.

12 Text نوخاني

13 Firishta (Bo. text 331) says that it was Kālā Bhār (Shaikh Muhammad Farmali, nephew of Sultān Buhlūl and cousin of Sikandar and Bārbak) who was taken prisoner, and in return for his kind reception by Sikandar joined him against Bārbak Shāh, who lost heart and fled to Badāon.

14 MS. (A) محاصره كرد.

15 In Bihār (Firishta)

bak Shāh.[1] Then he took Kalpī from A'zam Khān[2] Humāyūn the son of Khwāja Bāyazīd. From thence he came to Jahtara,[3] and from that place to Gwāliār, sending Khwāja Muḥammad Farmalī
315. with a special robe of honour on an embassy to[4] Rāja Mān,[5] who in turn sent his brother's son to pay his respects to the Sulṭān and to offer his submission. This nephew of his accordingly accompanied the Sulṭān as far as Baiāna. Sulṭān Sharq[6] the Governor of Baiāna, the son of Sulṭān Aḥmad Jilwānī the First, came and visited him, and was desirous of handing over the key of the fort[7] to the agents of the Sulṭān; however he changed his mind, and on arrival at Baiāna strengthened the defences of the fort. The Sulṭān proceeded to Agra where Haibat Khān Jilwānī, a subordinate of Sulṭān Sharf[8] fortified himself in the fort of Agra.[9] The Sulṭān left certain of his Amīrs in Agra and[10] proceeded to Baiāna[11] and in the year 897 H. (1491 A. D.) Sulṭān Sharq[12] fell into straits and sued for quarter, surrendering the fortress of Baiāna to the Sulṭān; that province was then conferred upon Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī. In the same year the tribe of Bachgotīs[13] in the Jaunpūr territory had assembled to the number

[1] Firishta says, leaving trusted officers of his own following in his service, though Badāonī's words would convey the idea that these officers were left to control Bārbak Shāh's actions. MS. (A) omits بر before گماشت and را after معتمدان and كالپي

[2] MS (A) omits خان giving it to Maḥmūd Lodī (Firishta).

[3] Briggs (p 568) says Bhurayee, but the original text of Firishta says جهتره Jahtara I fail to locate this

[4] MS (A) نزد

[5] Governor of Gwālīār (Firishta). Briggs has Mān Singh Firishta reads Mān merely

[6] Firishta reads thus سلطان شرف *Sulṭān Sharf*. Badāonī (text and both MSS) reads شرق *Sharq*.

[7] MS. (B) reads فتح instead of قلعة

[8] The text reads سلطان الشرق *Sulṭānu-sh-Sharq*. MSS. (A) (B) read سلطان شرق *Sulṭān Sharq*

[9] MSS. (A) (B) متحصن شد

[10] MSS (A) (B) گذاشت و

[11] Where he besieged Sulṭan Sharq who after a while capitulated (Firishta 331)

[12] شرق Sharq (text and MSS.).

[13] A tribe of Rājpūts said to be descended from the Mainpūrī Chauhāns

of a hundred thousand cavalry and infantry,[1] and were raising a disturbance. The Sulṭān proceeded thither and Bārbak Shāh came in and offered his allegiance. Leaving there, he proceeded to occupy himself with a hunting expedition to the borders of Awadh (Oudh), and again returned to Jaunpūr, and arrived at the fortress of Janhār,[2] and engaged in battle with the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī who held it, and having defeated them, without waiting to completely invest the fortress came to Patna;[3] and having come to Āril,[4] which is near Ilāhābās (otherwise called Prayāg),[5] laid waste that district,[6] and proceeding by way of Karra and Mānikpūr hastened to Dalmau',[7] and from thence came[8] to Shamsābād, and remaining there six months went to Sambal [whence he again returned to Shamsābād].[9]

And after the rainy season in the year 900 H. (1494 A. D.) he set out with the object of chastising the rebels of Patna, and great slaughter took place and many prisoners were taken; from thence he proceeded to Jaunpūr.[10] In this expedition very many 316.

notorious for their turbulence, originally Muḥammadans, see Elliot, *Races of N.-W. P.*, I. 47

1 MSS (A) (B) پیادہ و سوار

2 Text جنہار *Janhār* MS (A) reads جنار. (?) MS (B) چنار *Chinār* Firishta چنار *Chinār*.

3 Firishta says, came to Kaṭauba (?) which is one of the dependencies of Patna MS (A) reads رفت

4 A footnote variant is given in the text بارکل *ba Arkal.*

Firishta reads اریل Āril (or Aryal), he says جانب اریل رفت

Aril is mentioned by Abūl Faẓl (*Āīn-i-Akbarī* (B) I. 425) "he held Jhosī and Arail (Jalālābās) as jāgīr."

5 The text reads پیاک *Payāk*. MS (A) reads بیاک *Bayāk*, MS. (B) بپاک *Bapāk* Regarding the derivation of Prayāg the ancient name of Allahabad, see Cunningham (*A G I.* 391)

6 خراب کردہ رفت MS. (B).

7 Dalmau' lay opposite to Karra on the other side of the Ganges, see Rennell's Map, see also, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, (J) II. 167 *n* 2. Firishta (Bo. text) reads *Dalpūr*, p. 332.

8 رسید MS (B).

9 Not in MSS. (A) and (B). The text has a footnote saying that these words occur in only one copy. They are however in exact accord with Firishta's statement, and are probably copied from his work.

10 MS. (A) آمد.

horses were lost, hardly one in ten remaining alive;[1] the zemindārs of Patna and others wrote and informed Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī of the loss of the horses, and of the scarcity of supplies in Sulṭān Sikandar's army, and invited him (to advance). Sulṭan Ḥusain collected an army, and marched from Behār with a hundred elephants against Sulṭān[2] Sikandar, who for his part crossed the Ganges by the ford of Kantit[3] and came to Chenār[4] and from thence to Banāras. Sulṭān Ḥusain had arrived within seventeen *krohs* of Banāras when Sulṭān Sikandar marched against him rapidly.[5] In the midst of his march Sālbāhan the Rāja of Patna, who was a trusty *zemīndār*, left Sulṭān Ḥusain and joined Sulṭān Sikandar.

Sulṭān Ḥusain drew up in line of battle, but suffered defeat and retired towards Patna.[6] Sulṭān Sikandar left the camp, and pursued him[7] with a hundred thousand light cavalry; while thus engaged he learned that Sulṭān Ḥusain had gone to Bihār. After nine days Sulṭān Sikandar arrived,[8] and joining his camp set out for Bihār. Sulṭān Ḥusain, leaving his deputy[9] in Bihār, could not remain there, but proceeded to Khul Gānw one of the dependencies of Lakhnautī, and Bihār fell into the hands of Sikandar's troops.[10] Thence the Sulṭān proceeded to Tirhut and conquered it.

And in the year 901 H (1495 A. D.) Khān-i-Jahān Lodī died, and Aḥmad Khān his eldest son[11] was styled A'zam Khān Humāyūn. The Sulṭān returned from Tirhut, and went to pay a visit to the tomb of Quṭbu-l-Mashāikhi-l-'Iẓām,[12] Shaikh Sharfu-d-Dīn Munīrī,[13] *may God sanctify his resting-place*, and came to

[1] MS (A) نماند.

[2] MSS. (A) and (B).

[3] The text and MS. (B) read مکدر گشت *mukaddar gasht*, i.e., became disturbed, but the proper reading is بگذر کنیت *baguzr-i-Katīt*. MS. (A) or بگذر کنتت *baguzr-i-Kantit* (Firishta). Kantat is on the S W bank of the Ganges, in the Sarkar of Allahabad, see *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) II. 89 : 158

[4] Text جنہار Janhār.

[5] Both MSS. (A) and (B) omit تمام.

[6] MS. (A) reads پنه *Panna*. Text reads پتة *Patta* MS. (B) reads گرفت.

[7] MS. (B) نمود و در راه.

[8] MS (B) omits آمده.

[9] Malik Kandhū (Firishta).

[10] MS. (A) آمد

[11] MS (A) reads احمد پسر او بخطاب اعظم همایونی مخاطب شد.

[12] MSS (A) (B) in Bihār (Firishta).

[13] He was the son of Yahya-b-Isrāīl the head of the Chishtis, a disciple of Ganj-i-Shukkar. His burial place is in Bihār, see *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (J.) III. 370.

Darveshpūr. From thence he set out on an expedition against Sul- 31
ṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn king of Bangāla, and in the vicinity of Bihār, the son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, whose name was Dāniāl, in obedience to his father's orders came out to overthrow Sulṭān (Sikandar), and prepared to oppose him, but they retraced their steps, each one contenting himself with his own territories[1] and consenting to make peace. In this year great scarcity and dearth occurred in the camp of the Sulṭān; orders were promulgated[2] remitting the customary tribute of grain in all provinces, in fact they were entirely abolished. From thence he came to the township of Sāran, and divided that district among his own followers in perpetuity,[3] and came by way of Maḥlīgarh[4] to Jaunpūr, and having spent six months there proceeded to Panna.[5] And in the year 904 H. (1498 A.D.) he invaded the territory of Panna,[6] as far as Bāndhūgaṛh[7] which is a famous fortress plundering and taking prisoners, but being unable to take the fortress on account of its strength, went to Jaunpūr where he remained. In the meanwhile a quarrel had arisen among some of his Amīrs during a game of *chaugān*,[8] and at last it ended in an open fight,[9] and the Sulṭān

[1] MS. (A) بروِلایات.   [2] MS (A) صادر گشتند

[3] MS (B) تقسیم کرده مقرر نمود MS. (A) تقسیم نموده مقرر کرد

[4] Firishta reads مچهلي گڑه *Machhlīgarh.*

[5] MS. (A) پنه *Panna;* text and MS. (B) پتنه *Patna.* Firishta text پتهنه *Pathna.* Briggs in his translation say *Panna* (p. 573), and this must be correct to judge from what follows.

[6] MS (A) reads ولایت پنه *Wilāyat-i-Panna*

[7] MS. (A) reads مادهو گڑه *Mādhūgaṛh* but Bāndhūgaṛh is the right reading. Regarding the position of this fortress we find Abul Fazl states (*Āīn-i-Akbari* (J.) II, 157) that Bāndhū lies south of Allahabad. The translator appends a footnote (9) in which he identifies it with Banda. Banda, however, lies to the west and not to the south of Allahabad Bāndhūgaṛh was one of the two chief fortress of the province of Bāndhū (which corresponds nearly to the state of Rewa) and lies south of Rewa (Rewā) distant about 60 miles, and S S.-E from Panna, distant about 90 miles (Keith Johnson) In Rennell's Map (*Tieff* III,) it is very plainly marked, though the distances and bearings differ slightly from the above, *see* Rennell's Map N.p Nq. The other fortress lay south of Bāndhūgaṛh and was called Mandla Gaṛh

[8] چوگان *Chaugān.* Called in Arabic صولجان *Saulajan.* The modern name of this game is Polo. For a full account of the game, see *Āīn-i-Akbari* (B.) I. 297-298.

[9] Firishta gives a detailed description of the events, and states that within

becoming suspicious [1] of the Amirs, gave orders that some armed and trusty guards [2] should attend him every night, which was accordingly done. The majority of the disaffected and disappointed Amirs urged Fatḥ Khān the son of Sulṭān Buhlūl to seize the empire. He in his simplicity communicated [3] this secret to his mother, and also to Shaikh Ṭāhir, and a party who were among the confidants of the Sulṭān, at the same time giving them [4] a memorandum containing the names of those confederate Amirs. The party above mentioned diverted him from that insane idea with friendly admonition. To prove their own innocence of complicity in
318. that treasonable design, they took that memorandum to Sulṭān Sikandar,[5] who devised some specious pretext for scattering in different directions all those Amirs [6] who had shewn partiality for the Prince [7] Fatḥ Khān.

And in the year 905 H. (1499 A.D) he proceeded to Sambal, and resided there for four years employed in affairs of State, and used to spend his time [8] either in luxurious living, or in hunting expeditions.

And in the year 906 H. (1500 A.D) Aṣghar the Governor of Dihlī began to commit malpractices. The Sulṭān accordingly sent orders from Sambal to Khawāṣṣ Khān the Governor of Māchhīwāra,[9] to seize Aṣghar and send him (into his presence); but Aṣghar anticipating this had gone humbly to Sambal where he suffered imprisonment, and Khawāṣṣ Khān received the Governorship of Dihlī. In this year also [10] Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī the Governor of Baiāna died, and the Government of that place was for some time entrusted to Aḥmad and Suleiman the two sons (? grandsons) of Khān-i-Khānān.[11] After a time they

four days the fight was renewed, in consequence of which the Sulṭān began to believe it was due to some preconceived plan against his own person.

[1] MSS (A) (B) بر ایشان بد معظنه شده. [2] Both MSS. (A) (B) omit لا.

[3] ظاهر ساخت و MSS. (A) (B). [4] نموده و MSS. (B).

[5] MS. (B) omits سکندر and reads نموده. MS (A) agrees with the text.

[6] MSS (A) (B) reads امرا. [7] MS (B) reads پادشاه.

[8] Both MSS. omit او MS (A) reads بالعیش both MSS read بشکار و سیر.

[9] MS. (A) reads ماجهرواره Firishta writes ماچیواره Māchiwāra.

[10] MS. (B) و درین سال.

[11] The text here reads برعماد و سلطان پسران خانخانان both MSS. have this same reading but Firishta reads با حمد و سلیمان پسران پسر خانخانان.

entered the Sulṭān's service at Sambal, and the Government of the fortress (of Baiāna) was made over to Khawāṣṣ Khān, while Ṣafdar Khān[1] was appointed to the charge of Āgra, which was one of the dependencies of Baiāna. Khawāṣṣ Khān with the assistance of 'Ālam Khān[2] Governor of Mīwāt, and Khāni Khānān Lūhānī, proceeded to attempt the capture of Dholpūr.[3] The Rāi of that place came out to oppose them, and heavy fighting ensued in which many Muslims attained martyrdom The Sulṭān leaving Sambal came with all haste to Dholpūr, and Rāi Manik Deo,[4] Rāja of Dholpūr, not being able to hold out, evacuated the fort and went to Gwāliār They plundered and pillaged[5] the district around Dholpūr. The Sultān having remained a month in those parts left to reduce Gwāliār, and leaving Ādam Lodī there crossed the river Chambal, and encamped for two months on the banks of the river Mendakī.[6]

By reason of the[7] badness of the climate of that place sickness broke out among[8] the population and a pestilence arose. The Rāja of Gwāliār also came and made overtures of peace,[9] and delivered up Sa'īd Khān, and Bābū Khān, and Rāi Ganesh,[10] who had deserted from the army of the Sulṭān and had taken refuge in that fort, and also sent his eldest son[11] to do homage to the 319.

1 Briggs calls him Sudr Khān, but the original reads Ṣafdar Khān

2 MS. (A) reads خان عالم *Khān-i-'Ālam.*

3 Native State in Rājputāna. The town of Dholpūr, capital of the State lies 34 miles south of Agra and 37 miles north-west of Gwāliār, *see* Hunter *Imp Gaz*, IV. 273

4 Firishta calls him بنا یک دیو *Bināyek Deo.*

5 MS (B) reads نهیب for نهب here and in several other places.

6 Firishta calls this river "the Asī otherwise known as Medakī," and says that in consequence of the badness of the water sickness broke out among the troops terminating in a pestilence Mendakī means, frog-haunted.

There is no river which I can definitely identify as this river, but the Asun in Keith Johnson (India) E f. flowing west of Gwāliār, would answer to the Asī in position. Rennell's Map gives no name to this river.

7 MS. (A) omits و and also زبونی

8 MS. (B) reads درمیان.

9 MS. (B) reads مسلح *musallah* (armed) for بصلح *ba ṣulh*

10 Supply را MS. (A).

11 Vikramājīt (Firishta).

Sulṭān, who sent him back after bestowing upon him a horse and robe of honour, returning himself to Agra. At the time of his return he restored the fort of Dholpūr[1] also to Bināyik Deo,[2] and having spent[3] the rainy season in Agra, after the rising of Canopus[4] in the year 910 H. (1504 A.D.), marched to reduce the fortress of Mandrāyal,[5] which he took without fighting from the Rāja of Mandrāyal, who sued for peace; he also destroyed all the idol-temples and churches[6] of the place, and, as he returned, rebuilt anew the fortress of Dholpūr, then came to Agra and gave his Amīrs permission to proceed to their several *jaegīrs*.[7] [And in this year Mīr Saiyyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr,[8] *may God sanctify his holy resting place*, who was one of the chief of the great *walīs* and had even laid claim to be the Mahdī, in answer to the call of Him who has the true claim to us all answered, *Here am I*, while returning from Makkah the sacred city towards Hindustān, at the town of Farah[9] where he was buried. Qāẓī Ḥusain Zargar of Qandahār, *God's mercy be on him*, whom, as well as the Mīr himself I had the honour of visiting, wrote the following chronogram:

1 MS. (B) omits سلطان and reads باز for با

2 MS (B) reads دهولپور قلعهٔ and بنا بک دیو

3 MSS (A) (B) گذرا نید و,

4 In the month of Ramaẓān (*Firishta*).

5 Mandrāyal. This is not marked in Rennel's map, but Tieffenthaler (I. 174) mentions it under the name of *Mundalayer* or *Madrael*, and says that it lies upon the side of a round hill distant two miles from the western bank of the Chambal, and twelve miles S. S. E. of Caroli (Kerauli) *see* Keith Johnston's Atlas, India E. F. Mandler, *see* also *Āin-i-Akbarī* (J) II. 190, Mandlāer.

6 بتخانها و کناس آنجا So also Firishta.

7 The portion [illegible] square brackets is not in either MS. (A) or MS (B).

8 Mīr Saiyyid Muhammad was the son of Mīr Saiyyid Khan of Jaunpūr, and was the first to give definite form in India to the doctrine of the advent of the Mahdī [illegible] to have been promised by the prophet Muhammad. He gained [illegible] after he had declared that he was the promised Mahdī, among [illegible] Sultān Maḥmūd I at whose request it was that he proceeded on the [illegible] Makkah from which he was returning at the time of his death, [illegible] (B[illegible] Biog. p. V.

The Shī[illegible] the [illegible] Mahdī has already appeared, the Sunnīs still look for his appearance. H[illegible] Dict. [illegible] Islam.

9 Farah in [illegible] ustan [illegible] Akbarī [illegible] I Biog. p. V).

He said, Go and enquire from the Shaikh.[1]

Shaikh Mubārak also invented a chronogram in the words[2] *Maẓā Mahdī*, The Mahdī has departed].[3]

On the third of the month of Ṣafar in the year 911 H. (6th July, 1505 A.D.) so violent an earthquake occurred over the whole 320.
of Hindūstān[4] that the hills began to tremble, while strong and lofty buildings[5] fell to atoms, and the earth in places was cleft and rents appeared,[6] while they assert that villages and trees left their places, and men supposed that the day of resurrection had arrived.[7] We learn from the *Wāqi'āt-i-Bābarī*,[8] and other histories, that this earthquake was not confined to Hindūstān, but that on the same day in Persia also a similar earthquake occurred, and the word *Qāẓī*,[9] was invented as a chronogram to record the date of it.

Rubā'ī.

In nine hundred and eleven the city of Agra became the goal
of several successive earthquakes.

[1] گفتا که برو ز شیخ کن استفسار *Guftā ke birau zi Shaikh kun istifsār.* The value of the letters of the word شیخ is 300 + 10 + 600 = 910.

[2] مضا مہدی *Maẓā Mahdī* These words as written in the text only total 900, but if we write more accurately, مضی مہدی they will be 910

[3] A footnote to the text states that this portion (here included in square brackets) only occurs in one MS. Firishta also has no reference to this event

[4] Firishta only says in Agra.

[5] MS (A) چنانکه کوه ها به لرزه در آمد و عمارتهای عالی.

[6] سوراخہا پدید گشت MS. (A) reads دشواریہا *dushwārihā* Difficulties and dangers.

[7] MS. (B) قیامت واقع شد

[8] Regarding this work, see *Elliott* IV, 218. The commentaries of Bāber, originally written in Türkī were translated into Persian in Akbar's reign, see *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (B) I, 105, and an English translation was made by Dr Leyden and Mr Erskine. At page 170 of that translation is found the account of the earthquake referred to by our author. Bāber says "there were thirty-three shocks that same day, and for the space of a month the earth shook two or three times every day and night" The date is not given, but the account follows closely upon that of the death of his mother, which he states occurred in the month of Muḥarram, and we may from the account reckon about 40 days afterwards so that it must have been early in the month of Ṣafar.

[9] قاضی Qāẓī 100 + 1 + 800 + 10 = 911.

And whereas her buildings were excessively lofty, that which
had been their highest points became the lowest.[1]

From the time of Adam to the present time no such earthquake has ever been known.

And in the year 912 H. (1506 A D.), after the rising of Canopus, he marched against the fortress of Ūntgaṛh,[2] and laid siege to it, and many of his men joyfully embraced martyrdom, after that he took the fort and gave the infidels as food to the sword; those who escaped the sword fed the flames of the fire of *jūhar* with their wives and children He then cast down the idol temples, and built there a lofty mosque

In the year 913 H (1507 A D), after the rising of Canopus he proceeded with the object of reducing the fortress of Narwar[3] Whilst en route he fell in with the elephants and cavalry and infantry of Jalal Khān Lodi,[4] whom he had sent on in advance to clear the way,[5] and whom he had appointed to reduce Narwar. Becoming suspicious of him, he set about overthrowing him, and made some pretext for dispersing his forces, and taking him prisoner sent him to the fortress of Sakkar;[6] he then took Narwar, the garrison having capitulated And in the year 914 H (1508 A D.) he constructed other forts round Narwar to increase its strength, and bestowing

[1] Firishta gives this *ruba'ī* with slight variation omitting چون *chūn* in the second line.

[2] Firishta reads اودیت نگر *Ūdītnagar*. MS. (A) ادونت گر *Adwantgar* MS. (B) اونت گڑہ Ūntgaṛh. This fortress lay just South of Mandler (p 420 n. 5) and is shown in the map as Deogarh, see *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (B) I, 380 *n* 1 Firishta states that the Sultān regarded Udītnagar as the key to Gwālīār which he wished to reduce (p 338)

[3] Firishta Bo text, p 339, says this was after the rains of 913 H in the year 914 H., but from the detail he gives of the various operations it is doubtful if he can be correct Narwar was a dependency of Mālwa (Firishta) It lay about half way between Gwālīār and Dhār, *see* Tieff I. 175 for a description and map of the fortress *see* also *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (J) II, 190, on the right bank of the river Sind, 44 miles south of Gwālīār city, *see* Hunter *Imp. Gaz* X 227

[4] Who upon the death of his father Maḥmūd Khān had become governor of Kālpi.

[5] Firishta says Jalāl Khān was ordered to go on in advance and invest the fort of Narwar.

[6] Firishta says Hanwantgaṛh.

a hundred and twenty horses [1] and fifteen elephants, with a robe of honour and a sum of money upon Prince Jalāl Khān, allowed him, together with Na'mat Khātūn,[2] wife [3] of Quṭb Khān Lodī, who had come [4] to have an interview with the Sulṭān, to proceed to Kalpī, and gave that district as a *jāegīr* to Prince Jalāl Khān. And in the year 915 H. (1509 A.D) he marched from Lahāyar,[5] and came to Hatkānth,[6] established posts in different places and proceeded to his capital Āgra. The date of this was (fixed by the following words) *Lahu alḥukmu wa ilaihi tarja'ūn.*[7] That is to say, *His is the decree and to him do ye return* 32

Muḥammad Khān, the grandson of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn of Mālwa, fearing his grandfather, came for safety to the Sulṭān, and was allotted the *jāegīr* of Chanderi, while Prince Jalāl Khān was directed to [8] give him every assistance as an ally; and in this year orders were issued for the erection of palaces and rest-houses, and for the laying out of gardens [9] at intervals along the whole route from Āgra to Dholpūr, so that when he came back from his hunting expeditions he might rest and refresh himself [10] there. In this year Muhammad Khān of Nāgor, influenced by the fact that certain of his relations [11] had sought and obtained an interview with the Sultān, evinced great respect for the Sulṭān, reading the Khuṭbah in Nāgor in his name without raising any objection,[12] so that in this way a new territory[13] came [14] into the possession of the Sulṭān.

1 MS (A) راس اسپ. MS (B) راسعه اسپ. MS (A) کردند MS. (B) کرد.

2 The wife of Quṭb Khān Lodī, foster mother of Jalāl Khān (Firishta).

3 Text and MS (A) کوچ *Koch.* MS (B) کوح *Koh.* 4 MS. (B) آمده بودند.

5 Gwālhār (Firishta) Lahār is placed in Rennell's map about 50 miles S.-E of Gwālhār, see Hunter *Imp* Ga. VIII. 400.

6 *See p* 408 *n* 1. MS. (A) هنکایت *Hankāyat.* MS. (B) هتکان *Hatkān* Firishta هلکهایت *Halkhāyat*

7 The text has وله MSS (A) (B) have که له which is correct. The date is 915 H.

8 MS (A) omits تا 9 MS (A) بنای باغ 10 MS (B) فرمانند.

11 Firishta explains this, he says that certain relations of Muḥammad Khān, namely, 'Alī Khān and Abū Bakr who had conspired to kill him, had been overcome by him, and took refuge in the court of Sulṭān Sikandar and that Muḥammad Khān fearing the consequences adopted the means described in order to conciliate the Sulṭān.

12 Text بی جنگ و جدل MS. (A) بی جنگ و جدال.

13 MS. (B) omits ولایتی. 14 MSS (A) (B) آمد.

In this year also Sulaimān, the son of Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī, was dismissed from the service of the Sulṭān, on the grounds that he had been appointed [1] to perform a service at Ūntghar,[2] and in the direction of Sūpar, and had refused: the *pargana* of Indrī Karnāl [3] was given him as *Madad-i-ma'āsh* (rent-free land), with orders to go and remain there.

In this year [4] Bahjat Khān of Mālwa transferred Chanderī to Sultān Sikander on account of the weakness [5] of Sulṭān
322 Mahmūd of Mālwa, and read the Khuṭbah in his name in those districts. Accordingly proclamations conveying tidings of this victory were written to all parts of the Kingdom; and Muḥammad Khān, the grandson of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn of Mālwa,[6] was taken prisoner, and Chanderī was (nominally) [7] placed under his authority, but Amīrs were appointed to supervise him so that they might be aware of all his movements, control his actions, and administer [8] his *jāegīr*, then the Sulṭān proceeded on a hunting excursion towards Baiāna, and paid his respects to the various learned and holy men of those districts, who were at that time famous for their miracles and wonder-working,[9] especially [10] Saiyyid N'amatu-llāh and Shaikh 'Abdullāh Ḥusainī, [11] who was

[1] MS (A) فرموده شده بود

[2] Firishta says Hanwantgarh, Bo. text, p 341, and tells us that Sulaimān was summarily dismissed with permission to remove all that he could by day-break, and all of his property that remained was to be looted by the populace (غارت عام دهند).

[3] Firishta says نرّيرّي *Barerī* MS. (B) reads اندري و كربال. For the meaning of *madad-i-ma ash* called also *sūyūrghāl*, see *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Bl) *p*. 268 سويورغال *Sūyūrghāl* is a Turkī word meaning gifts (of land). (Pavet de Courteille).

[4] MS. (B) reads درين چند سال

[5] MS. (A) omits ضعف.

Firishta reads Bahjat Khān, Governor of Chanderī, whose ancestors for generations had been the faithful subjects of the Sulṭāns of Mālwa, on account of the weakness of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Mālwa, and the decadence of his kingdom, sought an interview with Sulṭān Sikandar, and agreed to the *Khuṭbah* being read in his name in Chanderī, *see* Briggs, p. 588, and Bo. text, p 341.

[6] MS (A) omits مالوي. MS. (B) writes محمد خان Muḥammad Khān, as also does Firishta The text reads محمود خان Maḥmūd Khān.

[7] Firishta reads ظاهرا

[8] MS. (A) omits و. MS (*B*) reads درجاگير.

[9] *See* Lane s v كرامة. also Hughes, *Dict. of Islām* art. Miracles. The full expression is خوارق العادة *Khawāriqu-l-'ādat*.

[10] MSS. (A) (B) خصوصا.

[11] MSS. (A) (B).

one of those famous for revelations and miracle-working,[1] with whom he used to consort frequently. Shāhzāda Daulat Khān, Governor of the Fortress of Rantanbhūr, in the service of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Mālwa, availing himself of the intermediary aid of 'Alī Khān of Nāgor, who was in charge of the province of Sīwī Siyūpūr,[2] came and had an interview with the Sulṭān, and agreed to give up to him the key of the fortress. It so chanced that the 'Alī Khān who has been spoken of above, once more practised his hypocrisy, and came out from the fort to oppose him. The Sulṭān pretended not to notice this, and treated Daulat Khān as though he were his own son, bestowing upon him a special robe of honour, with several horses and elephants, and proceeded towards the fort of Thankar,[3] and from thence proceeding by way of the township of Bārī,[4] he returned thence to Āgra. Here he was seized with an illness, and took the journey to the[5] next world on Sunday the seventeenth[6] of Zūl Q'adah 923 H. (Jan. 1518 A.D.). The words *Jannātu-l-Firdaus nazalā.* (The gardens of Paradise came down) furnish the date[7] of his death, the duration of his reign was twenty-eight years and five months.

Verse.

Sikandar, the emperor of the seven kingdoms continued not.
No one continues, seeing that Sikandar himself did not continue.

Sulṭān Sikandar used to associate frequently with poets and 325
was himself also a man of taste, and would occasionally compose

[1] MSS (A) (B) read که از اهل کشف و کرامات بود and this reading is preferable to that of the text

[2] The text reads سوی سوبر *Sūī Sūbar* with a footnote variant سیوی و سیاپور *Siwi o Siāpur*. Firishta reads سیوپور *Siyūpūr*. (? Sibi) see *Āīn-i-Akbari* (J) II. 328 n 1.

[3] Firishta writes تهانکر *Thānkar*.

[4] In the Sarkār of Āgra *See* Tieff I. 166.

[5] MS. (A) reads بجنات آخرت.

[6] Firishta says. Sunday, the *seventh* of Zūl Qa'dah, and adds that he died from suffocation, owing to the impaction of a morsel of food in the air passages, not of quinsy as Briggs translates it. *See* Bo text 343, and Briggs I 585.

[7] MS. (B) reads تاریخ شد and omits مدت. The letters جنات الفردوس make up the total 923.

verses after the ancient Hindustani [1] models, under the pseudonym of Gulrukh, accordingly he felt great pleasure in the companionship of Shaikh Jamāl.[2] The following verses are the product of the genius of the Sulṭān, and are written with the utmost regard to poetical form.

Ode [3]

That cypress whose robe is the jasmine, whose body the rose,
Is a spirit incarnate whose garment the body provides.
What profits the Khutani musk? all the kingdoms of Chin
Are conquered, and bound in the chains of her clustering curls.

In the eye of her eyelashes' needle the thread of my soul
I'll fasten and swiftly repair every rent in her robe.
Could Gulrukh essay to discover the charms of her teeth,
He would say they are water-white pearls of the ocean of speech [4]

One of the poets of the reign of Sultān Sikandar was the Brahman [Dūnkar [5]] who, they say,[6] in spite of being an infidel, used to give instruction in books of science [7] The following *matla*, (opening couplet) was spoken [and is a most auspicious *matla'* [8]] by him in the metre of Mas'ūd Beg,

Had not thy glance been the dagger, my heart had not bled to-day,
Had not thy look been the serpent [9] I never had lost my way

Also among the great and learned men of the time of Sultān Sikandar were Shaikh 'Abdu-llāh Tulumbi [10] in Dihli, and Shaikh 'Azizu-llah Tulumbi [11] in Sambhal, both of whom came

1 MSS. (A) (B) هندوستانیه.

2 MS. (B) جمال الزین. MS (A) جمال الدین Text جمالی لادن.

3 MSS. (A) (B) غزل Text ابیات

4 The verses are here given in the order in which they come in MSS (A) and (B) Both MSS. read گلرخ چو کند and MS (A) reads تا خاک or تا چاک Text.

5 MS. (A) دونکر *Dūnkar?* 6 MS (A) که میگویند

7 MSS. (A) (B) کتب علمي omit رسمی. 8 MS. (A) reads و مطلع مسعود.

9 ابتر *Abtar.* A noxious serpent which no one sees without fleeing from it see Lane s v. بتر.

10 MS (B) omits طلنبي. 11 MS (A) بودة الله

to Hindustān at the time of the ruin of Multān, and introduced the systematic study of the intellectual sciences into that country. Before their time, with the exception of the Sharḥ-i-Shamsiyah, and the Sharḥ-i-Ṣaḥāif [1] there were no books current in Hin- 85 dustān which treated of logic and metaphysics. I heard also from my masters,[2] that more than forty expert and profoundly learned men have arisen from among the disciples of Shaikh ʻAbdu-llāh, for example, Miyān Lādan, Jamāl Khān of Dihlī, Miyān Shaikh of Gwāliār,[3] Miyān Saiyyid Jalāl of Badāon, and others. They say also that Sulṭān Sikandar, during the instruction of the aforesaid Shaikh ʻAbdu-llāh, used to come[4] and seat himself quietly in a corner unseen by the rest, fearing lest he should interrupt the lesson of the other students, and when the lesson was ended they used to exchange the customary salutation of *Salām ʻalaikum*[5] and mix freely with each other.

And Shaikh ʻAzīzu-llah of Tulumba, who was a man of great probity and rectitude, had such an abundant genius and marvellous power of recollection,[6] that no matter how difficult or minute the subject matter of a book which a student of intelligence might be reading, he would give his lesson in it without previously reading it, and that time after time when they came up for examination, and propounded the most inscrutable problems, the learned Shaikh would explain them on the instant while giving his lesson.

[1] The former of these two works was most probably the famous commentary by Qutbu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd bin Muhammad Rāzī, on the Shamsiyah, a famous treatise on Logic composed by Najmu-d-Dīn ʻUmar bin ʻAlī Qazwīnī, who died A. H. 693 (1293 A. D.), *see* Ḥājī Khalīfah No 7667. El-Sahāif fi el-kalām, *folia de metaphysica* The *Sharh-i-Sahāif* must be the commentary mentioned by Hājī Khālīfah and by him ascribed to Samarqandī There was another commentary by Bihishtī *See* H. K. 7718.

[2] MS. (A) واز اسا تذه شديده شده

[3] MS (A) has a hiatus between the first and last letters of this name.

[4] Text and MS (B) مي آمد. MS (A) مي آيد. [5] MSS. (A) (B).

[6] 'Recollection' does not quite convey the full meaning of the word in the original which is استحضار *Istihzār*, this means literally, *making present, summoning*. It seems to be used here for the power of calling up at will any impression. It is not memory, or rather retentiveness, but implies the power of recalling impressions by purely mental forces after the removal of the stimulus. MSS (A) (B) read استحضاری غریب داشته.

One of his pupils was[1] Miyān Ḥātim Sanbali, who is commonly said to have read the *Commentary on the Miftāḥ*[2] more than thirty times in the course of his life, and the *Muṭawwal*[3] more than forty times, from the first letter of the *Bism'illāh* to the last of the word *Tammat.*[4]

Another is Shaikhu-l-Hadiyah Jaunpūri, the author of many worthy compositions and excellent books, who wrote a commentary extending over several volumes upon the *Hedāyah-i-Fiqh*,[5] while there is no need of mentioning his commentary on the *Kāfiyah*:[6] in addition to these he wrote notes upon the *Tafsir-i-*

[1] MSS. (A) (B) بوده.

[2] The text and MS. (B) agree in this reading. MS (A) reads سرحين مفتاح which may possibly stand for شرحين مفتاح *Sharḥain-i-miftāḥ*, the two commentaries on the *Miftāh*.

Miftāhu-l-'ulūm (clavis doctrinarum), *see* Hāji Khalīfah 12578. This book was written by Sirāju-d-Dīn Abū Ya'qūb Yusuf bin Abī Muḥammad bin Alī as Sikkāki who died 626 A.H. (1228 A.D)

The book was divided into three parts, of which the first treated of grammatical inflection, the second of syntax, and the third of arrangement and composition of sentences. (علمی المعاني و البيان) 'Ilmain-l-ma'ānī wal bayān. (Regarding 'Ilmu-l-bayān, etc., *see* Garcin de Tassy *Rhetorique des langues de l'orient Musulmān*, pp. 1-5.)

A commentary on all three parts was written by Maulā Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn al Muwazzini, and this is probably the commentary alluded to in the text. Other commentaries were written on the third part, of which Hāji Khalīfah mentions three as worthy of special notice.

[3] *Muṭawwal* (commentarius longior). By this book is meant the commentary written by Sa'du-d-Dīn at-Taftazānī (who died 792 A. H) on the book called Talkhīṣu-l-Miftāh It was called by the name of *Muṭawwal* or long commentary because after its completion in A. H. 748 its author wrote a second commentary, an abbreviation of the first, and gave it the name of *Mukhtaṣar* or shorter commentary (*See* H. K II. p 404).

[4] All works written by Muslims commence with بسم الله *Bism'illāh*. In the name of God The word تمت *tammat*, stands for تمت الكتاب *tammat-il kitāb*, the book is finished, and forms the last word, answering to our word '*Finis*.' MSS. (A) and (B) write only بسم

[5] *Hidāyah-i-Fiqh*. (*see* Hāji Khalīfah 14366.)

[6] *Kāfiyah*. The famous grammar known by this name is *Al-Kāfiyat fi-l-naḥw* (liber sufficiens) whose author was Shaikh Jamālu-d-Dīn abī 'Umar Uṣmān bin 'Umr, commonly known as *Ibnu-l-ḥājib*. (ob · 646 A. H). For a full account of the work and its various commentaries *see* H. K. 9707.

Madārik[1] and other works, which are read up to the present day.[2] Sulṭān Sikandar also collected together learned men[3] from all parts of the country to instruct him,[4] placing on one side Shaikh 'Abd-u-llah, and Shaikh 'Azīzu-llah, and on the other Shaikhu-l-Nadiyah and his son Shaikh[5] Bhakāri to discuss 325
difficult points. Eventually it became clearly evident that the former pair of worthies were superior in oratory, while the two latter were the better writers. The death of Shaikh 'Abdu-llah occurred in the year 922 H ; the following chronogram was invented to commemorate it: *Ūlāika lahum ud-darajātu-l-ulā.*[6]

And among the poets of the time of Sikandar, was the aforesaid Shaikh Jamāli Kanbawi of Dihli, to whom Sulṭān Sikandar was in the habit of submitting verses which he had written, for his opinion.

Speaking generally, he had many excellent points, he was a man who had travelled much, and had been honoured with the fellowship of our master the saintly Jāmi,[7] *may God sanctify his resting place*, and had gained many advantages from[8] him and won his approbation,[9] and was moreover in the habit of submitting[10] his poems to that revered master: The following verses are by him:

Verse.

I wear a garment woven of the dust of thy street
And[11] that too rent to the skirt with my tears.

Verse.[12]

Love's speech is swift, whole centuries of words,
Friend speaks to friend swift as the eye can close.

1 *Tafsīr-i-Madārik* Explanation of the sources from which are sought the ordinances of the law. *See* Lane *s. v.* مُدْرِكٌ.

2 MS. (A) omits تا این زمان.

3 MSS. (A) (B) write علماء.

4 MS (A) در درس خویش.

5 Both MSS (A) (B) write شیخ.

6 The text reads wrongly here اولئک لهم درجات العلی. MSS (A) (B) are correct. The quotation may be found in the Qur'ān (XX. 77). The value of the letters is 922

7 MSS (A) (B) omit بالله

8 MS (A) omits از.

9 MSS (A) (B) دریافته.

10 MSS (A) (B) در ملازمت

11 MS (B) omits و

12 MS. (A) omits this couplet.

The following ode also,[1] which he translated and set to music in his native Hindi, is marvellously inspiring, and is well known.[2]

My heart's desire is fixed on thy abode
Oh thou that art long absent from my sight;
By day and night the thought of thee alone
My constant partner is, ask then thy thought
Should'st thou desire, to bring thee news of me.

He also wrote a *Taẕkirah* (Book of Memoirs) to recount the assemblies of some of the Shaikhs of Hindūstān, called the *Siyaru-l-'Ārifīn* (Biographies of the Saints) which is not entirely free from defects and discrepancies. It commences from the
326. venerable Khwāja[3] Mu'īnu-l-Ḥaqq wau-d-Dīn Ajmīrī, and finishes with his own spiritual guide Shaikh Samāu-d-Dīn[4] Kanbawī of Dihlī, in addition to which it contains other matter both[5] prose and poetry. His *dīwān* is made up of eight or nine thousand couplets.

SULṬĀN IBRAHĪM BIN SULṬĀN SIKANDAR LODĪ,

Ascended the throne in Āgra in the year 923 H with the concurrence of the Amīrs, and Shahzāda Jalāl Khān ibn-i-Sulṭān Sikandar[6] [was appointed to the rule of Jaunpūr and was styled by the title of Sulṭān, while Khān-i-Jahān Lūhānī[7] governor of Rāprī came to Āgra] and blamed the Amīrs greatly for associating (Jalāl Khān) in the government[8] of the kingdom; and after that he had pointed out to them the foolishness[9] of this procedure orders were issued to the Amīrs of the eastern districts to seize Jalāl Khān and bring him to the Court. He however went from Jaunpūr to Kalpī and collected a large following, and after establishing the *Khuṭbah* and *sikkah* in his own name, assumed the title of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn. A'ẓam Hūmāyūn Shirwānī sided with him for a time, but eventually came and had an audience of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm

1 (A) omits اوهم.
2 MS. (A) omits حضرت.
3 MS. (A) آجمیری.
4 MS (A) هم دارد.
5 From this point there is a very long omission in MS (B).
6 The portion included in square brackets is repeated twice in MS. (A).
7 MS (A) نوحانی *Nūhānī*.
8 MS (A) reads بامر
9 MS (A) فسخ.

sent to the fortress of Hānsi certain of his brothers who were imprisoned, for instance Shāhzāda Isma'īl Khān, and Ḥusain Khān, and others,[1] and appointed for each of them food and clothing and two[2] servants from the private establishment. Then he proceeded in person with the object of conquering[3] the Eastern districts, and came to Bhūn Gānw, and having settled the disturbances in Mawās[4] came to Qanauj. There he nominated a large number of Amīrs to proceed against Jalāl Khān, who with thirty thousand cavalry and a certain number of elephants had gone off in the direction of Āgra Malik Ādam Kākar was 327.
sent by the Sulṭān to defend Āgra, and certain other Amīrs arrived to support him. They succeeded in persuading Jalāl Khān, by making pleasing overtures and using attractive arguments, to surrender his paraphernalia of royalty and kingly splendour to the Sulṭān, in order that they might prefer his application for pardon of his past offences and obtain for him the Kalpī district as a *jāegīr*. Jalāl Khān instantly agreed, and made over his royal canopy, his kettle-drums, *etcetera* to Malik Ādam with instructions to convey them to the Sulṭān in the neighbourhood of Itāwa.

[1] It will be remembered that A'ẓam Humāyūn was the eldest son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, Ismā'īl and Husain were respectively the fourth and fifth sons, Jalāl being the second son, and Ibrāhīm the third.

[2] Text reads دو دو MS. (A) more correctly reads دو.

[3] MS. (A) بتسخیر.

[4] The text reads here · وآن مواسها را پاک کردة *wa ān Mawāshā rā pāk karda* while MS. (A) reads مواسا *Mawāsā* for مواسها *Mawāshā*. Neither reading is intelligible.

Firishta reads here ·

جیچند زمیندار چرتولي من توابع پرگنة کول که از مواس مشهوربود با عمر خان پسر سکندرخان سور جنگ کردة او را بشهادت رسانید بنابراین ملک قاسم حاکم سنبهل بر سرش رفتة آن مفسد را بقتل آورد و آن فتنهٔ ناگهاني را تسکین دادة در قنوج بملازمت پادشاة رسید ۔

Jai Chand, a Zemindār of Chartūlī, a dependency of the *pargana* of Kol which was better known as Mawās, had fought against 'Umr Khān the son of Sikandar Khān Sūr and had slain him Accordingly Malik Qāsim Ḥākim of Sanbhal proceeded against him and put that rebel to death, and having quelled that sudden rebellion came and joined the king at Qanauj.

On the strength of Firishta's statement the above translation is given, and I would suggest that the text should read آن مفسدان مواس را.

The Sulṭān would not agree to his proposal of peace, and despatched a large army to oppose Jalāl Khān, who fled in consternation and took refuge[1] with the Rāja of Gwāliār, and the Amīrs of Sikandar's party, who had heretofore been a source of weakness to the administration of the empire, one and all owned allegiance to the Sulṭān. The Sulṭān experienced[2] a revulsion of feeling with regard to Miyān Bhoh, who was the chief of the Amīrs of Sikandar, and had been his *vazīr* and privy councillor, accordingly he cast him into chains and sent him to Malik Ādam; however, he treated his son with kindness and advanced him to the high offices formerly held by his father. Miyān Bhoh died in prison, and A'ẓam Humāyūn Shīrwānī, the Governor of Karra, was sent with thirty thousand cavalry and three[3] hundred elephants to attempt the reduction of Gwāliār. Jalāl Khān fled from Gwāliār and went to Mālwa to Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Mālwa. After the arrival of the Sulṭān's troops Rāi Vikramājit the son of Rāi Mān Singh,[4] who, after the decease[5] of his father, held the government of Gwāliār, was not able to cope with them, and could not properly defend the fortress. The fortress of Bādalgarh, which lies below[6] the fortress of Gwāliār,[7] a very lofty structure, was taken from Rāi Mān Singh[8] and fell into the hands of the Muslims,[9] and a brazen animal,[10] which was worshipped by the Hindūs also fell into their

[1] MS. (A) omits برد.

[2] MS. (A) پیدا شده Firishta calls him بهورا Bhūra.

[3] The text reads سه صد *sih ṣad* three hundred. MS. (A) reads سی صد *Sī ṣad* thirty hundred. Firishta (Bo. text p. 349.) reads also سیصد *si ṣad*.

[4] MS. (A) مان سنگهه.

[5] MS (A) درگذشتن Text reads کشتن Firishta says he died.

[6] MS (B) continues here.

[7] This fortress of Bādalgarh is to be distinguished from another fort of the same name mentioned in subsequent page (text page 429) see *Āin-i-Akbari*, I. (B) p 380 *n* 1. Firishta says it had been built by Mān Singh and was a *lofty* fortified building (Bo. text p. 350).

[8] MSS (A) (B) omit رای.

[9] MS. (A) omits اهل.

[10] The text reads صورتي روئين *Sūrate rū'in* a brazen image· but both MSS. (A) (B) read ستوري روئين *Sutūre rū'in* a brazen animal. So also Firishta, who says that it was ultimately erected at the Baghdād gate of Dihli, and goes on to say that "that cow remained at that gateway till the reign of Akbar" (p. 350)

hands, and was sent by them to Āgra, whence it was sent by Sulṭān Ibrahim to Dihlī, and was put up over the city gate. This image 328.
was removed to Fatḥpūr in the year 992 H., ten years before the composition of this history,[1] where it was seen by the author of this work. It was converted into gongs, and bells, and implements of all kinds.

In those days Sulṭān Ibrāhīm becoming distrustful of the old Amīrs, imprisoned the greater number of them,[2] and expelled (others) in different directions; and inasmuch as Jalāl Khān could not get on with Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Mālwa, he fled from Mālwa and came to the country of Kara Kanka,[3] where he fell into the hands of a tribe of the Gonds,[4] who took him prisoner and sent him as a present[5] to the Sulṭān who ordered him to be taken to Hānsī and imprisoned with his brothers. While on the way thither he drank of the draught of martyrdom.

> The draught of sovereignty and glory is so sweet
> That for its sake kings will shed the blood of their brethren;
> Shed not the blood of the afflicted in heart for the sake of kingdom,
> For they will pour the selfsame draught into the cup for thee.[6]

After some time, in accordance with the orders of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, Ā'ẓam Humāyūn Shirwānī, together with his son Fath Khān, abandoned the siege of Gwālīār Fort which he was within an ace of taking, and came to Āgra, where both were made prisoners. Islām Khān the son of Ā'ẓam [Khān][7] Humāyūn, gathered together[8] a following in Karra by means of his father's

[1] MS. (B) agreeing with the text. MS. (A) reads از تاریخ ابن جمع.

[2] MS. (B) reads گردانیده.

[3] Text and both MSS (A) (B). Firishta (Bo. text 351) reads براجه کدبه شتافت, fled to the Raja of Kadba (?). It would seem we should read Garha-Katanka which is the name of country bounded on the North by Panna, and on the south by the Dakhan, *see* Elliot VI 30.

[4] For an account of the Gonds, *see* Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, II 134 *et seqq.*, *see* also Hunter *Imp Gaz*, article *Central Provinces.*

[5] MSS. (A) (B) read مقید ساخته تحفه نزد.

[6] Firishta also has these same lines.

[7] MS. (A).

[8] MS (A) رسانیده.

wealth, and, having brought over to his side the Amirs of that district, fought a battle with Aḥmad Khān[1] the governor of Karra, and defeated him Sulṭān Ibrāhīm accordingly despatched Aḥmad Khān, the brother of Ā'ẓam Humāyūn Lodī, in command of a vast army,[2] to oppose the Amirs who had fled from his camp and had joined Islām Khān. With him also he sent[3] other
329. Khāns of eminence, such as Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī, and others of similar rank. Near the township of Bāngarmau, in the neighbourhood of Qanauj,[4] Iqbāl Khān, the chief cavalry commander under Ā'ẓam Humāyūn, with five thousand cavalry and some splendid elephants, broke out of ambuscade and attacked the forces of the Sulṭān, and after throwing them all into confusion[5] withdrew (into ambush). The Sulṭān by way of precaution despatched[6] a further force to their assistance, but the enemy, who had about forty thousand cavalry, well armed, and five hundred elephants, shewed a firm front against them, until Naṣīr Khān Luhānī with other generals arrived from the direction of Bihār and engaged the enemy on both sides. A fierce conflict ensued between the two armies, such a conflict as baffles description, and after a severe struggle[7] the rebels were defeated. Islām Khān was killed and Sa'īd Khān Lodī was taken prisoner, thus the rebellion was quenched

Verse.

Do not inflict ingratitude upon a benefactor and generous friend,
Like the cloud, which receives bounty from the ocean, and rains a storm of arrows upon its breast.[8]
As far as you are able, make the requital of favours your habit and custom,
Like the river, which gives to the clouds an ocean in return for one drop of its rain

And withal that he had gained so important a victory, yet was not the heart of the Sultan favourably disposed towards the

1 MS (A) omits نام
2 MS (A) reads سردار لشکر انبوه کرده. 3 MS (A) نامزد ساخته
4 MS (A) wrongly inserts و before اقبال
5 Firishta says, "after killing some and wounding many."
6 MS (A) فرستاده و 7 MSS. (A) (B) کشش و کوشش
8 This couplet is also given by Firishta.

Amirs: and they also being aware of this, raised in all directions the banners of antagonism. In the meanwhile, many of the eminent Amirs of royal descent, as for example Āʿẓam Humāyūn Shirwānī, and Miyān Bhoh, the Vazīr of Sulṭān Sikandar, departed from this world in the confinement of the prison-house.[1]

This is that same journeying place, this interminable desert
In which the army of Salm and Tūr was lost;[2]
This is the selfsame stage, this world of ruin
Which witnessed the palace of Afrāsiyāb.[3]

Miyān Ḥusain[4] Farmalī was assassinated in Chanderī, at the instigation of the Sulṭān, by certain ruffianly Shaikh Zādas of that place, and Daryā Khān Lūhānī, governor of Bihār, and Khān-i-Jahān Lodī being alarmed,[5] became disaffected. After a short time Daryā Khān died, and his son Bahādur Khān turned rebel and occupied the place of his father. The revolted Amirs made common cause with him, so that he collected a force of nearly a hundred thousand cavalry in the vicinity of Bihār, and gained possession of that country,[6] assuming the title of Sulṭān Muḥammad,[7] establishing the *Khuṭbah* and *sikka* in his own name. His army penetrated as far as the country of Sambal, and brought it within the area of their control.[8] The *Khuṭbah* was read in his name in Bihār and the territories adjacent, for some time. It so happened that the son of Daulat Khān Lodī, whose name was Khān-i-Khānān[9] came from Lāhor to Āgra to visit the Sulṭān, but being suspicious of his intentions fled from his court, and went to his father. Daulat Khān, seeing no hope of obtaining release from the (wrath of the) Sulṭān, sent that same son of his[10] to Kābul. He accordingly did homage to the supreme King, Zahiru-

330

[1] MS. (A) reads دو ويد.

[2] MS. (A) reads مرحله. MS. (B) مرحلسه. For the story of Salm and Tūr two of the sons of Faridūn, see Shahnāma (Atkinson) page 40 *et seqq.*, also Shahnāma (Turner Macan) pp 58 to 83.

[3] MS. (A) reads كه ديدة است.

[4] MS. (A). [5] MS. (B) هراسان.

[6] MS. (A) omits و. Firishta adds as far as Sambal.

[7] Footnote variant محمود *Mahmūd*. Firishta reads Muhammad.

[8] MS. (A) تسخير و ضبط MS (B) ضبط و تسخير. Text ضبط و تصرف.

[9] Firishta says غازيخان Ghāzī Khān. [10] MS (B) پسر خود را

d-Dīn Bābar, and induced him to advance against Hindūstān. Eventually Khān-i-Khānān laid a complaint[1] against his father before the supreme King Bābar, and poisoned his mind against him, and led to discord between them, as will be related if the Most High God so will it Khān-i-Khānān was living up to the date of the rebellion of Sher Shāh, but at last died in prison. Sulṭān Muḥammad departed to the world of permanence from Bihār, and the Amīrs on all sides rebelled against Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, and great damage was inflicted upon the kingdom The pillars of the
331. empire began to totter,[2] and the standard of the fortune of King Bābar floated high.

The following is a brief epitome of the matter: Daulat Khān and Ghāzī Khān his son, together with the other noble Amīrs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, sent 'Alam Khān Lodī to Kābul, bearing despatches to Zahīru-d-Dīn Bābar Pādishāh, inviting him to attempt the conquest of Hindūstān. Accordingly Bābar Pādishāh appointed a number of his own Amīrs to accompany 'Ālam Khan, with orders to advance and conquer that country Having conquered Siālkot and Lāhor with its dependencies, they represented the condition of affairs (to Bābar) and the following *qiṭ'ah* was written to commemorate the date of the conquest of Hindūstān.

Verse.

Zahīru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh Bābar,
In fortune Sikandar, in force a Bahrām,
By his fortune conquered the country of Hind,
The date of this was *Fath badaulat.*[3] (Victory by fortune).

Bābar Pādishāh marching continuously, arrived at the banks of the river Indus, and drew up the whole force, composed of ten thousand [veteran] cavalry[4] in that camp after passing the troops in review. In the interval, Daulat Khān and Ghāzī Khān had turned back with thirty thousand veteran[5] cavalry composed of Afghāns and other tribes, and had occupied the town of Kalānūr, and prepared to engage Bābar's Amīrs at

[1] MS. (B) writes شکایت after از پدر خود instead of before it as in the text. MS. (A) reads معائب for شکایت.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) افتاد.

[3] فتح بدولت *Fath ba daulat* These letters give the date 930 H.

[4] MSS. (A) (B) omit مرد کاری.

[5] MS. (B) omits سوار.

Lāhor, while Amīr Khusrū, who had strengthened the fortress of Siālkoṭ, evacuated it as soon as Ghāzī Khān arrived, and took refuge in flight to the camp. Some days afterwards Bābar arrived at Siālkoṭ where he encamped [and after laying waste the township of Siālkoṭ founded Dholpur.][1] 'Ālam Khān proceeded to Dihlī by order of Bābar, and encountering Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, made[2] a night attack upon the army of the Sulṭān; and Jalāl Khān with certain other Amīrs arrived in the course of that night and joined 'Ālam Khān. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm did 332
not stir from his tent till dawn. The followers[3] of 'Ālam Khān, fancying they had secured an easy victory, were scattered in all directions, only a small number remained[4] with 'Ālam Khān. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, urging an elephant forward, attacked the enemy's centre, who could not withstand[5] his attack. The faithless 'Ālam Khān passing through[6] the Doāb came to Sihrind, and thence fled for refuge to the fortress of Gungūna,[7] one of the dependencies of Malot,[8] at the foot of the hills. Dilāwar Khān Lūhānī separated from him, and joined the service of Bābar Padishāh, and became one of his faithful adherents. 'Ālam Khān also after some time came and had an interview with Bābar, who, in accordance with his former custom, gave him an honourable reception, and as he was halting at the time of the interview he distinguished him with a robe of honour and other marks of favour; and when he pitched camp in the neighbourhood of Kalānūr, Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā and other Amīrs[9] came from Lāhor and joined him. Thence he proceeded to the fortress of Malot in which Ghāzī Khān [and Daulat Khān were, and besieged it, and Ghāzī Khān and Khān-i-Khānān][10] determined upon flight

[1] Not in either MS. (A) or (B) a footnote to the text states that this passage occurs in one MS. only.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) آورد و.

[3] The text reads rightly عالم خانیان. MS. A reads عالم خان.

[4] MS. (A) ماندند. [5] MS. (B) پای ثابت

[6] MS. (B) omits گذشته.

[7] The text and both MSS. read Gungūna. *See* Erskine's Bābar, p. 300. "The fort of Kinkūteh."

[8] In Pind Dādan Khān *taḥṣīl* Jhīlam, District Panjāb, *see* Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, IX. 263. [9] MSS. (A) (B) دیگر امرا.

[10] Not in text. of MSS. (A) (B) which read MS (A)

و دولتخان هردوان بودند رفته محاصره نمود

and left the fort. Daulāt Khān hastened to tender his submission, and his faults were[1] pardoned as on former occasions; and on the day of public audience when they brought him into the presence with two swords tied round his neck, orders were given that he was not to be brought in in that (humiliating) manner. On the contrary, Bābar sent him a respectful summons, and bidding him be seated[2] gave him a place near himself.[3]

That is (true) generosity to shew kindness to the wrongdoer,
For the generous cannot but shew kindness to a friend.

However, he distributed his effects among the soldiery,[4] and the *fortress* of Malot, which apparently means Malot itself, fell into the hands of Bābar Pādishāh. Some few days after this occurrence
333 Daulat Khān, who had been imprisoned by Bābar, died in prison[5] and Bābar proceeded to the Siwālik hills in pursuit of Ghāzī Khān, and encamped[6] at the foot of the Dūn,[7] which is a very high hill, Ghāzī Khān was not to be found. Bābar accordingly returned stage by stage to the frontiers of Ṣihrind, and pitched his camp on the banks of the Ghaghar,[8] thence he came to the borders of[9] Sāmāna and Sanām, and gave orders to Amīr Kittah Beg to[10] proceed to within a short distance of the camp of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, who, after the defeat of 'Ālam Khān, had stood fast[11] near Dihlī,

MS. (B) goes on *محاصرة نمودند و غازي خان و خانخانان ازان قلعه فرار دادة

1 MS. (A) reads گناهان او.

2 MS. (A) جلی دادده. MS. (B) نشستن فرمود و.

3 Compare the account of this given by Bābar himself, *see* Elliot IV. 246. Firishta's account (Bo. text p 378) tallies with that given by our author.

4 In MS. (A) the word بسپاهیان precedes قسمت: in the text it follows it.

5 Firishta does not mention the death of Daulat Khān, and tells us that Bābar took possession of Ghāzi Khān's library of valuable books, of which he kept some for himself and gave the rest away.

6 MS. (A) بنزول فرمود.

7 The text reads دامن کوه تا دون with a footnote variant هندون. MSS. (A) (B) read دامن کوه دون, see *Tūzak-i-Bābari*, Elliot IV. 247. "Marching thence and passing the small hills of Ābkand by Milwat we reached Dūn. In the language of Hindustan they call a Jūlga (or dale) Dūn."

8 MS. (A) کهکر.

9 MSS. (A) (B) بعدود omit در.

10 MS. (A) omits كه.

11 MSS. (A) (B) متمکن بود.

and bring intelligence of the position and strength of his army; and at this camp Baban the Afghān who had been in revolt came and had an interview (with Bābar). From this camp also Shāhzāda Muhammad Humāyūn Mirzā, together with Khwāja Kalān Beg and other notable Amirs, were despatched against Ḥamid Khān the *Khaṣṣ-i-Khail* (Chief of Cavalry) of Sulṭān Ibrāhim, who was advancing at the head of a force from Ḥiṣṣār Fīroza to give them battle. They proceeded by forced marches, and a severe engagement took place. Ḥamid Khān was defeated, many of his men being either killed or taken prisoners.[1] The *sarkār* of Ḥiṣṣār Fīroza with a revenue of two crores,[2] was given as a reward to the Shāhzāda, and Bābar Pādishāh encamped on the bank of the Jamna, two marches from Shāhābād, and detailed Khwāja Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzā, and Sulṭān Junaid Mirzā[3] Birlās to oppose Dā'ūd Khān and a body of Amirs of the army of Sulṭān Ibrāhim, who had crossed the Jamna with five or six thousand cavalry. Accordingly they also crossed the Jamna and gave the Afghāns a second drubbing, killing them and taking them prisoners, while the remnant of the sword took refuge in the camp of Sulṭān Ibrāhim.

Marching thence, having drawn up his right and left wings and centre,[4] King Bābar reviewed them in person. Eight hundred gun-carriages[5] had been prepared in one day. Ustā[6] 'Ali Quli the Artillerist, acting upon my orders, had followed the custom of the Turkish artillery, and bound together the gun-carriages with chains and raw-hide thongs, twisting them into the form of a whiplash.[7] And in the interval between each pair of gun-carriages six or seven shelter parapets[8] were placed, so that on the day of 334.

[1] MS (B) اسیر.

[2] MS. (A) دوکرور, see however *Āin-i-Akbari* II (J.) 293. [3] MSS. (A) (B).

[4] برانغار *baranghār*, right wing جوانغار. *jawānghār*, left wing, called also جوانقول *jawāngūl*. غول *ghūl* or قول *qūl*, means the centre of an army. (*See* Pavet de Courteille *Dict Turk-oriental*), see also Erskine's Bābar, p 227.

[5] Text writes عرابة. MS. (A) writes this word ارابة.

[6] Ustād Ali Quli (Erskine's Bābar, p 302).

[7] ارقمچي P. de C. does not give this word (?) ارد قمچي the end of a whip, *i. e.*, the lash. See Erskine's Bābar, p 304

[8] The text reads توبرۀ پرخاک *tūbra-i-purkhāk*. MS (A) omits the words پرخاک *purkhāk*, while MS. (B) writes پرخاك تفنگ *purkhāk-i-tufāng*. All these readings appear to be incorrect. For توبرا *tūbra*, we should read توره

the battle the riflemen might be able to fire in safety from the shelter of the guns and parapets. He had determined [1] to march, and encamp with the city of Pānipath in the rear of his army, and to use the line of gun-carriages as a front line of defence for his troops,[2] while the cavalry and infantry should come into action from behind the gun-carriages with [3] arrow and musketry fire, while the remainder of the cavalry should advance on both sides, and keep up a constant attack,[4] and in case of necessity, should retire to the cover afforded by the gun-carriages [5] Accordingly on Thursday the last day of Jumādu-l-Ākhir [6] 932 H., he encamped in the vicinity of the city of Pānipath, at a distance of six *krohs* from the camp of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, whose force was composed of a hundred thousand cavalry and a thousand elephants, while the army of Bābar Pādishāh [7] comprised fifteen thousand cavalry and infantry on a rough estimate.[8] The troops under Bābar used to make daily sallies from unexpected quarters, and attack the Afghān army, bringing in several heads: in spite of which Sultān Ibrāhīm and his men did not dare to make a single attempt at any counter attack during all this time.[9] At last one night Mahdī Khwāja, Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā and certain other Āmirs, with five or six [10] thousand men made a night attack [11] upon Sulṭān Ibrāhim's army, and after killing a large

tūra, with the meaning *palisades* or *abattis*, see Pavet de Courteille *Dict. Turk-oriental s. v* تورا تورة pièces de bois et defer qu'on relie ensemble avec des chaînes et des crochets, et derrière lesquelles s'abritent les soldats. *See* also Erskine's Bābar, p. 304 *n* 2. *See* also *Pers· Lat Lexicon s v* تورا, also Elliott *IV.* 251 *n.* 4. This seems to be undoubtedly the correct reading, the word تودرة *tūbra* having been written by our author in mistake for تورة, the words پر خاک having been subsequently added Sacks full of gunpowder would form a not very comfortable shelter for riflemen.

1 MS. (B) قرار او 2 MS. (A) پیش سپاه 3 MS. (B) به تیر و تفنگ.

4 The text reads بمدافع و مجادله with a footnote to say that this is the reading of all three MSS., but that probably the verbal noun of action should have been written. MS (A) gives this verbal noun مدافعه. So that clearly this MS. was not one of the three from which the text was edited.

5 MS. (B) omits عرابه and writes بار تعقب.

6 April 12, 1526 7 MS (B) بادشاه. 8 MS (B) تخمینا.

9 MS (A) writes ظاهر for واقع. MS. (B) writes wrongly جراحتي ظاهر نشد for جرائي.

10 MSS. (A) (B) پنج شش. 11 MS. (A) شبيخون.

number of them returned in safety. In spite of the consternation into which this threw them, the enemy were not put upon their guard,[1] and on Friday the eighth of the honoured month Rajab[2] in the aforesaid year, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm with a large army, strong as the brazen rampart of Sikandar,[3] clad in iron armour came out to the fight.

Bābar Padishāh also, having arrayed his army with all the pomp and circumstance of war, and shewing a firm unbroken front, gave orders detailing from the left wing Amīr Qarā Qūrchī and Amīr Shaikh 'Alī, with certain other Amīrs, and from the right wing, Walī Qizil and Bāba Qashqah, with the whole force of Mughūls, to form two parties and attack the enemy in the rear, while the Amīrs of the right and left wings in a body, and from the picked troops,[4] Amīr Muḥammad Gokultāsh, and Amīr Yūnas 'Alī, and Amīr Shāh Manṣūr Birlās, with other famous Amīrs, should lead the front attack: and since the Afghāns [were specially observant of the right wing, Amīr 'Abdu-l-'azīz, who was with the reserve, was ordered by king Bābar to reinforce the right wing],[5] and when he got within bowshot of the enemy,[6] the bodies of the enemies took to themselves wings, and the bird of the soul of many of them took flight from the cage of the body, while the wings of others[7] were clipped by the shears of the two-edged sword.

Verse.

So vast was the river of blood which flowed on that battle field
That the feet of the warriors could not stand against its flood,
The breeze which blew from that battle field at morning time
Brought to the nostrils the odour of the heart's blood.

The slain lay in heaps,[8] while those who escaped death by the sword became the portion for kites and ravens. A period of two

[1] MS (A) writes پراگنده شد MS. (B) agrees with the text.

[2] المرجب Al-murajjab. So called because in the Time of Ignorance it was held in special honour, inasmuch as war or fighting during this month was held to be unlawful, see Lane s.v. رجب.

[3] MS. (A) omits اسکندر.

[4] MS (B) فوج.

[5] Omitted from MS (B).

[6] The text is wrong here: we should read در شیبهٔ تیر dar shaiba-i-tīr on the authority of MSS. (A) (B)

[7] MS (B) supplies بعضی after پر و بال

[8] We should read و از کشتهٔ پشته شد.

qarns[1] has elapsed since this event up to the time of the composition of this *Muntakhab*, but up to the present, the noise of conflict and shouts of combatants proceeding from that field of battle reach the ears of travellers at night.

In the year 997 H. (1588 A.D) the writer of these pages[2] was proceeding one day at early morning[3] from the city of
336. Lāhor towards Fatḥpūr, and had to cross that plain, when these terrifying noises reached his ears, and the people who were with him imagined that some enemy was upon them. I also witnessed with my own eyes what I had heard related. Submitting this divine mystery to the Almighty we went on our way.

Sulṭān Ibrāhīm together with a party of attendants was taken in an unknown desert and put to the sword, his head[4] was brought into the presence of Bābar Pādishāh, and[5] about five or six thousand who formed Sulṭān Ibrāhīm's retinue were put to death in the one spot.

Verse.

It is plainly evident[6] to thee that this dark world is a snare of calamity,
Thou knowest[7] now that the world is full of guile, and desperately deceitful.
That man from fear of whom no one would enter the water
He himself is drowned in the ocean, an ocean without bounds.[8]

Bābar Pādishāh after gaining this[9] signal victory departed thence, and reached Dihlī[10] on the same day and encamped there. He then caused the *Khuṭbah* to be read in his name,[11] despatching Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mirzā and all the Amīrs to Āgra, with orders to make forced marches, and to seize the treasure[12] belonging to Ibrāhīm, which was of untold value, and divide it among the soldiery.[13]

1 The قرن *qarn* is an uncertain period of time, here it probably means a space of forty years.

2 MSS. (A) (B) اوراق را.

3 MS. (A) وقت سحري.

4 MSS. (A) (B) سرش را.

5 MSS. (A) (B) supply و.

6 MS. (B) reads روز شب.

7 MS. (B) reads حيرتى.

8 Read here با پهنا for تا پهنا. A footnote to the text states that تاپهنا is the reading of all three MSS.

9 MS (A) اين چنين فتح. 10 MS. (B) به دهلي. 11 MS. (B) omits بنام.

12 MS. (A) (B) خزينه and omit كه. 13 MSS. (A) (B) نمودند.

Verse.

He who sacrifices his life upon the field of battle
Sacrifice thy gold to him by way of generosity.
However brave-hearted a man may be
He cannot be eager to fight when he is without food.[1]

This event took place in the year 932 H. (1525 A.D.), and the Hindūs invented this date *Shahīd shudan-i-Ibrāhīm*[2] (the martyrdom of Ibrāhīm) to commemorate it. From that time the empire once more passed from the Afghān Lodī family, and rested on the descendants of Amīr Tīmūr Ṣāḥibqirān. The duration of the reign of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm was nine years.

ZAHĪRU-D-DĪN MUHAMMAD BĀBAR PĀDISHĀH GHĀZĪ. 33

After this ascended[3] the throne[4] of sovereignty, and by his justice and liberality adorned the world with fresh lustre and glory, and sent rewards to Samarqand, 'Irāq, Khurāsān and Kāshghar. He also despatched offerings[5] to the sacred cities of Makkah and Medīnah, and to the holy places of pilgrimage, and sent off gold beyond price to all the inhabitants of Badakhshān and Kābul, to each its separate store, from the vast treasuries of Hindūstān. He converted the world into a rose garden. The Amīrs of Hindūstān, notwithstanding his conciliatory behaviour and efforts to improve[6] their fortunes, did not yield obedience to him, but behaved like unruly savages,[7] and took to fortifying themselves in their fortresses and estates,[8] while Qāsim Sanbalī in Sambal, and Nizām Khān in Baiāna, and Ḥasan Khān Mīwātī in Alwar, and Tātār Khān Sārang Khān[9] in Gwāliār, took refuge in their respective fortresses. Itāwa was held by Quṭb Khān, and Kalpī by 'Ālam Khān, while Qanauj and all the eastern districts were in the possession of the Afghāns, who, in the reign of Sulṭān Ibrahīm also, had refused to own his sway,[10] and[11] having raised the son of Bihār Khān to the throne, gave[12] him the title of Sulṭān Muhammad; his empire extended as far as

1 MS. (B) reads بی مرگ.
2 شهید شدن ابراهیم = 932.
3 MSS. (A) (B) نمود.
4 MS. (B) سریر.
5 MS. (A) نذور.
6 MS. (A) reads ترقیه.
7 MSS (A) بود (B) بودند after متوحش.
8 MS. (A) omits و بقاع.
9 MS (A) سارنگ خان
10 MS. (A) نمیکرد.
11 MSS (A) (B) supply و
12 MS. (A) نهادند

Bihār, and Naṣir Khān Lūhānī and Ma'rūf Farmalī and other powerful Amīrs gave in their allegiance to him, while a slave of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm named Marghūb, having fortified the township of Mahāwan, which is situated at a distance of twenty *krohs* from Āgra, on the far side of the river Jamna, refused to own him as king.

Accordingly troops were detailed by Bābar Pādishāh to conquer these countries, and Firoz Khān, and Sārang Khān,[1] and Shaikh Bāyazīd, the brother of Muṣṭafā Farmalī, with other Afghāns coming and tendering their submission, were given *jāegīrs*.[2] Shaikh Khūran who was one of the Hindustānī Amīrs, and also one of their most accomplished men,[3] being unrivalled in the art of music, came with his whole following and had an interview (with Bābar) in the Doāb.

The territory of Sambal was conferred as a *jāegīr* upon Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mīrzā. The Amīrs seized Qāsim Sanbalī and sent him to Bābar, while another body of men had been sent against Baiāna, and had besieged Niẓām Khān, keeping him closely invested In this year also Rānā Sānkā having wrested the fortress of Khandār,[4] which is in the vicinity of Rantanbhūr, from Ḥasan son of Makhan, was in possession of it; and Shāhzāda Muhammad Humāyūn Mīrzā,[5] with a party of Amīrs who had been appointed[6] to capture and hold Dholpūr, were ordered to proceed against a body of Afghāns of the Lūhānī faction who were close on fifty thousand, and had advanced beyond Qanauj. Both Saiyyid Mahdī Khwāja, and Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, who had been ordered to capture Itāwa,[7] joined the retinue of the Shāhzāda,[8] who brought into subjection the whole of the eastern districts as far as Jaunpūr. In the meanwhile Rānā Sānkā and Ḥasan Khān Miwātī raised to the throne one of the sons of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, named Sulṭān Muḥammad, with the title of Pādshāh, and started on an expedition against the territories of Bābar with a large following and vast[9] army.

[1] MSS. (A) (B) خاني.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) جايگيرها.

[3] MSS. (A) (B) supply متعين.

[4] MSS (A) (B) كهندار.

[5] MSS (A) (B) را

[6] MSS (A) (B) معين.

[7] MS. (B) writes اماده for اتاوة.

[8] MS. (A) writes شاه *Shāh*.

[9] MS. (A) بيپايان

Marching by way of Basāwar[1] they arrived in the neighbourhood of Fatḥpūr, otherwise known as Sīkrī.[2] Niẓām Khān, the Governor of Baiāna made representations to the Court of Bābar and gained a certain degree of influence. Rafī'u-d-Dīn Ṣafwī, who was one of the most powerful Saiyyids of Balkh,[3] and the chief[4] of the traditionists, and who, having come to Hindūstān in the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, had been given the title of *Ḥaẓrat-i-Muqaddas* (His Holiness), came and had audience of the Sulṭān and tendered his service. Tārtār Khān Sārang Khānī also, after that Rānā Sānkā seized the fortress of Khandhār, and the infidels had got the upper hand, first of all sent a representation to King (Bābar) saying, I intend to surrender the fortress of Gwāliār; but when Khwāja Raḥīm[5] Dād and Shaikh Khūran and a further party also arrived, he was ashamed (of this weakness). This party then, by the guidance of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghaus, who was unrivalled in his time, and was the chief authority on the science of *da'watu-l-asmā*,[6] entered the fort by some skilful stratagem and took it from Tātār Khān whether he would or no, and sent him 339. into the presence of Bābar Pādishāh. In just this same way also Muḥammad Zaitūn the Afghān gave up the fort of Dholpūr to[7] the Amīrs of Bābar, and coming in had an interview with the King. In the meanwhile, Rānā Sānkā[8] had arrived on the confines of Baiāna and was doing damage to the country, and had, after a halt of a few days, reached Fatḥpūr; Bābar Pādishāh, with a small body of the soldiery which he had with him, left the capital of Āgra with the object of engaging him in battle. He also wrote[9] a despatch to summon Shāhzāda Muḥammad Humāyūn Mīrzā, ordering him to leave Jaunpūr in charge of certain eminent Amīrs, and to come himself with all speed to take part in that war; the victorious Prince, having taken the country of Ḥaraud[10] and

1 MS. (A) پشاور. 2 See Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.*, IV. 433.
3 MSS. (A) (B) ابخ *Abkh*. 4 MS. (A) اعاظم. 5 MS. (B) جم
6 *Lit.* calling upon the names (of God). This is a term used to express a system of incantation which is held to be lawful by orthodox Muḥammadans. For a full account of it, *see* Hughes (Dict. of Islām) article *Da'wah*, p 72. MS. (B) reads دعوات The text has a misprint رهنوني for رهنموني.
7 MS. (A) به 8 MSS (A) (B) که رانا. 9 MS. (B) می نوشتند.
10 Footnote variant to the text reads حريد Ḥarid.

Bihār from Naṣir Khān [1] Luhāni, and having appointed Khwāja Amir, Shāh Ḥasan and Amir Junaid Birlās to the government of Jaunpūr, proceeded by way of Kalpi, and by adopting measures partly peaceful and partly warlike, brought over 'Ālam Khān the governor of that place,[2] and made him one of his adherents. He lost no time in attaching himself to the king's service, and was granted many royal favours.

At this same time, that pattern for the great[3] and noble, Khwāja Khāwind Naqshbandi arrived from Kābul, and the Amirs sitting in council determined by a majority, that, seeing that the army of Rānā Sānkā is currently reported to exceed in multitude the ants and locusts, it appears advisable to strengthen the fortress of Āgra, and that, leaving it in charge of a garrison, the sovereign of Islām should proceed in his own excellent person towards the

340\. Panjāb, and wait for the development of unseen events. The king did not agree to the decision of this council, but girded up his loins to carry into effect his intention of a *jihād*, and setting his heart upon martyrdom, marched in the direction of the field of Fatḥpūr and made this project the aim and object of his ambition.[4]

Verse.

Since the soul must of necessity at last leave the body,
This is best, that, when the time comes, it should at least depart with honour.
The end of the world is this, and nothing more
That after a man's death, his name should remain.

The Amirs also, placing their hands upon the sacred word, (the Qur'ān), swore an oath to renew their compact and carry out their intention of making war upon the infidels, for the exaltation of the sublime creed,[5] and the promulgation of the

1 A footnote variant نصرتخان Nusrat Khān. So also MS. (B).

2 MS (B) reads حاکم بخارا Hākim-i-Bukhārā.

3 The text reads قدوة الاعظم so also MSS. (A) (B). A footnote to the text says that this reading is found in all three copies, but that اعاظم is correct.

4 MS. (A) همت والا نهمت

5 The كلمة *Kalimah.* "There is no God but God and Muhammad is the Apostle of God," *see* Qur'ān xlvii 21 and xlviii 29 *See* also Hughes (Dict. of Islām) art. *Kalimah.*

glorious law, deeming the field of battle to be a joyful assembly, and doing full justice[1] to the claims of manliness in such a way as the eye of time had never before witnessed, and after many strenuous efforts the standards of Islām floated bravely on high, while the banners of infidelity were laid low. In the thick of the fight an arrow found its way to the forehead of Ḥasan Khān Mīwātī, who was an infidel who used the Kalimah; they cast him into a well and took to flight, while he fell into the well of Hell, although a certain Mīwātī,[2] a *jogī*[3] in form and appearance, in the year 960 H., after the death of Salīm Shāh Afghān Sūr, raised a rebellion in Mīwāt, and called himself[4] Ḥasan Khān, and mentioned certain of the secret signs to the Mīwātīs, still, a certain number acknowledged him. The composer of this *Muntakhab* (selection) also, in the year 965 H. (1557 A.D.) saw him[5] in Āgra, but no signs of nobility or authority were visible in his features,[6] and the late Khān-i-Khānān Bairam Khān used to say, that Ḥasan Khān Mīwātī[7] was a man who commanded a large following,[8] and was of kingly appearance, and had a poetical temperament. His poems are well known; but this mannikin[9] resembled[10] an uncouth rustic, his appearance was extremely repulsive.[11] God forbid that this wretch, should be that Ḥasan Khān.

After some time certain of the Khānzādas of Mīwāt moved 341.
by indignation and jealousy put him to death. A short time after this[12] victory, that gallant king was attacked by a severe illness, and after that he had reached the age of fifty years, he departed from this transitory world to the eternal realms in the year 937 H. (1530 A.D.).

THE DATE OF THE DEATH OF SHĀH BĀBAR.

This took place in the year nine hundred and thirty-seven. The words *Shash-i-Shawwāl*[13] also form the date of his decease,

[1] MS (B) reads داد دادند.
[2] MS. (B) omits میواتی.
[3] MS. (A) reads جوکی.
[4] MS (B) میگفت. Text and MS. (A) میگرفت.
[5] MS. (B) دیده بودند.
[6] Both MSS. (A) (B) omit جمیع.
[7] Both MSS. (A) (B) read میواتی for مذکور.
[8] MS (A) reads صاحب جمعیتی.
[9] MSS. (A)(B) مردک.
[10] MS. (B) می‌نماید.
[11] *Lit.* like that of a changeling.
[12] MSS. (A) (B) omit این.
[13] شش شوال = 937 (H).

while the date of his birth may be found from this couplet.

> Since this revered monarch was born in the sixth of Muharram,
> The year of his birth[1] also is <u>Shash</u>-i-*Muharram*.

The duration of his reign in Māwarā-annahr, Badakhshān, Kābul, and Kāshghar, as well as in Hindustān, was[2] thirty-eight years. He had succeeded to the kingdom at the age of twelve, and Khwāja Kalān Bēg wrote this couplet in his funeral ode:

> Alas! that time and the changeful heaven should exist without thee.
> Alas! and Alas! that time should remain and thou should'st be gone.

Among the learned men of his time is Shaikh Zain Khānī,[3] who translated in most elegant[4] style, the *Wāqi'at-i-Bābari*,[5] which the deceased monarch wrote, and the following verses are by him:

Verses

342 Thou hast rested with thy guardians and hast fled from me
> What have I done? or what hast thou heard or seen from me?
> There was no necessity for injustice to enable thee to seize my heart.
> I would have yielded it had'st thou but desired it of me.

Verses.[6]

> So straitened did my heart become for longing for those lips of thine
> Too narrow was the way by which my soul should quit its earthly shrine.

1 The text reads correctly تاریخ سال او but both MSS (A) (B) read تاریخ فوت *tārīkh-i-faut*, the date of his death.

The letters of the words شش محرم give the date 888 H. This would make him fifty years of age in 938 H. This couplet has a variant reading which is given in the footnote to the text

2 MS. (A) omits بود.

3 MS. (A) reads دین خوافست.

4 *Wāqi'āt-i-Bābari*. This, called also *Tūzak-i-Bābari* is the work of which Erskine's translation is so well-known. I can find no other reference to the translation from the original Türki here referred to by our author. *See* Elliot V. 218 *et seqq.*, also Erskine's Bābar (Introduction).

Footnote variant فصیح

6 MS (A) reads ولہ.

My verses are both rational and traditional, and my desire is, that Maulānā Hasan, who comprises in himself all rational [1] and traditional science, may hear them.

Another is Maulānā Baqā'i who wrote a Masnavī in the metre of the Makhzan-i-Asrār.[2] At the moment I do not remember a single poem of his.

Another[3] is Maulānā Shihābu-d-Dīn the Enigmatist, whose general learning was overshadowed by his special skill in the composition of enigmas, and[4] at the time when Darmash Khān[5] was appointed[6] by Shāh Isma'īl Safawī Husainī to the Governorship of Khurāsān, that prince of traditionists, Mīr Jamālu-d-Dīn, the traditionist, one day while the preaching was going on, in dispelling the apparent contradiction between the sacred word *Verily your Lord is God, who created the heavens and the earth in six days*,[7] and that true Hadīs (tradition) that *He created the world in seven days*,[8] explained it in two ways, Maulānā Shihābu-d-Dīn[9] refuted it, by adducing one after another several excellent arguments, and wrote a treatise on that subject, to which the learned divines of that time subscribed[10] their signatures. The writer of these pages also on the same occasion wrote a few lines of prose and poetry, from which the following *rubā'ī* is selected,[11]

Quatrain 34

This writing which has appeared like lawful magic,
Its poetry and prose are purer than the purest water

1 MSS. (A) (B) read معقول.

2 MS. (A) supplies اسرار. See *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (B) I. p 595 n 2, also Beale, p 67

3 MSS. (A) (B) وديگرى See Beale, p. 243. Shihābu-d-Dīn died in the reign of Humāyūn 942 A. H. *See next page.*

4 MS. (A) درزمانى كه.

5 MS. (A) درمش خان Darmash Khān. 6 MSS (A) (B) منصوب شد

7 Qur'ān VII. 52 X 3.

8 See *Mishkāt* xxiv. I. 3. "God created the earth on Saturday, and the hills on it on Sunday, and the trees on Monday, and unpleasant things on Tuesday, and he created the light on Wednesday, and scattered the beasts of the earth on Thursday, and created Adam after afternoon prayer on Friday, the last of the creation"

9 MS. (B) writes Shihāb only 10 MSS (A) (B) write ثبت كردة اند

11 The text reads ازان جملة فقير است MS (A) omits the word فقير and MS. (B) reads فقر possibly for نقل

It is a gleam from the brightness of "the brilliant Star,[1]
In describing whose dignity the tongue of meditation is struck dumb.

The following enigma on the name Kāshif is also by him

Quatrain.

With a view to deceive the heart of this broken-hearted one,
That idol with mouth like the rosebud is every moment[2] displaying coquetry.
Upon the leaf of the rose she wrote that curling ringlet
And then displayed her moon-bright face from[3] one corner[4]

The death of the Maulavī took place at the time of the return of the Emperor Muḥammad Humāyūn, whose abode is in Paradise, from his expedition to Gujrāt in the year 942 H., and Mīr Khond[5] Amir the historian invented the chronogram *Shihābu-s sāqib.* And one of the wonderful[6] inventions of that Emperor, whose shelter is the pardon of God, is the Khaṭṭ-i-Bābarī (the Bābarī script), in which writing he indited a copy of the Qur'ān, and sent it to the sacred city of Makka · his anthology of Persian and Tūrkī poetry is well-known. He has also composed a book on the Hanifite Theology called *Mubaiyyin*,[7] and Shaikh Zainu-d-Dīn[8] wrote a commentary upon it which he entitled *Mubīn.* His treatises[9] on Prosody are also in common use.

1 Shihābu-d-Dīn was called Shihābu-s-sāqib (the brilliant star), these words also give the date of his death, *see* post.

2 MS (A) reads از for هر. 3 MS (A) reads در for از

4 The following is the explanation of this *Mu'amma* which is contained in the two last lines of the *Rubā'ī* بر صفحهٔ گل کرد رقم آن سر زلف That is to say. she took the word گل and removed from it the *dāira* or curved portion of the ل *lām*, thus leaving گا, to this she added آن سر زلف *ān Sar-i-zulf*, that is to say the last letter of the word زلف, the letter ف, thus having گا . ف To this she added رخ مه *rukh-i-mah*, the first letter of the word مه, which is in Arabic شهر This will give the whole word کاشف.

5 MS (A), *see* Beale, p 150 6 MSS (A) (B) omit عرائب.

7 The text reads مبین نام بفتح بای مثنات

8 MS (A), *see* Elliot and Dowson IV. 288, *et seqq*.

9 MS. (B) reads ریل for رسایل, *see* Elliot and Dowson IV. 219.

Verse.

The heaven, whose sole skill is oppression,
Has this one object, to wring each moment the heart's blood;
It gives not to the tulip the crown of royalty without laying low under the foot of oppression the head of a crowned monarch.

NAṢIRU-D-DĪN [WAU-D-DUNYĀ][1] MUHAMMAD HUMĀYŪN PĀDSHĀH-I-GHĀZĪ. 344

Marching by forced marches from Sanbal in the year 937 H. (1530 A.D.), with the concurrence of Amīr Khalīfa who was the agent and prime minister[2] of the Government, ascended the throne. The following chronogram was invented to record the date.

Verse.

Muḥammad Humāyūn Shāh of auspicious fortune
Who is the best of kings by virtue of his merit
The year in which he ascended the kingly throne
Was distinguished by the words "*Khairu-l-Mulūk.*"[3]

Moreover, inasmuch as at the time of his accession he made present of trays filled with gold, another chronogram was invented in the words *Kishtī-i-Zar* (Tray of gold). After disposing of all matters of importance he led an army against the fortress of Kālinjar,[4] and,[5] after quelling the insurrection of Sulṭān 'Ālam ibn-i-Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, who had raised a revolt in Jaunpūr, returned to Āgra and made a great feast, at which entertainment twelve thousand people were distinguished by the bestowal of robes of honour.

Verse.

A king will have the upper hand of his enemies
When his army is happy and contented;
But if he withholds their just reward from his soldiery,
They in turn will withhold their hands from the sword.

In those days,[6] Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā ibn-i-Badī'u-z-Zamān Mirzā[7] ibn-i-Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā, who had hostile intentions

[1] MS. (A).

[2] The text reads وکیل و وزیر مطلق. MS. (A) reads وزیر سلطنت.

[3] خیرالملوک *Khairu-l-Mulūk.* Best of Kings. The letters of the words خیرالملوک give the date 937 H., as do also the letters of the words کشتی زر *kishtī-i-zar* in the next line.

[4] MS. (B) writes کالنجر *Kalīchar* and کشیده بود

[5] MSS. (A) (B) supply و

[6] MS. (A) دران ایام

[7] MS (B) میرزا.

was captured. Sending him to the fortress of Baiāna, orders were given for his eyes to be put out. The pupil of his eye remained uninjured however, and shortly after, he escaped from prison and fled for refuge to Sulṭān Bahādur of Gujrāt. It is said that at the time when Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā joined Sulṭān Bahādur, the latter was engaged in besieging Chitor, and the weather was exceedingly hot. Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā was seized with a pain at the heart,[1] for the cure of which the physicians declared *gulqand* (confection of roses)[2] to be indispensable. Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā begged Sulṭān Bahādur to send him a piece of this *gulqand*. He accord-
345 ingly summoned his *sharbatdār* (preparer of beverages), and enquired how much *gulqand* there had been brought with the camp; he replied that there must be more than twenty cart loads. The whole of this he sent to the camp of Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā,[3] and apologetically explained that this amount had been estimated as the probable requirements of the army, if it were not sufficient he begged to be excused. It eventually transpired that the juice of the *gulqand* used to be extracted for his use, and that for this reason there were[5] so many carts accompanying him. Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā, with his two sons Ulugh Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, proceeded to Qanauj and laid the foundations of revolt, and when the king, now deceased, wrote and despatched to Sultān Bahādur letters summoning Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā, Sulṭān Bahādur sent back a discourteous reply,[6] he accordingly determined upon the conquest of Gujrāt. Bahādur, having collected an army to reduce the fortress of Chitor and oppose Rānā Sānkā, engaged him in battle, and besieged him. Tātār Khān Lodī being despatched by him, came and gained possession of the fortress of Baiāna, extending his depredations as far as Āgra; and after a fierce

[1] MSS (A) (B) درد دلی

[2] گلقند *Gulqand*. Confection of rose-petals and honey, said to be a powerful cardiac stimulant and tonic, see *Makhzanu-l-adwiyah* s.v. ورد.

[3] MSS. (A) (B).

[4] MSS. (A) (B) بالآخر

[5] MS. (A) reads بود for بودی in the text.

[6] For the text of this reply and an account of the circumstance, under which it was written, see Bayley's *History of Gujerat*, pp. 377 to 380.

›nflict[1] with Mīrzā Handāl, in which he attacked with three housand[2] men, was put to the sword with all his following. Vhile Sulṭān Bahādur was besieging Chitor for the second time, Iuḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh[3] moved against him from Āgra; nd in this same year Mīrzā Kāmrān, proceeding by forced marches rom Lāhor to Qandahār, defeated Sām Mīrzā, the brother of hāh[4] Ṭahmāsp, who was besieging Khwāja Kalān Bēg, and[5] he following hemistich gives the date

Zada Pādshāh Kāmrān Sām rā.[6]

(King Kāmrān defeated Sām)

Maulānā Bekasi[7] also writes the following

Verse.

At that time when the crown and the golden goblet stands in sight, 346.
When amid the joy and feasting is seen the form of the flagon and the chasing of the cup,
I enquired from wisdom, why hast thou cast down in our midst the gold-scattering crown, like a crimson tulip?
She answered, the heaven, by way of assigning a date to this encounter, has cast down the golden crown,[8] in consequence of the defeat of the army of Sām.

Muhammad Humāyūn Pādshāh, considering that it would be dis-graceful to go up against Sulṭān Bahādur and engage his attention

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1 MS. (A) نموده.

2 The text reads سيصد *Sī Sad* 3000. MS. (B) reads ششصد *Shash Sad* 600.

3 MS. (A) writes ميرزا Mīrzā 4 MS (A) omits شاه 5 MS. (A) داد و

6 زده پادشه کامران سام را These letters form the date 942 H.

7 Footnote variant شکيبي *Shakebī*.

8 افکنده تاج زر ز شکست سپاه سام. The letters of this line form the date 942 in the following way

The literal meaning of the line may be taken thus:

Has cast away the crown of gold (Tāj-i-Zar) from the defeat of the army of Sām (Shikast-i-Sipāh-i-Sām) By *Tāj-i Zar* is meant the letter ز, the first letter of the word زر, the value of which is 7; this being cast out from the value of *Shikast-i-Sipāh-i-Sām* gives 949 − 7 = 942.

while he was engaged in the siege of Chitor,[1] halted at Sārangpūr. Sulṭān Bahādur meanwhile forcibly reduced the fort of Chitor, after which he engaged in war with Pādshāh (Humāyūn) for a space of two months in the neighbourhood of Mandsūr, a dependency of Mālwa, but owing to the fact that no supplies of grain could reach the camp of Bahādur, man and beast died from starvation, and[2] Bahādur with five of his most trusty Amīrs left the royal tent by the rear door and fled towards Mandsūr.[3] The following verse commemorates the date of this event:—

Humāyūn Shah-i-Ghāzi, who has thousands of slaves in his palace like Jamshīd,
When he came victorious towards Gujrāt, returned in triumph the glory of the sons of Tīmūr.
Since Bahādur fell humbled and abject,
The date thereof was "The disgrace of Bahādur."[4]

Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh pursued him, and the Mughūl soldiers came upon Bahādur one night while he was asleep,[5] and were near taking him prisoner, but he made his escape with five or six horsemen towards Gujrāt. Sultān 'Ālam Lodi, however, fell into their hands and they cut off his feet. The army of Humāyūn Pādshāh pursued Bahādur by rapid marches and laid waste Aḥmadābād. Bahādur leaving Aḥmadābād went to Kanbhāyat,[6]
347. and from there to the port of Dīp,[7] and at that time the fortress

[1] See Bayley, *History of Gujrat*, p. 382.   [2] MSS (A) (B) supply و here.

[3] MS (A) reads مندو, so also footnote variant to text.

[4] ذل بهادر *Zull-i-Bahādur*. These letters form the date 942 H. We may also read *Zill-i-Bahādur*, in which case we translate "the submission of Bahādur."

[5] MS (B) reads گرفته یافته which the text gives in a footnote variant. This appears from the context to be the true reading.

[6] Cambay. The name Khambat is said to be derived from *Khambha* or *Stambhatīrth*, the pool of Mahādeva under the form of the pillar god. *See* Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, III. 271. *See* also Tieffenthaler I. 370 *et seqq.*

[7] Tieff I. 395, writes *Diu*, appelée *Dīp* dans la langue du pays, est une petite île située dans (près de) la presqu' île de Soreth où se trouve une ville et un château très fort, appartenant aux Portugais avec un petit territoire. La ville est séparée du château par un canal taillé dans la pierre. Un pont de bois joint l'un à l'autre. Elle a un port commode, duquel sort chaque année un vaisseau chargé de marchandises pour *Mosambique*. *Diu* est à 60 milles portugais de Surate vers l'Ouest."

See also *Āīn-i-Akbarī* I. 343, and II. 265; also Bayley, *Hist. of Gujrāt*, 319 n.

of Jānpānīr[1] was also taken after a battle by the Pādshāh, and treasure beyond computation fell into his hands.

The year in which this happened may be learned from the following verse:—

> Wisdom sought for the date of the victory of Shāh Humāyūn and discovered this,
> "It was the ninth of the month of Ṣafar."[2]

Then Bahādur, in concert with the Zamīndars of the country[3] of Sorath, collected a force and proceeded towards Aḥmadābad. Mīrzā 'Askarī who, after the return of Humāyūn Pādshāh towards the East,[4] remained at Aḥmadābād with the intention of having the Khuṭbah read in his own name, in which project he had the support of Amīr Hīndū Bēg, however, he could not carry out his plan, and after slight opposition left for Jāupānīr, the governor of which place, Tardī Bēg, having entrenched himself, sent letters to the court conveying the tidings of the revolt of Mīrzā 'Askarī. But at the time when Humāyūn had left Mandir on his way to Āgra Mīrzā 'Askarī met him on the road and gave in his submission, and Bahādur took Jānpānīr from Tardī Bēg without the necessity of fighting[5] [And in this year Shaikh[6] Jamālī Kanbawī of Dihlī left this transitory world for the kingdom of eternity. A chronogram has been invented to commemorate this in the words *Khusrū-i-Hind būda* (he was the Khusrū of Hindustan)][7] In this year also Shāh Tahmāsp came up against Qandahār from 'Irāq to take vengeance on Sām Mīrzā,[8] and[9] Khwāja Kalān Beg leaving the city empty, and leaving the Dīwānkhāna (Hall

[1] *Or* Chāmpānīr. See Bayley's *History of Gujrāt*, pp 390 *et seqq*

[2] نهٔ شهر صفر بود *Nuh-i-Shahr-i-Safar būd.* These words give the date 942 H.

[3] MS. (A) omits ولایت [4] A footnote variant reads برهان پور Burhānpūr.

[5] The portion in square brackets is omitted in MS. (A) in this place

[6] MS (B)

[7] خسرو هند بودهٔ. The letters of these words give the date 942 H. There is a footnote to the text calling attention to an alleged discrepancy in the dates of the chronograms, and asserting that ذل بهادر represents 932 and not 942 This is a mistake.

[8] MS (A) here inserts the date ۹۴۲ (942) in figures.

[9] MS. (A) here inserts the paragraph relating to the death of Shaikh Jamālī, *supra* n 6.

of audience) locked up just as it was, adorned with its splendid carpets, its magnificent furniture, and all the appurtenances of the audience chamber, came out to invite Shāh Ṭahmāsp to alight at that pleasantly prepared[1] resting place, which he did, and[2]
348. gave Khwaja Kalān Bēg great praise for his conduct, saying, that is a good servant whom Kāmrān Mirzā possesses. Shāh Ṭahmāsp left Qandahār in charge of Badagh Khān, one of his own Amirs, and returned to 'Irāq. Mirzā Kāmrān at this same juncture, proceeded by forced marches from Lāhor, and arriving at Qandahār took possession of it. Muhammad Zamān Mirzā, whom Bahādur had despatched after his defeat to inflict injury upon Hindustān, took advantage of the absence[3] of Mirzā Kāmrān to invest Lāhor; but, when he heard tidings of the return of Humāyūn Pādshāh to Gujrāt, retraced his steps. At the expiry of one year from the accession[4] of Humāyūn Pādshāh in Āgra, Shīr Khān Afghān Sūr, in the absence of Humāyūn, collected a large force, and took possession[5] of the country of Gour, Bihār, and Jaunpūr, and also the fortress of Chunār. Humāyūn Pādshāh encamped[6] before the fort of Chunār, with the intention of opposing Shīr Khān, on the fourteenth of the month of Safar in the year 943 H., and besieged Jalal Khān, son of Shīr Khān, who eventually obtained the title of Islām Shāh. In a short time by the exertions of Rūmī Khān the Artillerist, (on whose name Sultān Bahādur had written and despatched the following enigma:—

[Ḥaif bāshad nām i ān sag bar zabān,
Mīkh dar jānash nih o nāmash bikhuān][7]

It were a pity to take the name of that dog on one's lips
Place a stake (mikh) in his life (jān) and read his name).

1 MSS. (A) (B) طيارتزه. 2 MS (A) supplies و 3 MS (B) omits زمان
4 MSS. (A) (B) read استقرار. 5 MS. (A) متصرف شد
6 MS (A) معسكر ساخته.
7 This معما *mu'ammā* or enigma requires explanation: The English version is naturally meaningless.

The words in the original, رومي خان *Rūmīkhān*, contain as will be seen the word ميخ *mīkh* between the syllables *Rū*, *ān*. These form the word روان *Rawān*, one meaning of which is *life*, for which the synonym in Persian is جان *jān*. So the writer says Place the word *mīkh* in his life (روان *rawān*,) and you have his name رو ميخ ان *Ru mīkh ān*, i.e., Rumi Khan.

he reduced[1] that fortress, but Jalāl Khān escaped by means of a boat, and joined Shīr Khān who was engaged in conflict[2] with Naṣīb Shāh Governor of Bangāla. Humāyūn[3] Pādshāh arrived, after that the Governor of Bangāla had been wounded in battle with Shīr Khān. Naṣīb Shāh[4] submitted himself to Humāyūn, and acted as his escort. Having entrusted the Government of Jaunpūr to Mīr Hindū Bēg, with the rank of *Amīru-l-Umarā*, and a golden throne, he proceeded by way of Garhi,[5] a narrow pass separating the countries of Bihār and Bangāla, which Quṭb Khān the son of Shīr Khān and Khawaṣṣ Khān, the well-known servant of Shīr Khān, had fortified, and came into Bangāla. Shīr Khān not being able to withstand him, left by way of Chahār Khand to the fortress of Rohtās, and fell upon the rear of Humāyūn's army, and gained possession of the fortress of Rohtās by crafty means, in the following manner. He alleged as a pretext that he had a large number of families[6] with him, and having placed two thousand armed Afghāns in closed litters[7] sent them towards the fort. The Rāja of Rohtās being fired with avaricious designs upon the wealth and families of the Afghāns threw open the gates of the fort. Then the Afghān soldiers who were concealed in the litters leapt out, and entering the fort,[8] put them all to the sword.[9] 349.

[1] MSS. (A) (B) فتح فرمودند.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) read محاربه. *muḥāraba*. The text reads wrongly محاصره *muḥāṣara*.

[3] *Dele* را MSS (A) (B).

[4] The Persian text is rather obscure, this seems to be the meaning

[5] MSS. (A) (B) كرهي, *see* Elliot and Dowson IV. 367 *n*. 2.

[6] The text reads بسلى خود را دراجها, with two footnote variants بسي and بسهي The meaning is not clear, but from the *Tārīkh-i-Shīr Shāhī* this appears to be what is meant. *See* Elliott and Dowson IV. 357.

A still better reading however suggests itself namely بتقريب آنكه نسلى الخ, instead of بقريب آنكه We should then translate "And inasmuch as he had very many families with him obtained possession of the fort in the following manner."

[7] The محفّة *Miḥaffa* is, as its name implies, a litter so *closed in* that the curtains surround on all sides the sitter upon it *See* Lane s. v. حف.

[8] MS. (A) reads درآمده و بر آمده.

[9] Regarding the truth, etc (See MS. Copy)

The climate of Bangâla proved so extremely suitable to Humâyûn, that he changed the name of Gaur to Jannatâbâd (The realm of Paradise), and having halted there for (two or)[1] three months returned. In the meanwhile Shîr Khân's affair was assuming large proportions, and his following was increasing. He wrote a letter to Humâyûn, saying, 'all these Afghâns are the servants and retainers of His Majesty the King, and beg to be granted *jâegîrs*,[2] if the king will think about a *jâegîr* for them, then it will be well, but if not, hunger will drive them to open revolt. Up to the present time I have kept them in check, but now they no longer obey me, and the proverb is well-known. *The hungry man will throw himself upon the sword.* For the rest whatever the king says is law.'

Humâyûn, when he grasped the contents of the letter, saw clearly what its object was, and seeing that the opportunity had passed by,[3] and considering the bareness of equipment and inefficiency[4] of his army, which had recently been doubled, many horses and camels having died, while the remainder were so jaded and emaciated that they were of no use whatever, he set about devising some remedial measures Mîrzâ Hindâl, who had accompanied the king as far as Mongîr, was despatched to Âgra to put down the rebellion[5] of Muhammad Sulṭân Mîrzâ, Ulugh Mîrzâ, and Shâh Mîrzâ, who had
350. fled and had done great mischief in the Dihlî country, and were now returning. Muḥammad Zamân Mîrzâ, after that Sulṭân Bahâdur was drowned in the sea owing to the treachery of the Firangîs,[6] could not accomplish anything, and again sought refuge with Humâyûn.

[1] MSS (A) (B) omit دو.   [2] MS (A) omits ها.

[3] بعد از خرابي بصره. *Ba'd az kharâbî-i-Baṣra.* After the ruin of Baṣra. A proverbial expression equivalent to the English "shutting the stable door after the horse is stolen" For the story from which the proverb arises see *Sharh-i-Nahju-l-Balâgha* by 'Abdu-l-Hamîd bin Abî-l-Ḥadîd al Mu'tazilî. When Alî ibn Muhammad Ṣâḥebu-z Zanj besieged Baṣra in the year 255 H. Aḥmad Abûl-Abbâs, son of Al-Muwaffaq b-Illah came up and opposed him, but not until Baṣra was ruined. Hence the proverb. *See* Arabum Proverbia. Freytag III, p 129, No. 774.

[4] MS (A) reads بی سامانی و پریشانی MS. (B) بی سامانی و پشیمانی

[5] MS (A) omits و فساد

[6] This happened at Dîn on the 3rd Ramaẓân A H. 943. See Bayley, *History of Gujarât*, pp 396, 397.

And in the year 945 H Mirzā Hindāl, at the instigation of certain turbulent innovators,[1] put to death Shaikh Bahlūl, the elder brother of Shaikh Muḥammad Ghaus of Gwāliār, who was one of the chief exponents of the art of invocation and incantation,[2] and who enjoyed the full confidence and friendship of Humāyūn. The year in which this event occurred was commemorated by the chronogram *Faqad māta Shahīdan*.[3] Verily he died a martyr's death.

Mirzā Hindāl in this year read the Khuṭbah in his own name in Āgra. Humāyūn despatched five thousand picked men to reinforce Jahāngīr Bēg the Mughūl, and making over the rule of that country to him, with permission to read the Khuṭbah should occasion arise, set out for Āgra, and, all unprepared as he was, reached Jausā,[4] which is a village on the bank of the Ganges. The Amīrs of Jaunpūr and Chinār came in and offered to tender their services. Shīr Khān seized the head of the road, and being aware of the distress of the army, placed between it and his own army a canal,[5] which joined the Ganges, and, owing to the rains, was quite full of water, and for three months encamped over against the King. It is said that during this period when they were confronting each

1 MS (A) reads مفتيان Muftīyān

2 MS. (A) reads دعوت اسما و سحر da'wat i-Asmā wa sihr, "the invocation (of the attributes of God) and magic" Da'wah is said in the *Jawāhiru l-Khamsa* to be used for several purposes, establishment of friendship or enmity, for the induction of sickness and death, or for the cure of disease, for the accomplishment of desires temporal or spiritual, and to secure victory in battle.

By اسما *Asmā* is meant the names or attributes of the Deity, they are of two categories, the *Asmāu l jalāliyeh* or "terrible attributes" and the *Asmāu-l-jamāliyeh*, "amiable attributes" For a full account, *see* Hughes, *Dict of Islām* articles Da'wah and Magic.

3 فقد مات شهيدا *Faqad māta shahīdan* These words give the date 945 H MS. (B) appends the date in figures

4 Footnote variant جوسه *Jausah*

5 The text reads رماهي *ramāhe*, which has no meaning A footnote variant is given زهابي *zahābe*, which means water oozing from the ground. This is the reading of MS. (B) MS (A) reads رهائي *raha'e* We should read رهابي *rahābe*, in the sense of a canal or aqueduct *See* Elliott and Dowson IV. 370*n*.

other, Humāyūn one day sent Mulla Muḥammad ‘Azīz,[1] who was an old friend of Shīr Khān, as an ambassador.[2] Shīr Khān was at that moment with his sleeves[3] rolled up, and with a spade in
151 his hand, in spite of the heat, was busy preparing the fort and entrenchments.

When Mulla Muḥammad came near he washed his hands, and having ordered a *shāmiāna*[4] to be pitched, sat on the ground unceremoniously, and after hearing the King's message said, "Take this one message from me to the King and say. 'You yourself desire war, but your army does not, I on the other hand, do not desire war,[5] but my army does: for the rest the decision is the King's.'" Then he sent Shaikh Khalīl,[6] one of the descendants of the venerable Shaikh Farīd Ganj-i-Shakkar, *may God sanctify his soul*, who was the spiritual guide of Shīr Khān, to Humāyūn, and made overtures of peace to him, representing that he was willing to give up to Humāyūn's representatives the whole country with the exception of Bangāla, and would have the *Khuṭbah* and *sikka* established in Humāyūn's name. This agreement was ratified between them by an oath on the Divine Word, and Humāyūn's mind was at peace with regard to Shīr Khān.

A bridge was ordered to be thrown across: but Shīr Khān was plotting treachery and deceit.

Verse

Make the camel leap from the room of the deceit of the world,
because out of craft,
In that room where they speak of peace the camel is clad in
armour.
I flee from the camel of the heavens and the room of the earth,
Because there are maddened camels surrounding that room.

The following morning he surprised and attacked the army of Humāyūn, without giving them time to draw up in line. After a short skirmish Humāyūn's army was defeated, and the Afghāns

[1] MS. (A) reads محمد يرغري Muḥammad Yargharī. MS. (B) reads محمد پر عزيز Muḥammad par ‘Azīz

[2] Read ايلچي گري for ايلچي گيري MSS. (A) (B).

[3] Omit را MSS (A) (B).

[4] شاميانه Shāmiāna, a kind of marquee consisting of a flat awning supported by four poles and having no side curtains.

[5] MSS (A) (B) omit جنگ. *See* Elliot and Dowson IV, 371 and *note*.

arriving first [1] at the head of the bridge broke it down, while their artillerists and archers seated in boats kept the army under a perfect hail of fire, drowning [2] them in the ocean of destruction. Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā was overwhelmed by the tempest of death, and Humāyūn urged his horse into the water and was in dread of drowning, in fact was on the point of drowning, when a water carrier [3] came to his aid and rescued him from that whirlpool of destruction. Then he turned towards Āgra. Shīr Khān wrote [4] this verse upon that event :— 352.

Thou givest sovereignty to Farid the son of Hasan, [5]
Thou givest the army of Humāyūn to the fishes

Although the master (Ustād) has [this second verse]— [6]

One thou exaltest and givest him sovereignty.
Another thou castest down from his throne to the fishes [7]

This event occurred in the year 946 H, and to commemorate it the following chronogram was written :

Salāmat bawad Pādshāh kase. [8]

And Shīr Khān after the victory turned back, and came to Bangāla, and after fighting several engagements [9] put to death Jahāngīr Qulī Bēg with all his following. In that country he read the *Khutbah* in his own name, and assumed the title of Shīr Shāh, [10] and in the following year proceeded with a vast army

1 پیشتر *pīshtar* (Text) MSS (A) (B) read بیشتر *bīshtar*, in great numbers.

2 MSS (A) (B) مي ساختند

3 Named Nizām according to Firishta, who says that as a reward Humāyūn permitted him to occupy the throne for half a day. Briggs II 87.

4 MSS. (A) (B) گفت كه

5 Shīr Shāh was originally called Farīd Khān, and his father's name was Hasan Khān

6 MS. (A) omits these words. The text has a footnote saying that the above is the reading of two MSS, but that the correct reading is

اگرچه مصرع ثاني اين بيت استاد دارد

No authority exists for such a reading

The verses in question are by Firdausi.

7 Here the reading of MS (A) is followed which reads

دگر را ز شاهي بماهي دهي

8 MS (B) adds the date in figures (946)

9 MSS. (A) (B) omit بشكل See Elliot and Dowson, IV, pp. 376–378

10 'Abbās Khān tells us he had assumed the title of *Hazrat i-'Ālī*

intending to capture Āgra. Kāmrān Mirzā, prior to the affair of Jausā, after hearing of the victory of Shir Khān and the rebellion of Mirzā Hindāl against Humāyūn, returned from Qandahār to Lāhor, and leaving there came to Āgra, which he reached in the year 946 H. Mirzā Hindāl himself, before the arrival of Mirzā Kāmrān, in the absence of Humāyūn, laid siege to Dihli, in which Mir Fakhr 'Ali and Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir had fortified themselves; but not meeting with any success joined hands with Mirzā Kāmrān. Mir Fakhr 'Ali also came in and had an interview with him,
353 but Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir would not leave the fort. Eventually Mirzā Hindāl separating from Mirzā Kāmrān proceeded to Alwar. When Humāyūn heard these tidings, he became still more despondent,[1] till that eventful defeat took place.[2] after the defeat at Jausā[3] he proceeded by forced marches, accompanied by a few horsemen, and arrived unawares at the tent of Mirzā Kāmrān in Āgra. The Mirzā also knew nothing of his coming, both brothers upon recognising each other burst into tears.[4] Afterwards Hindāl Mirzā and Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzā and his sons, who had for a time shewn hostility, came in and offered their submission for certain considerations: Their faults were pardoned and they sat in consultation. Mirzā Kāmrān ostensibly had this intention, that, inasmuch as the army of the Panjāb had gathered fresh force, Humāyūn should grant him leave to proceed against Shir Khān and endeavour to take vengeance on him, while the King should remain in ease and tranquillity at the Capital. When Humāyūn declined to accede to this proposal, the Mirzā put forward a claim to proceed to[5] the Panjāb, and urged an infinity of reasons, giving colour to the suggestion that a refusal would cause him insupportable annoyance. Accordingly Humāyūn acceded[6] to all his requests, saving only his return, and Khwāja Kalān Bēg was exerting his efforts to procure the return of Mirzā Kāmrān to the Panjāb: so that this argument was carried on for six months and nothing was settled.[7] In the meantime Mirzā Kāmrān was taken ill with a complication

[1] MSS (A) (B) بیشتر.

[2] MS (B) حادث گشت.

[3] Text چوسا Chausā.

[4] MS (A) گردند

[5] MS (A) به

[6] MSS. (A) (B) اجابت نموده

[7] Omit the words داو گیر MSS (A) (B)

of severe diseases,[1] and when the diagnosis was arrived at that the source of the disease was a poison, which had been poured into his life's cup by the hand of circumstance, he was led by the whisperings of interested advisers[2] to entertain suspicion against Humāyūn, and imagined that perhaps it was he who had administered[3] poison to him. Ill as he was he returned to Lāhor, and in breach[4] of his former agreement that he would leave the whole of his army at Āgra in the service of the king, took the whole of it[5] with him, with the exception of two thousand men whom he left under the command of Sikandar. Mīrzā Ḥaidar the Mughul and Dughlāt[6] Kashmiri also remained at Āgra, and were kindly treated. Shīr Khān waxed bold at the success of these hypocrisies, and towards the close of the year[7] aforesaid reached the bank of the Ganges, and despatching a[8] force under his son Quṭb Khān, sent him across [the Ganges][9] against Kalpī and Itāwa. Qāsim Ḥusain Sulṭān Usbeg, in concert with Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā and Iskandar Sulṭān, after a fight in the vicinity of Kālpī, put to death the son of Shīr Khān with a large number[10] of his following, sending their heads to Āgra.

354.

Humāyūn started to oppose Shīr Khān with a large force composed of some hundred thousand cavalry, and crossing the river of Qanauj encamped in face of his enemy for the space of one month. The army of Shīr Khān did not comprise in all more than five thousand[11] cavalry. It was under such circumstances that Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā and his son fled a second time from the king, and the reinforcements of Mīrzā Kāmrān also took flight to Lāhor, and the Mughuls of the King's army were scattered in

1 امراض متضاده *Amrāẓ-i-mutaẓāddah* Lit. · Diseases of opposite tendencies, *i. e.*, those diseases, the treatment of one of which tends to aggravate the other.

2 بگفته های غرضگویان MSS. (A) (B).

3 MS. (B) داده اند. 4 MS. (B) بخلافت for بخلاف.

5 Read here همه را همراه خود برده MSS (A) (B) instead of و تتمه را الخ. Text.

6 Read و دغلات MS. (A).

7 MS (B) reads wrongly در خراسان for در آخر سال.

8 MSS. (A) (B) باغی ساختنه. 9 MSS. (A) (B) omit گنگ.

10 MSS. (A) (B) جمع کثیر.

11 MS (B) says پنجاه هزار *panjāh hazār*, fifty thousand

all directions The rains now came on, and inasmuch as the camp of Humāyūn's army was on low lying ground, he desired to march from there and encamp on the high ground. At this very time[1] Shīr Khān drew up his troops, and came out to give battle. This engagement took place on the day of the 'Āshūra, the 10th of Muharram 947 H., and a chronogram was found for it in the words *Kharābī-i-mulk-i-Dillī*.[2] The greater number of the Mughul soldiers refused to fight[3] and took to their heels, while a small
355. body of them who engaged in fight, strove manfully in battle,[4] but things had gone beyond control, and it was of no avail. The king rode off with the intention of going to the high ground. This action of his in itself afforded an excuse to his men to flee, and a serious defeat ensued. Moreover the king while crossing the river Ganges became separated from his horse, and by the help of Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad of Ghaznī (who eventually became the foster-father of the prince's most excellent majesty, and was honoured in Hindūstān with the title of A'zam Khān),[5] escaped from the water and returned to Āgra; but seeing that[6] the enemy's army was coming up in pursuit, he could not remain there,[7] so made his way to the Panjāb with all speed.

At the commencement of Rabī'u-l-awwal of this year all the Sultāns and Amīrs of the Chaghatai tribe[8] assembled for conference in Lāhor. Hypocrisy was still the order of the day, and Muḥammad Sulṭān and his sons fled from Lāhor to Multān, while Mīrzā Hindāl and Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir thought it advisable to proceed to Bhakkar and Tatta. Mīrzā Kāmrān

[1] MSS. (A) (B) درهمين حين

[2] خرابي ملک دلي These letters give the date 947 H.

[3] *Jang nā karda.* MS (A) omits ترتيب *tartīb*

[4] MS (B) reads مردانه وار كوشش و كشش دادند

[5] Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Atka Khān, son of Mīr Yār Muḥammad of Ghaznī *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (Blochmann) I, p 321 (No 15)

The word *Atka*, *Atīkā*, or *Atōka* is a Turkī word, signifying precepteur instituteur, père de lait (Pavet de Courteilles)

The wife of Shamsu-d-Dīn was appointed *anakah* or wet-nurse to Prince Akbar at Amarkōt

[6] MS (A) omits چون. [7] MSS (A) (B) read انجا قرار نتوانستند گرفت

[8] For a full account of the Line of Chaghatai, *see* Ney and Elias *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, pp 28 *et seqq* MS. (B) writes چغته.

prayed that this conference might speedily be dissolved so that he might go to Kābul. After long consultation Humāyūn sent Mīrzā Ḥaidar with a large party who had accepted service in Kashmīr, to that district. It was agreed[1] that Khwāja Kalān Bēg should follow Mīrzā Ḥaidar, and that Humāyūn himself also should proceed thither after the conquest of Kashmīr.

When Mīrzā Ḥaidar arrived at Naushahra[2] which is a well-known place, he entered that country with the concurrence of certain Kashmīrīs and conquered it and on the 22nd of Rajab of this same year he gained possession of that country. Khwāja Kalān Bēg had gone to Siālkot. When tidings reached the king 356.
that Shīr Khān had crossed the river at Sultānpūr and had arrived within thirty *krohs* of Lāhor, Humāyūn, on the first of the month of Rajab in the aforesaid year, crossed the river of Lāhor, and Mīrzā Kāmrān, after breaking his solemn vows, agreed for certain reasons to accompany Humāyūn as far as the neighbourhood of Bahīra, and Khwāja Kalān Bēg made forced marches from Siālkot, and joined Humāyūn's camp Mīrzā Kāmrān together with Mīrzā 'Askarī, separating[5] from the king, proceeded in company with Khwāja Kalān Bēg towards Kabul, while Humāyūn proceeded towards Sind Mīrzā Hindāl, and Mīrzā Yādgār Nāsir also, after accompanying him for a few stages, left him, and after a few days returned, by the counsel of[4] Amīr Abūl Baqā. On the banks of the Indus such great scarcity prevailed in the camp of Humāyūn, that one *sir*[6] of the smaller millet[6] could sometimes not be bought even for an *ashrafi*.[7] The greater part of the army perished owing to this scarcity, while others died from want of water, till at last Humāyūn with a small number passed on to the districts of Jaisalmīr,[8] and the country of Mārwār, where strange[9] incidents

[1] MSS (A) (B) مقرر ساختند. [2] Nowshera.

[3] MSS (A) (B) supplying از.

[4] MS. (B) reads بصحبت, in company with. [6] About two pounds.

[6] غلهٔ جواري *Ghalla-i-jawārī* This is the Hindustānī, or rather, the Panjābī name In Persian it is called ارزان *arzan*

[7] The proper average price of this grain being six *dām* per *man* of forty sirs, the above represents an enhancement of price represented by the ratio 1 6,000

[8] MS (A) [9] Omit و غريب MSS (A) (B,

occurred. After undergoing great hardships and distress, which it is the invariable custom of the Heavens to inflict, he betook himself to 'Irāq and having obtained reinforcements, Shāh Ṭahmāsp gained possession of Qandahār and Kābul, and collecting a great army re-conquered Hindūstān. This exploit will be described in its proper place if the Most High God will it so.

Shīr Khān ibn i Ḥasan Sūr

Whose name was Farīd and his title Shīr Khān, ascended the throne of empire under the above title, which he assumed. The
357 chronogram *Kharābī-i-Mulk-i-Dillī*[1] was invented[2] to record that year.

Inasmuch as he, by favourable circumstances and his own cleverness and bravery, rose from the rank of Bēg[3] to royal dignity, it is essential to give a brief account of his career. The father of Ḥasan Sūr, Ibrāhīm by name,[4] in the time of Sulṭān Buhlūl, came to Hindūstān from[5] Roh, by which is meant Afghānistān, entered the service of Sulṭān Buhlūl, and was stationed in the vicinity of Hissār Fīrūza and Nārnūl After his death (his son) Ḥasan became a servant of Jamāl Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar, and was granted the *jāegīr* of the *pargana* of Sahsarām and Khawāṣpūr, dependencies of the fortress of Eastern Rohtās.[6] He had five hundred cavalry under his command. In consequence of the unkindness of his father, and the jealous enmity of his brothers,[7] of whom there were seven, he left his

[1] These letters give the date 947 H. (1540 A.D.) MS. (B) adds the date in figures

[2] MSS. (A) (B) with یافتند for شد as in the text

[3] The text reads از بككي MS (B) از هككي MS (A) از بككي.

The first seems the only intelligible reading in the sense in which it is translated

[4] Omit كه MSS. (A) (B)

[5] The text and both MSS read رده *Radah* it should be روه *Roh.* See Firishta Bo. *text*, p. 412, also Elliott and Dowson IV, 308.

[6] *Rohtās Sharqī.* Rohtāsgaṛh in the Shāhābād district of Bengal. The other Rohtas is in the Panjāb. *See* Hunter *Imp. Gaz.*, XII, 78

[7] The text reads برادران اعياني *barādarān-i-a'yānī.* Uterine brothers MS (A) reads اخيافي *Akhyāfī* brothers by the same mother, but a different father. From the context it is clear that Badāonī means all the sons of Ḥasan Khān by his four wives. (Steingass), *see* E and D IV, 310

home and giving up the service of Jamāl Khān spent some time in Jaunpūr in the acquisition of science, and in perfecting himself[1] in knowledge, until he had read the *Kāfiyah*[2] with its commentary and other epitomes, besides acquiring by heart the *Gulistān*, *Būstān*, *Sikandarnāma* and other works. He used to go the round of monasteries and colleges, associating with the learned doctors and *Shaikhs* of that country, and busied himself with the improvement of his character. After some time he was reconciled to his father, and was entrusted by him with the management of his *jāegīrs*. This he carried out with equity and impartiality, using clever devices[3] for the punishment of rebels, and kept them in check[4] Later on circumstances again led to an estrangement between Farid and his father, and going to Āgra with his own brother,[5] he elected to enter the service of Daulat Khān,[6] one of the chief commanders[7] of Sultān Ibrāhīm, and laid a complaint against his father and brothers[8] before the Sultān[9] The Sultān however, was displeased 358
at this and said, This is a disgraceful and inhuman state of things that a father should be displeased with his son and that the son should complain against him.[10] Upon the death of Ḥasan, Daulat Khān made a representation to the Sultān, and obtained his desire in securing those *parganas* for Shīr Khān. There he remained for some time,[11] and eventually was led by the enmity of his brothers to enter the service of Bihār Khān, the son of Daryā Khān Luḥānī,[12] who had read the *Khuṭbah* and issued the *sikka* in his own name in Bihār, and had assumed the title of

1 There is a little variation in the reading here. MS. (B) reads تحصیل علم و کسب فضائل. MS. (A) also reads فضائل *fazāil*, excellencies

2 *Al-Kāfiyah fi'l nahw* A celebrated work on Arabic grammar by Shaikh Jamālu-d Dīn, (Ibnu-l-Ḥājib); for an account of this work and its commentary, *see* H. K. No. 9707.

3 MS (A) لطائف الحیل.

4 MS. (A) ضبط نمود.

5 Nizām Khān was the brother of Farīd Khān by the same mother.

6 Daulat Khān the son of Budhū, was a commander of 12,000 horse and in great favour with Sultān Ibrāhīm (E. D IV, 321)

7 MS. (A) omits کبار.

8 MS. (A) omits دیگر.

9 MSS. (A) (B) supply و

10 Read here اینکه پدر ازو ناراضی باشد MS (B).

11 (MSS) (AB) بسر برد و

12 نوحانی MSS. (A) (B).

Sulṭān Muḥammad. This was at the time when Sulṭān Ibrāhīm had taken the field at Pānīpath, and Bābar Pādshah had conquered Hindūstān and planted[1] the banner of sovereignty. Here he was well received, and as one day, when on a hunting expedition, he killed a tiger in the presence of Sultān Muḥammad, the title of Shīr Khān was bestowed upon him by the Sultān, who also appointed him to be tutor[2] to his son Jalāl Khān. After some time Muḥammad Khān Sūr, governor of the country of Chaund, made an attempt to turn Sultān Muḥammad against Shīr Khān, with the object of advancing the interest of his brothers, and having succeeded in getting an order from Sultān Muḥammad that the brothers were to have a share in the management of the *parganas*, sent Suleimān, son of Ḥasan Sūr who has been mentioned, accompanied by one of his servants named Shādī to Khawāṣpūr, and Bhaka the servant of Shīr Khān who was known as the father of Khawās Khān engaged in battle with Suleimān and was killed. The remainder fled, and came to Shīr Khān at Sahsarām. Shīr Khān had no longer the power to cope with Muhammad Khān, nor the inclination to serve Sultān Muhammad, he accordingly abandoned his position and *jāegīr*, and having no other resource betook himself to Sultān Junaid Birlās, who was holding the Government of Karra and Mānikpūr on behalf of Bābar Padshāh.
359. He remained in his service, and after presenting many valuable offerings, obtained a fully equipped army as reinforcement from Sultān Junaid, and fought with Muḥammad Khān, wrested from him the *parganas* of Chaund and other *parganas*, and took possession of them. Muḥammad Khān fled, and took refuge in the fortress of Rohtās Shīr Khān, having wreaked his vengeance on his brothers, made apologetic overtures to Muḥammad Khān, addressing him by the title of uncle; having thus earned his gratitude he handed over[3] the *parganas* he held as *jāegīr* to him on the same footing as formerly, and leaving Nizām his full brother in charge

[1] MS (A) reads آحنند for افراختند.

[2] اتاليغ *Atālīgh*, this word is Türki In its Arabicized it becomes اطاليق, but the other is the correct orthography اتاليغ *Atā līgh* literally signifies the relationship of an *atā* or father

According to M Pavet de Courteille it signifies "Paternité. nom d'une dignité dans le Turkestān et le Kharisur, chef de tribu qui élève une personne.

[3] MS. (A) writes گذرانيده. MS (B) omits گذاشته.

of the *jāegīr*, went again to Sulṭān Junaid, whom he found just starting to pay his respects to Bābar Padshāh. Taking Shīr Khān with him, Junaid enrolled him among the servants and well-wishers of the king's court. He accompanied Bābar on the expedition to Chanderī. In accordance with Mughūl habits and customs, and owing to the carelessness of the king in his management of the affairs of State, and the venality of the revenue-officers, and the utter disorder into which the affairs of the people had fallen, matters came to such a pass that if any person [1] had an object in view, he could quickly bring it to pass [2] One day Bābar on the occasion of a banquet, observed him behave in a way which deserved the royal censure,[3] and demanded the punishment of Shīr Khān. Those who were present at the banquet related the particulars of his independence and arrogant assumption, not omitting to mention some of his double-dealings. Shīr Khān accordingly became apprehensive of danger, and fled from the king's camp to his *parganas*, whence he wrote a letter couched in apologetic terms and sent it to Sulṭān Junaid, advancing as a pretext to cover his return,[4] that since Muḥammad Khān was led by feelings of hostility against him to induce Sulṭān Muḥammad to send [5] an army against Shīr Khān's *parganas* because of his being in service with the Mughūls, and as he could not easily and quickly [6] obtain leave of absence from Bābar, he had accordingly taken this liberty and had at all hazards determined to rejoin those who wished well to the Sulṭān, 360.
Thence he proceeded to Sultān Muhammad, where he was honoured by increased confidence and by suitable rewards, and was once more installed as custodian of his younger son Jalāl Khān, whose whole affairs he took under his own management After the death of Sultān Muhammad, he obtained absolute control of the whole country of Bihār and its dependencies.

He entered into a compact of friendship with Makhdūm 'Ālam, the governor of Ḥājipūr, one of the Amirs of the Wālī

1 MS (A) supplies کسی.
2 MSS. (A) (B) supply کرد و after مي تواند.
3 MS (A) reads عبرت for غيرت text
4 MS (A) has بعاف with no dots
5 Omit مي before بايد MSS (A) (B)
6 MS. (A) ترددى. The text is correct.

of Bangāla, who despatched an Amīr named Quṭb Khān to undertake the overthrow of Makhdūm 'Ālam. Shīr Khān marched to the aid of Makhdūm 'Ālam, and [1] after a fierce battle put Quṭb Khān to death, taking as spoil elephants and treasure and many followers Jalāl Khān and his tribe, who are Lūhānīs,[2] in spite of Shīr Khān, made over Bihār to the ruler of Bangāla and elected to serve under him, and leaving Shīr Khān to his fate, took care to secure their own safety.

The Bangālīs in the first instance sent Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of the Quṭb Khān above mentioned, against Shīr Khān to wreak vengeance upon him. Shīr Khān used daily to fight with them from within the fort, but since the Bangālīs received large reinforcements, and no way of retreat remained open to him, he yielded to necessity and fought a battle with them in the open [3] in which he gained the day Ibrāhīm Khān also seeing what had occurred went and joined his father, and Shīr Khān seized the whole of the camp of the Bangālīs [4] with their elephants and artillery, acquiring thereby great renown, so that he established a lasting and undivided control over the country of Bihār and raised himself to the dignity of a Sulṭān. He next wrested the fortress of Chinār together with its vast treasures from the sons of [Jamāl Khān Sārang-Khānī [5]][6] Tāj Khān, one of the Amīrs of
361. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, who some years before had regained possession of it, and took in marriage his wealthy and beautiful wife who had vast stores of treasure. This fact also enhanced his grandeur and dignity, so that the desire for sovereignty daily gained more ascendency over his mind, till at last certain powerful Amīrs of the Afghān Lodī faction summoned from Chitor Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, who, after raising Ḥasan Khān Mīwātī and Rānā Sānkā to royal power, had induced him to fight with Bābar Pādshāh, and subsequently to his defeat [7] had remained in the fortress of Chitor, and seated him upon the throne in Patna [8] He accordingly came with a vast army and invaded the country of Bihār, and wresting it from Shīr Khān took possession of it. Shīr Khān was perforce compelled to

[1] MS. (A) supplies و. [2] MSS (A) (B) نوحانیان

[3] MS (B) reads جنگ صعب, but the textual reading جنگ صف is correct.

[4] MS (A) بنگاله [5] MS. (B) سارنگخانی [6] Not in MS (A).

[7] MS. (A) بعد از شکست. [8] MS. (A) omits در ولایت پتنه.

submit, and entered his service, and taking leave came to Sahsarām. Sulṭān Maḥmūd passing by Sahsarām, after writing and making over to Shīr Khān an agreement relating to Bihār,[1] thereby raising his hopes, despatched him to attempt the conquest of Jaunpūr and to engage in war with the Amirs of Humāyūn Pādshāh. He thus brought the whole of that province as far as Lakhnau into his own[2] power. The Amirs of Humāyūn Pādshāh could not stand against (Shīr Khān), and proceeding to Kālinjar[3] gave in their allegiance to him. Humāyūn marched to oppose Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and Baban and Bāyazid,[4] who were with him.[5] When the two armies met Shīr Khān, who had stood aloof from Sulṭān Maḥmud for some days, again joined his force, and sent a message to Mīr Hindū Bēg Qūchīn, Commander-in-chief of the Mughūl army, saying that on the day of the battle he would make a flank movement and stand on one side You and the 362
Afghāns, said he, well know how utterly I abhor and detest the command of Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Baban[6] and Bāyazid.

Verse.

If I committed a fault, I have at all events made my road clear.

Eventually he did as he had arranged, and Sultān Maḥmūd and Baban[7] being defeated retired to the country of Patna, and made no further attempts to fight, till in the year 949 H. (1542 A. D.) in the country of Orissa[8] he encamped on the frontiers of the desert of non-existence, and having gone to the appointed goal remained at rest. Humāyūn Pādshāh [after this victory][9] sent Mīr Hindū Bēg as his agent to Shīr Khān with a demand to him to yield up the fort of Chinār He, however, made some lame excuse, so the king ordered several noted Amirs to precede him

[1] This agreement was to the effect that should Shīr Khān render effectual assistance to Sulṭān Muḥammad Lodi in recovering Jaunpūr, the country of Bihār should be restored to him as a reward for his services. (Firishta).

[2] MSS. (A) (B) omit خود. [3] MS. (B) کالیچر.

[4] MSS (A) (B) read و ببن و با یزید. Firishta says Baban and Bāyazid.

[5] MSS. (A) (B) read که همراه او بودند متوجه گشتند. The text is incorrect.

[6] MS. (A) ببن و.

[7] MS. (A). [8] The text reads wrongly اودیسه.

[9] Not in MSS. (A) (B) which write also میر هندو بیگ

and lay siege to that fortress, himself also [1] preparing to follow them In the meanwhile Shir Khān wrote a petition in which he pointed out his own sincerity and the favour shewn him by Baban, and recounted the deserving nature of his former services, more specially his opposition to Baban and Bāyazīd. This petition he sent by the hand of Qutb Khān, his eldest son, together with a large force, to Humāyūn Pādshāh. He sent also with Qutb Khān, 'Īsā Khān Hajjāb, who was his *vakīl* with the powers of a *vazīr*, and he fleeing from Gujrāt joined his father in Bangāla When Humāyūn Pādshāh altered his course towards Gujrāt, Shir Khān himself had risen to great dignity and power, so that he engaged in open battle with Humāyūn on two occasions, and gained the day, as has already been mentioned. Shir Shāh in the early part of the year of his accession laid waste the ancient city of Qannauj, and moving it from its original site re-established it on the banks of the river Ganges, it is now known as Shirgarh In the same manner he destroyed the fortress of Shamsābād and removed it to another
363. place, calling it by the name of Rusūlpūr. Now, however, at the date of writing, it has been repopulated in its old position. And when he arrived at old Dihlī, which was founded by Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, he destroyed that also, and established between the fortress of Dinpanāh, which Muhammad Humāyūn Pādshāh constructed, and [2] Fīrozābād, an extensive city, and built round [3] that fort a rampart of stone and mortar, having an extent of three *krohs.* On his arrival at Sultānpūr by continuous marches, the brothers of Humāyūn Pādshāh and the Chaghatai Amīrs quarrelled, and each took his own way as has been described, and Shir Shāh himself, [4] not giving them time to reassemble, came up in pursuit In this year he issued a public proclamation that from the country of Bangāla as far as western Rohtās, which is a four months' journey, and also from Āgra to Mandū, [5] at every *kroh* a *sarāi* (rest-house) and a mosque, and a well built of burned bricks was to be established and a Muazzin [6] and an Imām [7] A Musulmān

1 MS. (A) reads خود هم.
2 MS (A) supplies و
3 MS (A) reads here و دوران قلعه را
4 MS. (A) supplies خود
5 MSS (A) (B) مندو.
6 The officer whose duty it is to call the Azān or call to prayer before each of the stated times of prayer. *See* Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, Azān.
7 The priest who leads the prayers.

and a Hindû were also appointed to superintend the supply of water for each. A refreshment house was also kept stocked for the use of strangers and poor wayfarers. On both sides of the road also, large and lofty trees were planted in avenues, so that all travellers might go along in the shade of them. Traces of these still remain in most places up to the present time, though fifty-two years have passed since then. In his reign justice was so widespread that if, for example, an old man holding a golden tray in his hand had lain down to sleep whenever he felt inclined, no thief or ruffian would have dared to take it away from him.

Thanks be to God that the writer of this *Muntakhab* was born in the reign of so just a king; to use the words of the Prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*,[1] I was born in the reign of the just king, on the seventeenth of Rabī'u-s-sānī[2] in
the year 947 H. (1540 A.D.) but, in spite of this, would that the 364.
name of that hour and that day had been erased from the chronicles of years and months, so that I had not been obliged to leave the private chamber of non-existence, where I dwelt with the inhabitants of the world of dreams and fancies, and to place my foot into this world of imaginary existence, and to suffer[3] so many scars of various misfortunes, all of which are branded with the stamp, *He loses this world and the next*, the context is well-known.

Verse

My body bears a robe, surpassing splendid
My hopes for this world and the next are ended.

Rubā'ī.

I came yesterday, and have accomplished nothing,
To-day my efforts have availed me nothing,
To-morrow I depart, having learned no single secret;
Better had been non-existence than this vain superfluity

And when one looks into the matter carefully one becomes aware that seeing that the Lord, the repository of the seal of the prophetic office, *upon him and his family may the peace and blessing of God rest*, says[4] "Would that the Lord of Muhammad had not

[1] MSS. (A) (B).
[2] 21st August, 1540
[3] MSS. (A) (B) read نباید کشید for نبایستی کشید.
[4] MSS. (A) (B) omit می writing simple فرماید.

created Muḥammad," it is not in the power of a weak-minded mortal (like myself) to draw a single breath in this valley (of desolation), and one fears lest such an attempt should lead to audacity in the way of religion, and lest its fruit should be everlasting destruction. *I entreat pardon from God of all that is an abomination to Him.*

What power has the clay that it should say to the potter
Why dost thou make me and why dost thou break me.[1]

After that Shīr Shāh reached the hill-country of Bālnāt. He built there the fortress of Rohtās as a protection for the army of Hindūstān against the Mughūl forces Then he appointed Khawāṣṣ Khān to undertake the pursuit, and returned. While on the march he heard that a commander named Khiẓr Khān Sarak had become infatuated with rebellious notions and was behaving as though he were a Sulṭān. Shīr Shāh[2] accordingly bent his course
365. thither, and Khiẓr Khān hastening to encounter him was taken prisoner Shīr Shāh took possession of that country and conferred it by way of *jāegīr* upon several of his Amīrs, and appointed to the superintendence of the fort of Rohtās,[3] Qāẓī Fazīlat the Qāẓī of the army, who was popularly known by the more appropriate title of Qāẓī Faẓīhat.[4]

In the year 948 H. he came[5] to Āgra, and in the year 949 H. proceeded to Gwāliār with the intention of conquering Mālwa[6] Abūl Qāsim Beg, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn Pādshāh who had entrenched himself in that fortress, came in and had an interview

[1] Cf Isaiah xlv 9, Romans ix 21. So also Omar Khayyām

از آب و گلم سرشتهٔ من چکنم
وین پشم و قصب تو سرشتهٔ من چکنم
هر نیک و بدی که آید از ما بوجود
تو بر سر من نوشتهٔ من چکنم

Thou formedst me of clay What help have I!
Thou didst this garment weave What help have I!
Whate'er for good or ill from me proceeds
Is thy prescription, Thine! What help have I!

[2] MS. (A).

[3] Omit شرقي MS. (A)

[4] فضيلت *Fazīlat* means excellence فضيحت *Faẓīhat* means ignominy.

[5] MSS. (A) (B) باگره آمد.

[6] Omit قلعهٔ MSS (A) (B).

with him, giving up the keys of the fort. Mallū Khān the governor of Mālwa, who [1] was one of the slaves of the Khiljī Sultāns, and held absolute and unlimited power in that province, offered his services to Shīr Shāh, and was honoured by splendid rewards. Shīr Shāh also had tents pitched for him close to his own tent, and prepared a hundred and one horses and other apparatus of pomp and dignity in his honour. In the meantime a suspicion arose in Mallū Khān's mind, and one night he tore his tent and escaped alone after the accustomed manner of slaves, and fled. Shīr Khān wrote the following:—

Verse.

You see how the chicken-hearted slave Mallū has treated me
It is a saying of Mustafā "There can be no good in a slave"

Shīr Khān then nominated Hājī Khān Sultānī to the subjugation of the province of Mālwa, and Sazāwal Khān [2] to administer the affairs of the district of Sawās, [3] Mallū Khān fought with Hājī Khān and Sazāwal Khān, and suffered a defeat from which he never recovered.

Every weakling who fights with one stronger than he,
Gets such a fall that he can never again rise.

And Khān-i-Khānān Sarwānī,[4] who was the [5] permanent Governor of the fort of Ranthanbūr, yielded up that fortress to Shīr 366
Shāh and came with his family to the township of Basāwar. It is said that some one introduced some poison into his cup. His tomb is in the suburbs of that township, in a pleasant spot, and is well-known at this time:

Quatrain

Death, thou hast desolated hundreds of homes,
In the kingdom of existence thou makest life thy spoil
No jewel beyond price has come into the world,
But thou has borne it away and hidden it beneath the dust.

In this year Shīr Shāh [6] led an army against the fortress of Rāī Sen and besieged it, because Pūranmal the son of Silhadī, one of the Chiefs of Rāī Sen, had attacked the city of Chanderī, which

[1] Supply كه MSS. (A) (B).
[2] MS. (A) supplies را.
[3] MSS. (A) (B).
[4] MS. (A) سروانی.
[5] Omit كه before حاكم MSS. (A) (B)
[6] MS (A).

is one of the chief cities of Hindūstān, and had put its inhabitants to death, and was keeping two thousand [1] women, Hindūs and Muslims, in his own *ḥarīm*. The following couplet was found to record the date of this siege:

Qiyām-i-bārgāh bāshad mubārak.

May the stability of the court be fortunate [2]

After prolonging the siege for some time Shīr Shāh entered into a compact, and succeeded in dislodging Pūranmal [3] by the intervention of Shāhzāda 'Ādil Khān and Quṭb Khān Nāib,[4] and assigned him a place in his own camp, bestowing upon him a hundred horses, with a robe of honour and a sum of gold; and eventually by the advice of Mīr Saiyyid Rafī'u-d-Dīn Ṣafawī of Ij,[5] which was given the title of *Muqaddasa* (Sacred) by Sikandar Lodī, broke his word, and caused Pūranmal together with his family and children to be trampled to death by elephants. Not a single man of those turbulent and rebellious Hindūs, who were
367. near ten thousand souls, escaped in that battle. Their women and men either [6] became food for the edge (*jauhar*) of the sword or fed the flames of the fire called *jūhar*, a well-known word in the Hindī language. This chronicle, from that day forward, remained as a record upon the pages of Time, *may God be merciful to its author*. This event occurred in the year 950 H., and [7] after some time he girded up his loins for a holy war to uproot the pestilent infidels of the country of Mārwār, and led a vast [8] army against Rāi Maldeo [9]

1 MS. (A) omits دو.

2 قیام بارگاه باشد مبارک The letters give the date 949 H. MS (B) gives this date in figures

3 MS (A) reads دیوریمل Deorīmal and omits ازانجا

4 MSS (A) (B) omit پائین

5 Died at Āgra in 954 or 957, see *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (B). I, 523.

The text reads erroneously ایلچی *Ilchī'-e.* MS (A) reads انجی *Injī*, and MS (B) reads ایچی *Ichī*. We should read ایجی Ijī, in the sense given in the translation. Ij is stated by Yāqūt to be a city rich in gardens and other advantages. The Persians he says pronounce it ایک *I'k* (*Mu'jamu-l Buldān*, I, p 415).

6 MSS (A) (B) با.

7 MSS (A) (B) و.

8 *Lit* exceeding in its numbers the ants and locusts

9 MS (B) omits رای.

the leader of the Rāis of Hindūstān who held sway over the country of Nāgor and Jaunpūr, and was a powerful opponent of the Muslims; and inasmuch as one of the maxims of Shīr Shāh, from which he never departed,[1] was to throw up an entrenched position round his army, no matter how few the enemy might be, as soon as Māldeo arrived in the vicinity of 'Ajmīr with fifty thousand picked cavalry trained and experienced in war, intent upon slaying or being slain, and confronted Shīr Shāh, he, finding it impossible to make trenches and ramparts because of the sandy soil, held a conference with his experienced and veteran Amīrs No one of them however could devise a way to effect that object. Suddenly Maḥmūd Khān, the son of 'Ādil Khān,[2] who was grandson to Shīr Shāh, notwithstanding his youth said, "Let Shāh 'Ālam order the *banjāras* (grain sellers) of the army to fill sacks with sand and arrange them round[3] the army." This idea[4] highly commended itself to Shīr Shāh, and he immediately placed his turban upon the lad's head, and bestowed upon him in perpetuity the treaty territories

In the end Heaven did not favour his designs, and Islām Shāh[5] after reaching kingly power, made this unfortunate boy the very first of his family, heirs to the kingdom, to have his name blotted out from the page of existence, in accordance with the saying *Al mulku 'aqīm*[6] (The kingdom has no heir), and that treatment which he meted out to them, vindictive Time measured again to his posterity.

Verse

If thou hast done evil remain not secure from calamity,
For the nature of things brings about requital.

In short Shīr Shāh, who[7] would not give the head of one of his soldiers for a kingdom, and to whom the Afghāns were[8] far dearer than can be expressed, was by no means willing to involve 368.

1 MS. (A) omits خلف

2 MS (A) reads پسر عادل خان MS (B) بن عادل خان

3 MS (A) reads for برد رگرد

4 MS. (A) reads این رای او omitting بسیار

5 MSS. (A) (B) read سلیم شاه.

6 الملک عقیم.

7 MS (A) omits چون.

8 MSS. (A) (B) read بود

his army in calamity with the ignorant, boar natured, currish[1] Hindūs. Accordingly he devised an artifice, and wrote fictitious letters purporting to emanate from the generals of Māldeo's army, to himself, couched in enigmatical language,[2] the substance of them being that there would be no need for the king in person to superintend the fighting, when the armies were drawn up for battle, because they themselves would take Māldeo alive and deliver him up, upon the condition that such and such places should be given them as a reward. Having done this he so arranged that those letters fell into Māldeo's hands, with the result that Māldeo became utterly suspicious of all his generals,[3] and, in the dead of night[4] fled alone without looking behind him; and, notwithstanding that his generals denied their complicity with oath upon oath, saying that they never could have been guilty of such dastardly conduct,[5] and that this was all the handiwork of Shīr Shāh in his desire to raise dissensions[6] between them, it was of no use, and had no effect upon Māldeo's mind. Kanhaiyā,[7] who was his minister and agent, abused Māldeo in violent terms, and taking four thousand resolute men devoted to death, or even more than this number, came down upon the army of Shīr Shāh, with the intention of surprising them by night, but missed his way, and after marching the whole night, when morning broke became aware that he had left the camp far in rear.[8] After striving to the utmost of their powers, when they had abandoned all hope of life, at the very moment when the army of Shīr Shāh came in sight, as a result of their own stupidity, by the good luck of Shīr Shāh or by the superior good fortune of Islām, the infidels in a body dismounted from their horses, and renewing their vows of singleness of purpose and

[1] سگسار with a footnote variant found in MS (B) سبکسار

[2] MS (B) omits نوشت.

[3] امرای خویش MSS (A) (B).

[4] شباشب MSS (A) (B).

[5] MS (A) omits واقع نشده و.

[6] *Lit* to cast the stone of discord in our midst. MSS. (A) (B) read درمیان ما MS (A) reads و این حیله for و این حمله (Text)

[7] This name is given on the authority of Firishta (Bo. text, p 427) Our text and both MSS (A) (B) read گویا *Goyā* which does not appear to be possibly correct Brigg's II, p. 122, calls him Koonbha Kanhaiyā is a proper name among Hindūs, and is one of the names of Krishna.

[8] Firishta merely says they missed their way and reached the enemy's camp in daylight (Bo. text, *loc cit*)

mutual assistance, binding[1] their sashes together and joining hand to hand, attacked the army of the Afghāns with their short spears, which they call *Barchha*,[2] and with their swords. Shīr Shāh had given orders saying that if any man ventured to fight with the sword with this swinish horde, his blood would be on his own head. He accordingly ordered the elephant troops to advance and[3] trample them down. In rear of the elephants, the artillery and archers gave them a taste of the bowstring, and admitting them to the banquet of death, gave them the hospitality of the land of extinction. The bright surface of the world's page was polished, and freed from the dark lines of the land of infidels, and not one of the infidels got off with his life, nor was a single Muslim lost in that encounter.[4] A poet of Basāwar, whose *takhallus* is Faizī,[5] wrote this verse on that subject. 369.

Suddenly check to the king happened to Māldeo
It would have been checkmate had not the piece
Kanyā[6] protected him as 'Irā.[7]

It is said that after this victory Shīr Shāh on several occasions used to say, "I have sold the empire of the whole of Hindūstān[8] for a handful of millet." Returning thence and making over the fortress of Rantanbhūr to his son 'Ādil Khān, he gave him leave for a few days to visit the fort, and put the garrison in order, when he was to follow his father. The writer has heard from a trustworthy source, that one day while on that expedition Mīr Saiyyid Rafī'u-d-Dīn, the renowned and unique traditionist now pardoned and absolved, who has been already mentioned, said to Shīr Shāh, "All my ancestors were[9] authors of authoritative compositions and used to give instructions in the two sacred

1 The text reads فوطه در فوطه یافتند but we should read بافتند *bāfta*.

2 *Barchhā*. A Hindī word meaning a small spear.

3 MSS. (A) (B) read پایمال کردند

4 MS. (B) writes needlessly یك كس ضایع نشد

5 See Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I 490, for a full account of the poet Faizī.

6 I read here کنیا for گویا, see *n* 7, page 478

7 بعرق for نفری MSS (A) (B) عرق 'Irā is that piece at chess which is interposed between the king and a Rook to protect the king from check by the Rook, see J R S A xiii p 49, (*Bland*, on the Persian game of chess)

8 MS (A) supplies را

9 MS (A) بوده اند و

cities.[1] I alone of all my family have become so helpless and
powerless that in search of the gold and fame of Hindūstān I
379 am blindly wandering. I beseech your Majesty to grant me
permission to depart, so that at the end of my days I may be
able to relight the lamp of those venerable ancestors of mine.

> Seeing that I was not worthy to succeed those mighty intellects who have gone before me,
> My hands have spoiled many books, my ignorance has wasted many parchments.[2]

Shīr Shāh answered, I should have no objections to make on this score, were it not that I have kept you with me for a special object, which is this that I intend in a short time by the help of God, *He is blessed and exalted*,[3] to clear the heart-delighting plain of Hindūstān of the thorns of infidelity, and shortly to reduce the few forts which remain, with very little difficulty, and passing along the seashore to fight with[4] those Qizilbāshes who oppose the progress of the company of pilgrims[5] to the holy temple (of Makkah) and have given rise to bigoted interference with the established religion and the orthodox followers of Muḥammad, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him*,[6] and to send you thence with a mission bearing letters to the Sulṭān of Rūm, in order that, having knitted the bonds of religious brotherhood between us, you may bear to him a request on my behalf to be entrusted with the service of one of the two sacred temples, *may God increase their dignity*. Then I coming up from one direction [and the *Khwandgār*[7] from the other], may clear out the Qizilbāsh from between us, because[8] as soon as the Sulṭān of Rūm attacks him, he will move with all rapidity in this direction, and when the Sultān of Rūm withdraws his forces, he will

1 Makkah and Madīnah. 2 دفاتر Dafātir

3 MSS. (A) (B) read بعون ايزدي تبارک و تعالى.

4 MSS (A) (B) با

5 MS. (B) reads حجاج و جوار. Regarding the Hajj or pilgrimage to Makkah, *see* Hughes *Dict. of Islam*, art. Hajj

6 A footnote variant للهم انزله المقعد المقرب بالقيامة is evidently the interpolation of some devout copyist.

7 MS. (B) omits the words in square brackets

8 MS. (A) چه

again return to the place he came from, whereas if we surround him from both directions with this army and the large following we have in Hindūstān, together with that powerful force and its artillery,[1] his resisting power will be *nil*;[2] and on carefully considering over this matter I can think of no person more fitted 371.
to carry[3] this message than yourself, and simply in view of the attainment of this object[4] I cannot entertain the idea of your leave

It must not be forgotten that it is by no means improbable that this same good intention may be the cause of the salvation of that faithful king from the fire (of hell) although he fell into the fire,[5] in the Day of Reckoning, for the Almighty, *may He be glorified and exalted*, is satisfied with little and very bountiful, and the story of 'Amr ibnu Laiṣ[6] [who for all his vast army and equipment, which gave him the pre-eminence over all kings of 'Irāq, in the four quarters of the globe, was always regretful because he had not been present at the slaughter of Imām Ḥusain, *may God Most High be pleased with him*, so that he might have smitten and destroyed the[7] followers of Yazid,[8] and of his having a vision in which he was walking in the gardens of Paradise] is well known. say, *every man acts after his own manner*,[9] that is after his own desire.

Verse.

My brother thou art all desire, naught else,
All the rest of thee is but bone and fibre
If a rose is thy desire, thou art a rose garden,
If a furnace is thy desire, thou art its fuel[10]

[1] آتش باري MS. (A)

[2] We should probably read here معدوم for معلوم.

[3] MS (A) reads او for ادای.   [4] MS (A) reads غرض

[5] *See* next page for the account of Shīr Shāh's accident at the siege of Kālinjar

[6] See Ibn Khalliqān (De Slane) IV. pp. 301 *et seqq.*

[7] MSS. (A) (B) omit پلید

[8] Yazid, the son of Mu'awiyah, the second Khalifah of the house of Ummaiyah He is celebrated in Muslim history as the opponent of Ḥusain who was killed at Karbalā A H. 61, *see* Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*

[9] *See* Qur'ān XVII, 86.

[10] MS. (A) reads همه for هیزمه. MS (B) reads هیمه.

And in the year 952 H. (1545 A D.) Shīr Shāh invested the fortress of Kālinjar, which is one of the strongest and most famous of the forts of Hindūstān, and with great energy and skill in a short time prepared galleries, and used to make daily attacks upon the bastions,[1] and by the time that the galleries had advanced near to the walls of the fort, and the mines were ready, attacking on all four sides he made the condition of the garrison very precarious. Shīr Shāh from the position where he was standing, gave orders to hurl grenades filled with gunpowder
372. into the fort. This they did, and by chance one of those grenades struck the wall of the fort, and recoiling with great force exploded. Its fragments fell among the other grenades, which exploded, burning Shīr Shāh severely from head to foot. And inasmuch as he was badly scorched,[2] and Shaikh Khalīl the son of his spiritual guide, and the learned Maulānā Nāẓimu-d-Dīn[3] also were fellow-sufferers with Shīr Shāh in this explosion,[4] Shīr Shāh as he ran using his hands to cover his nakedness,[5] took refuge in a tent which they had pitched for him in (front of) a bastion,[6] where he lay unconscious. Whenever he recovered consciousness a little[7] he shouted to his men encouraging them[8] to seize the fort, and if any one came to see him he signed to him to go and fight, so that in his absence the Amīrs[9] in command in the trenches worked harder than if he had been present, and

1 The text reads here مورچلها with a footnote variant مورچها. MS. (B) reads مورچه‌ها MS. (A) however has a totally different reading ملعارها for which I can see no meaning, but we should probably read مرحل ها "bastions" which would be consonant with both the text and MSS (A) and (B). This supposition is the more probable as some lines further on we have MS (B) reading مرحل, MS. (A) مرچل, and the text مورچل *See* note 6.

2 یلمه *Yulma* The meaning of this word is given in Fazlu-llāh Khān's Turkish Persian Dictionary as *Chīze ki mūye ān kanda bāshad*, that which has lost its hair

3 MS (A) reads مولانا ناظم

4 MS (B) reads درین سوزش و شورش.

5 Both MSS (A) (B) read هردو دست پس و پیش گرفته. This is a common expression to denote utter wretchedness and poverty.

6 The text reads مورچل MS (A) مرچل. MS. (B) مرحل, *see ante n.* 1.

7 MS. (A) می آید. 8 MSS. (A) (B) read here فریاد زده مردم را الخ.

9 MS. (A) امرای مورچل

behaved with the utmost gallantry, and coming to close quarters with the garrison, brought matters to a fight with knife and dagger and did full justice to the demands of endeavour and manliness. The writer heard a story from a most trustworthy source, that on that eventful day of assault, in which the deeds of every individual assailant were conspicuous, and the standards and faces could be easily distinguished one from another,[1] I saw, said he, a soldier armed *cap-a-pie*, who had not previously been seen nor was ever after seen, clothed from head to foot in black, wearing a plume[2] of the same colour upon his head,[3] and urging and encouraging our men in the battle. Then he entered one of the galleries and made his way into the fort. I searched for him everywhere after the battle, but in vain, I could find no trace of him.[4] The men in the other trenches also gave the same account, saying, we saw several horsemen wearing these clothes who kept advancing in front of us till they entered the fort and vanished.

Verse

If thou hadst not been on the side of religious law, Heaven itself would have girt its loins, 373.
If thou hadst[5] been on the side of the faith, the Gemini would have ungirt their sword.

A report became current that, in that battle, certain men from the invisible world had come to the aid of the Muslims. And Shīr Shāh suffering and distressed as he was, from time to time enquired for tidings of victory The air was terribly hot, and although they sprinkled him constantly with sandal and rose-water, it was utterly useless[6] to relieve the scorching heat whose intensity increased hour by hour

[1] The text reads و علامات و صورتها از یک دیگر ممتاز بود MS (A) reads for صورتها - صورن MS. (B) reads صورن The reading of the text is adopted.

[2] Fazlu-llāh Khān gives a word یالاو *Yālāū* in the meaning of علم *alam*, a standard or ensign.

[3] MSS. (A) (B) agree with the footnote variant بلو بهمان رنگ, omitting the words ملبوس و عمامة found in the text.

[4] MS. (A) جستیم نیافتیم

[5] In the first line MSS. (A) (B) read نه for نز (Text) In the second line MS. (A) reads به for نز (Text).

[6] The text reads فایدهٔ از التهاب اجل نداشت MS. (B) reads آن for اجل but the correct reading appears to be اصل نداشت MS (A).

Verse

A breast which is consumed by the fire of separation
Sandal [1] can afford it no relief.

At the very moment of hearing the good tidings of victory he yielded up his life [2] to the Lord, the Giver of life, the Receiver of life The following stanza was written to record the date of his death —

Shir Shāh, he in dread of whom
The lion and the goat drank at the same source
Left the world, the wise sage pronounced
The date of his death *Zi ātash murd* [3] (he died from the effects of fire)

His corpse was taken to Sahsarām where was the burial-place of his fathers, and there buried. The period of his military command was fifteen years, and of his Sultānate five years.

It is said that on one occasion when he was looking in a mirror, he exclaimed, "Alas! that I obtained my kingdom at the time of evening prayer." [4]

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1 صندل *Santalum album.* Useful in headache, Sontheimer II, 138. There are three kinds according to the *Makhzanu-l-adwiyah.* The white sandal called in Hindī *Chandan*, the yellow sandal called in Hindī *Malāgir*, the red sandal called in Hindi *Rakat Chandan.* This latter is the wood of *Pterocarpus santalinus* (Red sanders) It is generally called *Debī Chandan*, it is used, not for headache, but after being offered at the shrine of Kālī is used to mark the forehead of the worshipper. The others both *Chandan* and *Malayagir* (so called because it comes from Malayālam or Malabar) are used as a powder mixed into a paste with water to apply to the forehead as a cure for headache. They are also used in *pūjā* or worship by the Hindūs, who have a saying

Chandan, dhūp, dīp, malayāgir
Prem sahit Thākur nahalwāūn.

With (gifts of) Chandan, frankincense, lamps, and malayāgir
I will lovingly bathe the Thākur (Lord).

2 Omit عاريتي MS (A).

3 ز آتش مرد These letters give the date 952 H. This date is given in figures in both MSS (A) (B).

4 That is to say so late in life Firishta says · Whenever he looked in the glass and saw his white beard, he used to say, "It was near evening before I attained to empire"

MSS (A) (B) writes دريغ كه پادشاهي الخ

Verses.

My heart! like Khiẓr[1] *take and drink the water of life,*
Like Sikandar come and conquer land and sea.
If thou entertainest any longing for the cup-bearer and wine,
Take *the cup of* Kauṣar[2] *from the* hand *of the* Hūri[3] and drink,
The fame of thy greatness and glory and majesty
Has reached the Koh-i-qāf, go thither and hear its tale. 374.
If thou art sitting, for instance, on the throne of Solomon,
One day like the ant creep into the recess of a cave and hide there;
Two or three days like the spider, spin in the deserted corner of the world the strands of desire and take thy place there.
Every beautiful-faced one,[4] whose beauty is unapproachable
With that one, to thy heart's content,[5] take thy delight.
This world is a dream in the opinion of the wise,
Do thou at last see this dream and take it
Thy life, O Qādiri, is as a fairy-tale of enchantment,
Thou hast heard the tale, take the spell of enchantment
When the hand of Death tears[6] the sleeve of thy existence
Raise thy hand, and seize the skirt of the true Friend (God)

ISLEM SHĀH IBNI SHĪR SHĀH SŪR,[7]

Who is Islem Khān, on the fifteenth of the month Rabi'u-l-Awwal in the year 952 H. (1545 A.D.), acting upon the summons of the Amirs[8] of Bhatta came by forced marches from the neighbourhood of Patna,[9] and by the co-operation of 'Īsā Khān Ḥajjāb and the other men of influence and power,[10] succeeded[11] to the imperial throne in room of his father, with the title of Islem

[1] Al-Khiẓr See Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, p. 272
[2] Qur'ān cviii 1–3 *See* Hughes, *op cit*, p 262.
[3] The women of Paradise Qur'ān lv. 56–78.
[4] MS. (A) reads نرخوش نرو for هرخوبرو
[5] بوایهٔ دل footnote variant برادیٔ دل MS (B)
[6] درد (Text) MS. (A) MS. (B) reads دهد
[7] MS. (A) omits سور
[8] A footnote variant امرای بهتّه یا یلغار MS (B)
[9] MS. (A) بهتّه *Bhatta.*
[10] اهل حل و عقد
[11] MSS. (A) (B) read گشت for نشست (Text).

Shāh, and the son of Mulla Aḥmad Junaid,[1] who is well known,[2]
375 found this verse of the sacred word:[3] "And already we have written in the Psalms, after the admonition that 'the earth shall my righteous servants inherit,'"[4] to give the date of his accession. He wrote a despatch to his elder brother 'Ādil Khān and sent it to him in Ranthanbūr, of which the following is the substance. "Although the succession was really your right, still as you were at so great a distance there was a danger, nay a certainty of the occurrence of disturbances here before you could arrive. Accordingly with a view to keep down insurrections, I will take charge of the army for a few days as your deputy, and after you arrive I shall have no alternative but to submit to and obey you." Leaving Kālinjar he made for[5] Āgra and in the vicinity of the township of Kūra Khātampūr,[6] Khawāṣṣ Khān arrived from Sihrind which was his jāegīr, and yielded a forced allegiance, because he was more inclined to favour the accession of 'Ādil Khān as compared with Islem Shāh; a splendid banquet was held and he was anew placed on the throne. Afterwards when fresh despatches from Islem Shāh reached 'Ādil Khān, he referred the question of his coming to the following four persons upon whose advice and opinion as to its expediency he made his action dependent Quṭb Khān Nāib, 'Īsā Khān Niyāzī, Khawāṣṣ Khān, and Jalāl Khān Jilwānī,[7] all of whom were great Amīrs, men of eminence belonging to his family. Islem Shāh sent this body of men to him bearing an agreement by which he undertook to allow 'Ādil Khān to depart to his jāegīr after the first interview, and to deliver to his control any place in Hindūstān which he might select. 'Ādil Khān acting upon the advice of these Amīrs proceeded from the neighbourhood of Ranthanbūr to Fathpūr,

[1] MSS (A) (B) جند *Jund*   [2] MS (B) omits مشهور

[3] Supply را MS (A) *See* Qur'an xxi, 105

[4] Psalm xxxvii, 29 'The righteous shall inherit the land and dwell therein for ever.'

The date is given by the words من بعد الذکر i.e., that which follows الذکر. The value of الذکر being 951, that which follows is 952 H.

[5] MSS (A) (B) عازم آگره شد.

[6] Kora (*Corah*) Town in Fathpur district, N.-W. P, on the old Mughal Road from Agra to Allahabad *See* Tieff, Vol I, p 235 and map, Vol III *See* also Hunter, *Imp. Gaz.* viii, p. 295   [7] MSS. (A) (B) جلو *Julū*.

otherwise called Sikri, and Islem S͟hāh [1] left Āgra and came to S͟hikārpūr,[2] where the royal palace is at present, to receive him; and when they met they first fulfilled the duties of condolence, and 371
evinced great cordiality, and after a short time set out together for Āgra. Islem S͟hāh had plotted treachery against 'Ādil K͟hān, and had consequently made a stipulation that not more than two or three persons should be left in the fort with 'Ādil K͟hān. This however was not carried out, and a large body of followers accompanied him; accordingly Islem S͟hāh was constrained, in order to avoid suspicion, to treat 'Ādil K͟hān with extraordinary [3] fawning and flattery, saying "I have taken care of these unruly [4] Afghans so far by artful means,[5] now I make them over to you."

Verse.

Subject the intoxicated and riotous one to the warning glance
of the cup-bearer [6]

Having placed him upon the throne he himself assumed an attitude of submission and obedience, and from motives of worldly wisdom was most punctilious in the observance of courtesy [7] Although 'Ādil K͟hān was in the flower of his youth, and of great bodily strength (many well-known tales of his strength are told), nevertheless, since he was fond of ease, and was well aware of the craft and subtlety of Islem S͟hāh and his [8] ways of dealing, would not agree to that procedure, rose to his feet, and seating Islem S͟hāh on the throne again with all honour and ceremony,[9] swore allegiance to him, and offered him congratulations upon his accession, with the customary offerings [10] and oblations Islem S͟hāh, in accordance with the compact which had been made,[11] sent 'Īsa K͟hān and K͟hawāṣṣ K͟hān to accompany 'Ādil K͟hān, and having confirmed Baiāna to him as a *jāegīr*, permitted him to proceed thither Two months later he appointed G͟hāzī Mahallī, who was one of his confidential attendants, to go and arrest 'Ādil K͟hān.

[1] Omit را MS (B)

[2] MS (A) سنکاپور *Sankapūr*

[3] MS (A) reads فوق الحق

[4] MS (A) بی سر

[5] MS (A) ما سرخوشیم

[6] From Hāfiẓ See ode commencing بلطائف الحیل Diwān-Hāfiẓ, Newa Kishore Press, p 303

[7] ملامت MS (A) reads ملازمت.

[8] MS. (B) supplies او

[9] Read بمراسم تعظیم MSS (A) (B)

[10] MS (A) ونثار کرد و ایثار واقع شده

[11] MS (B) omits بود

'Adil Khān, however, heard of this, and fled from Baiāna taking refuge with Khawāṣṣ Khān in Miwāt. Khawāṣṣ Khān then summoned Ghāzī Maḥallī, and bound him with that same golden chain which he had brought for 'Ādil Khān, and having gained
377. over to his side all [1] the Amīrs, set out for Āgra with a large army. Quṭb Khān and 'Īsā Khān also, who were two of the chief nobles of the State,[2] with whose concurrence the compact [3] had been made, were annoyed at this breach of faith on the part of Islem Shāh,[4] and with great management summoned 'Ādil Khān at a time agreed upon, namely at day break after the *Shab i-barāt*,[5] so that they might own allegiance to him. It so chanced that 'Ādil Khān and Khawāṣṣ Khān, having arrived at Sīkrī on the Shab-i-barāt,[6] spent that night as a vigil in the service of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī, in voluntary prayers [7] and benedictions, so that their departure for Āgra was delayed long past the time agreed upon, and it was breakfast time [8] when they reached the outskirts of Āgra Islem Shāh who was alarmed,[9] spoke very courteously to Quṭb Khān and the rest of the Amīrs, and permitted them to go and present themselves before 'Ādil Khān His [10] object was to get rid of his opponents, and that very instant to start alone [11]

1 MSS. (A) (B) read عامهٔ امرا

2 MSS (A) (B) omit امرا و.

3 MS (A) قول و قرار

4 MSS (A) (B) read رنجیده . بتقریب instead of بواسطه الخ

5 The fifteenth day of Sha'bān A day of great rejoicing among Muhammadans Muhammad ordered his followers to keep vigil during this night, to repeat a hundred prayers and keep the next day as a fast day *See* Hughes, *Dict of Islam*

Briggs in his translation of Firishta says, "as it was the night of the Koorban festival" and in a footnote says, "this fast is kept in commemoration of the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham" The translator however is at fault here, as the original says و چون شب براة بود (Bo Text, p 431) *and inasmuch as it was the Shab-i-barāt*

6 MS (A) in error شب بر آب

7 نوافل و ادعیه *Nawāfil wa ad'iyah* *Nowāfil* are voluntary prayers which may be omitted without sin, as distinguished from *Farz* which are prayers enjoined by God, and from *Sunnah*, prayers founded on the practice of the Prophet

See Hughes *Dict of Islam art* Prayer

8 چاشتگاهی *Chashtgah*

9 MS (A) omits او and also را after مخالفان.

10 Insert تنها after ساعت MSS (A) (B) instead of as in the text

11 مضطرب گشته MSS (A) (B)

for the fortress of Chunār, seize the treasure which was there, and after collecting the necessary equipment for an army to return and again engage in war. 'Īsā Khān Hajjāb warned him of the folly and absurdity of this project, and prevented him from sending his Amīrs to his enemy and from starting for Chunār. Eventually Islem Shāh, accompanied by a party of his own bodyguard, and two or three thousand old and trusty retainers, left Āgra with all haste and came out in force to fight, first recalling those Amīrs[1] whom he had sent,[2] saying "I am by no means confident that 'Ādil Khān will not deal treacherously with you; you had better return quickly and rejoin me, because the question between[3] him and me can only be settled by the sword"

Verse.

In this case messengers and despatches can avail nothing,
The two-edged sword will make this matter clear[4]

The Amīrs, however, who were friendly to 'Ādil Khān, on seeing Islem Shāh take the field, refused[5] to return to his side and 378.
entered the ranks of the more powerful army; a severe battle ensued before Āgra, and 'Ādil Khān was defeated[6] and fled alone toward Bhatta.[7] Khawāṣṣ Khān and 'Īsā Khān Nīyāzī, who had a strong regard and unbounded loyalty for each other, took the road to Miwāt and the township of Fīrūzpūr, engaged the force which had been sent in pursuit of them, and overcame it; but eventually, not having power to resist the army of Islem Shāh, proceeded to the hills to the north of Hindūstān, which[8] are called (the) Kumāon (hills), and took refuge with the Rājās of that district. Quṭb Khān Nāib, having been appointed to attack them, kept continually ravaging the country at the foot of the hills. In the meantime Islem Shāh proceeded to Chunhār, and sent the treasure which was there to Gwāliār, and on his return, when he reached the township of Kūrah Khātampūr, while engaged in playing *changān* with Jalāl Khān Jilwānī,[9] who was one of the married Amīrs of the Afghāns, and had been[10] an adherent

1 MS (A) امرای. 2 Omit فرستاد و MS (B). 3 MS. (B) omits میان
4 This order of the hemistiches is given in MS (A)
5 MS (A) باز ماندند. 6 MSS (A) (B) شکست افتاده.
7 MSS (A) (B) omit و رفت. 8 MS (A) omits آن را
9 MSS (A) (B) جلو 10 MS (A) بوده

of 'Ādil Khān, and a great object of suspicion to Islem Shāh, by some treacherous device persuaded him to come to his camp, and cast him into chains together with his brother Khudādād, making them over to an Afghān who had a blood feud with them, and having put them to death under the cloke of vengeance, proceeded to Āgra, [and from thence to Gwāliār which he had made his capital],[1] and setting himself to slay and eradicate a party who were favourable to 'Ādil Khān, girded up his loins in enmity against them, and swept them one by one from the board of the world like so many pieces in the game of draughts or chess. Qutb Khān also took fright, and fled from the foot of the Kumāon
'9. hills to Lahore, taking refuge with Haibat Khān, to whom Shīr Shāh had given the title of A'zam Humāyūn. Haibat Khān in obedience to a summons from[2] Islem Shāh, sent Qutb Khān in chains to him Islem Shāh sent him together with Shāhbāz Khān Lūhānī,[3] who was brother-in-law to Shīr Shāh,[4] and Barmazīd Kor who was the *Dajjāl*[5] of that sect, and the Hajjaj[6] of his age, and thirteen or fourteen other Amīrs[7] and Amīrs' sons, to the fortress of Gwāliār, where most of them quitted the body in imprisonment.[8]

[Among them was Mahmūd Khān, son of 'Ādil Khān, who in his seventh year had counselled Shīr Shāh to throw up a rampart of sand, in consequence of which Shīr Shāh had made him his heir-apparent, as has been related Another was Kawāl Khān Ghakkar who will be mentioned shortly] [9]

And in this year Salim Shāh summoned A'zam Humāyūn from

[1] Not in MSS (A) (B). [2] بموجب طلب [3] MS (B)

[4] Firishta says كه شوهر خواهر سليم شاه بود و برمزيد كور و چند كس ديگر who was sister's husband to Salīm Shāh, with Burmazīd Kor and some others Bo Text, 432

Briggs translates this, "the king's brother in-law, who was deprived of his sight," mistaking *Barmazīd Kor* (Briggs II, 132)

[5] دجال *Dajjāl* The *Masīhu-d dajjāl* or lying Christ, the last of the impostors whose appearance was predicted by Muhammad

[6] *See* ante, *p* 12 *n* 1 [7] MSS (A) (B) omit نامي.

[8] The text reads بداروی تفنگ by gunpowder. MSS. (A) (B) omit these words.

[9] This portion enclosed in square brackets is not in MSS. (A) (B) a foot-note to the text states that it is found in one MS

Lâhor, but he advanced some excuse [1] for not coming in person, and sent Sa'īd Khān his brother, who was renowned for courage and sound judgment.[2] Islem Shāh received him with the utmost show of favour, and made much of him, advancing him to the highest place of intimacy, but inwardly cherished the intention of putting an end to him; at last one day, having summoned him to a private interview within the palace, he shewed him the heads of the Amīrs who had been immured alive in the walls, for instance Zain Khān Nīyāzī [3] and the others, saying: Do you recognize these persons, who they are? He mentioned the names of some whom he recognized Previously to this he had thrown [4] the abovementioned Amīrs, men of ability, into a chamber in Gwāliār, and setting fire to it with gunpowder had burned them all except Kawāl Khān Ghakkar, who remained under the protection of the All-cherisher safe in a corner of the room.[5] [It is said that the 380.
following was the reason of his escaping; the sister of Kawāl Khān, who had been united by marriage to Islem Shāh, became aware of the conference and sent word to her brother, saying · This very night they intend to blow up the prisoners with gunpowder. She also sent from inside (the palace) four quilts stuffed with cotton, and several skins of water Kawāl Khān poured quantities of water upon the quilts, and under pretence of taking a bath betook himself into a corner, apart from his friends, and rolling himself up in the quilts had gone to sleep when they set fire to the room, and all were burned to ashes, but he alone remained alive beneath the quilt. In the morning Islem Shāh came to inspect that prison house, and seeing Kawāl Khān alive said It is right for me to release you seeing that fire had no power over you].[6] Then Islem Shāh having made him [7] take an oath that he would never again oppose him, released him, and appointed him to assist the Governor of the Panjāb to conquer the country of the Ghakkars [where he arrived with all honour] [8] In short Sa'īd Khān, who had been a witness of this sudden death, gave orders in obedience

1 MS (A) عذر

2 مقالت MS (B) reads فقالت

3 MS (A) omits نیازي.

4 MS (A) omits آن.

5 MSS (A) (B) read simply هرگوشهٔ خانه.

6 This portion enclosed in square brackets is not in MSS. (A) (B) a footnote to the text states that it is found in one MS.

7 MSS. (A) (B) omit باو.

8 Not in MSS. (A) (B)

to which post horses were tied up along the road to Lāhor, so that he travelled the distance between Āgra and Lāhor within three nights Day by day the scale turned more and more in favour of the Nīyāzī faction, and Ā'ẓam Humāyūn read the *Khuṭbah* in his own name in Lāhor. Islem Shāh returned from that same camp and came to Āgra, and summoning a vast army from all sides marched for the Panjāb Sazāwal Khān came from Mālwa to join this movement, and was received very graciously, and after bringing forward certain important matters took leave, while Islem Shāh, after halting for a few days in Dihlī and ordering his army, set out
381. for Lāhor.[1] Ā'ẓam Humāyūn and Khawāṣṣ Khān, and 'Īsā Khān[2] Nīyāzī as well, (who had come down from the hill country to join him), came from the Panjāb with armies strong as the hills to receive Islem Shāh. In the early part of the[3] winter time a fierce battle was fought in front of[4] the township of Ambāla, and on the evening preceding the day on which the battle was to be fought, Ā'ẓam Khān had asked Khawāss Khān: After the victory who will be selected as the successor to the throne? He answered: It may be that it will be 'Ādil Khān who is the eldest son of Shīr Shāh[5] and is really fit to rule It appears that the Nīyāzī faction said,[6] The kingdom is not by inheritance, but *He who conquers, takes the booty*[7] It is a foregone conclusion, what sense is there in this that we should strike with the sword and the kingdom should come to others

Khawāss Khān, who was heart and soul attached to the cause of Shīr Shāh, was displeased at this claim of theirs, consequently when the battle began to rage, he refused to fight,[8] and standing aloof left the battle field together with 'Īsā Khān Nīyāzī. The Nīyāzī faction fought right manfully, without yielding a foot of ground, and were near carrying away the centre[9] of Islem Shāh's

[1] MS (A) reads و

[2] MSS (A) (B) omit عیسی خان a footnote to the text states that the words are in one MS

[3] MSS (A) (B) read only در ایام زمستان In the winter time

[4] MS (A) در ظاهر

[5] MS. (A) supplies باشد.

[6] نیازیان گفته باشند

[7] مَن غَلَبَ سَلَبَ *man ghalaba salaba*

[8] The text reads جنگ ها کردة but this is manifestly wrong, and the reading should be جنگ نا کردة as in MS. (A) (B)

[9] MS (A) omits قلب

army, but in the end[1] pluck told,[2] and their efforts were of no avail.

Verse.

Thy wound which utters presage of thy death
When it feels thy salt closes its lips.

And Sa'īd Khān, the elder brother of Ā'ẓam Humāyūn, attended by a body of men fully armed and equipped, disguised in such a way that no one would know him, came in under the pretext of offering congratulations, with the intention of putting an end to Islem Shāh, and with that object asked repeatedly, where is the Pādshāh that I may offer him my congratulations on his victory An elephant driver of one of those elephants which had surrounded Islem Shāh recognised the voice of Sa'īd Khān, and struck a blow at him with his spear, but he[3] made his way in safety through the crowd of elephants, great as it was,[4] and foiled in his purpose made his escape, the Nīyāzī faction fled 382.
and came to Dhankot,[5] which is near Roh,[6] and the remainder were plundered by the Kawārs, while some were drowned in the *nullahs* of Ambāla. Islem Shāh pursued as far as Western Rohtās, and despatched Khwāja Wais[7] Sirwānī with a large army to oppose the Nīyāzīs, and returned towards Āgra. Leaving Āgra he went[8] to Gwāliār, and made it his capital[9] When Khawāṣṣ Khān and 'Isā Khān Nīyāzī, who had made common cause, left the battle field, 'Īsā Khān went to the hill country,[10] [while Khawāṣṣ Khān with five or six hundred cavalry[11] fled to Lāhor], [and (Islām Khān)[12] Islem Shāh appointed Shams Khān

1 MS (B) reads آخر for غانتش

2 نمک کار خود کرد. The word 'pluck' seems the best equivalent for the Persian نمک *nimak* which means literally *salt*, and secondarily *spirit, courage*. It may also mean however that Islem Shāh's men were 'true to their Salt'

3 The text reads و here which quite loses the sense Read او MS. (B)

4 Omit حلقهٔ فیلان MSS. (A) (B).

5 MS (A) دهنکوب *Dhankob*

6 MS (A) ردہ *Radah*.

7 MS. (A) اویس *Awais*.

8 MS (A) رفته MS. (B) رفت

9 آن را پای تخت ساخت MSS (A) (B).

10 We should follow the text here MS. (A) omits the words خان بدامن عیسی and goes on بهٔ دامن کوه در آمدند. omitting the passage in square brackets which follows.

11 MS (B) کس.

12 اسیلم شاہ MS. (A)

Lūhānī as Governor of Lāhor; and at a time when Shams Khān had come out for some undertaking [1] to a distance of thirty *krohs* from Lāhor, Khawāṣṣ Khān,[2] with three [3] or four hundred cavalry, each individual man of whom could have withstood an army, advanced with the idea of taking Lāhor, and encamped [4] in the grove of Kāmrān Mirza. The inhabitants of Lāhor shutting themselves up in the fort held the city till the arrival of Shams Khān, and Khawāṣṣ Khān, having cut down the lofty trees [5] of Safīdār and Chinār [6] of that grove, had set about making *Sātū* [7] and ladders, when [8] his cavalry brought news that Rāi Ḥusain Jilwānī and other Amīrs of Salīm Shāh's party with an army of thirty thou-
383. sand cavalry had arrived in the neighbourhood of Lāhor. Khawāṣṣ Khān, after a conference with 'Īsā Khān, abandoned the siege, and went out some five or six *krohs* to meet (his enemy), and with five hundred veteran cavalry well tried in war hurled himself against that wall of steel. Rāi Ḥusain said to his men, leave the way open so [9] that this black calamity may pass through our midst Accordingly [10] he made a breach in the line of Salīm Shāh's army, and attacked them again from the rear and threw them into confusion At this juncture he received a wound in the knee which bore him from his horse to the ground, but his opponents had not sufficient enterprise to come up to him and take him prisoner, and he was openly borne off the field upon a *charpoy* [11]

[1] MS. (A) ابجهت مهمی

[2] MS (A) هردو سردار. [3] MS (A) سیصد. [4] MS. (A) فرود آمدند.

[5] MS. (A) درختهای

[6] The *Safedār* سفیدار is the white Poplar or Abele. The *Chinār* has been already mentioned.

[7] MS (A) ساطور. This word is not given in any of the dictionaries The only word I can conjecture it may possibly be meant for is the Turkī ساتو *Sātū*, which means the roof of a house (P de C.) in which case it would have a meaning of a shelter under which to approach the walls, like the Roman *Vinea*, which consisted of a roof resting upon posts eight feet in height, made sufficiently light to admit of its being carried by the soldiers The roof was formed of planks and wicker work.

[8] MS. (A) که سواران. [9] MS (A) reads که راه دهند.

[10] MS. (A) reads از میان بدر رود و

[11] I have retained this word in its English dress as being one so familiar to all who know India The چهار پای *chahār pai* is simply an oblong wooden frame on four legs (as its name implies) fitted with a bottom of string, matting

Rāī Ḥusain forbade his men to give pursuit, and Khawāṣṣ Khān went off in safety towards Nagarkoṭ][1] whence he proceeded to the foot of the Kumāon hills. The final issue of his affairs will be related shortly[2] in its own place if God, *He is exalted*, so will it. The Niyāzī faction set their hearts upon the government of Kashmir, but by the craft of the Kashmīrīs were enticed into bye-ways, and eventually reached their rest in the corner of destruction, as will be mentioned, if God, *He is exalted*, so will it.

And in the year 954 H. (1547 A.D.) an Afghān named Usmān, whose hand Sazāwal Khān had cut off for some reason, one day laid an ambush in Āgra, and at the entrance to a road aimed a blow at Sazāwal Khān and wounded him. Sazāwal Khān went to the camp, and represented that this attack had been made at the instance of Salīm Shāh, he then took his way to Mālwa. Islem Shāh pursued him as far as Bānswāla, but seeing that Sazāwal Khān was hidden among the Zamīndārs of Sarūr,[3] Salīm Shāh left 'Īsa Khān Sūr with twenty thousand cavalry in Ujjain, and reached the capital. In the early part of his reign 384.
Islem Shāh detailed five thousand cavalry for the chief *sarkārs* of Hindūstān. Among them Mubāriz Khān, the son of Niẓām Khān[4] Sūr, who was the cousin and wife's brother of Islem Shāh, and eventually received the title of Muḥammad 'Adilī, was appointed as a commander of twenty thousand to the vicinity of Ajāwan in the Sarkār of Sanbal, in order that Khawāṣṣ Khān and the other Amīrs might not be able to raise disturbances in that province, and he appointed as his deputy Pābandh Khazak.[5] He had also given orders at the beginning of his reign, that between every two resthouses built by Shir Shāh, which were at intervals of one *kroh*, another rest-house of the same pattern should be built, with a temple, and a dwelling-place, and a conduit for water, and that a buttery and kitchen containing food both cooked and uncooked, for the use of travellers,[6] both Hindū and Musulmān, should be

or a broad tape called *niwār*, in common use as a bedstead, and everywhere known as a *chārpoy*. *See* Yule and Burnell, Glossary, s v

1 The portion included in double square brackets is omitted from MS. (B)

2 MS. (A) مذکور کردہ خواهد شد. 3 Footnote variant سرود Sarūd.

4 MS. (A) writes نظام خان سور

5 MSS. (A) (B) read خزک *Khazak* as in footnote variant. The text reads خبرک *Khabrak*.

6 MSS. (A) (B) supply مسافر.

always open. Among other commands of his was this, that the *madad-i-ma'ash* [1] and *aimah* grants of the whole of the protected [2] provinces of Hindūstān which Shīr Shāh had given, and the rest-houses which he had furnished, and the pleasure-gardens he had laid out,[3] should remain just as they were, and should not be altered in the slightest degree. Another order was, that all the *Pātars* [4] should be taken by force from those Amirs who kept *Akhāras* (these are well known in Hindūstān). He also seized [5] the elephants in the same manner, and did not leave in the possession of any one any but a wretched female elephant fit only for carrying baggage, and gave [6] orders that the red tent was confined solely to his own use Another order was this, that he brought the whole country under his own personal control,[7] and in accordance with the regulations and custom of the *dāghī* system [8] which Shīr Shāh had instituted, the soldiery were paid in cash. A further step was to send written orders to all the *Sarkārs* containing comprehensive instructions on all important points of religion, and all political and civil questions, [9] entering into the minutest essential detail,[10] and dealing with all regulations
385 which might be of service to the soldiery and civil population, to the merchants and other various classes, and which the authorities were bound to follow in their jurisdiction

All these points were written in these documents whether agreeable to the religious law or not,[11] so that there was no necessity to refer any such matters [12] to the *Qāzī* or *Muftī*, nor was it proper to do so.[13]

1 See Āīn-i-Akbarī (Blochmann) I, 268, 272, regarding the tenures of land called respectively *madad-i ma'ash* and *aimah*.

2 MSS (A) (B) omit ممالک

3 MSS (A) (B) ساخته بودند. 4 Dancing girls, *see* ante, p 250 (Text) *n*. 4.

5 MSS (A) (B) omit گرفت 6 MS (A) کرد.

7 خاصهٔ خود ساخت MS (A)

8 *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (Blochmann) I, 242 Under the *dāghī* system every Amir began as a commander of twenty, and when he brought his full complement of twenty horses to be branded (داغ *dāgh* signifies a brand), he was to be promoted to the next higher grade, and so on

9 MS (A) omits the words معاملات و. MS (B) omits مهمات

10 نقیر و قطمیر ضروری *Naqīr o qitmīr-i-zarūrī* *Naqīr* means the small groove on the date stone, *qitmīr* is the thin pellicle which covers the datestone.

11 MS. (A) خواه موافق نه 12 MS (A) ابواب 13 MS (A) بایستی کرد.

Also the Amirs of five thousand, ten thousand, and twenty thousand, used every Friday to pitch a lofty tent supported by eight poles,[1] and bring the shoes of Salīm Shāh together with a quiver which he had given to the *sardārs*[2] in front of the throne; and first of all the commander of the troops, and after him the *Munṣif*, that is to say, the Chief Commissioner (*Amīn*) followed by the others in due precedence, with bowed heads and every expression of respect would take their seats in their appointed places. Then a Secretary would come and read aloud that order, chapter and verse, which occupied eighty sheets of paper more or less. Any question which presented any difficulty was referred by them in conclave to the various provisions and rulings of that document, by which it was finally decided, and if it should so happen that any Amīr acted in contravention of that order, the Secretary used to write a report of that action and despatch it to the Court, and the disobedient Amīr would forthwith be visited with punishment together with his family and relations. This procedure remained in force to the end of the reign of Islem Shāh. The writer of this *Muntakhab*, in the year 955 H (1548 A D.), when he was of tender age, went to the country of Bajwāra, one of the dependencies of Baiāna, with the army of Farīd Tāran, Commander of five thousand, in the company of his maternal grandfather, *on him be the mercy of God*, and witnessed these customs and rules of practice. And in the year 954 H. or in 955 H, God knows which, Khwāja Wais Sirwānī, who had been commissioned to proceed against A'ẓam Humāyūn[3] [fought a battle with the Nīyāzīs in the

1 This is a conjecture. I have failed to find the word سرغه *Surgha* in any dictionary. It sounds like a Turkī word There is a word in the Turkī language سوغمه *Sūghma* or سوقمه *Sūqma* (Faẓlu-llāh Khān) meaning *pilier colonne* (P de C) and it is quite possible that in copying the word ر has been written for و and the م omitted by oversight. We should then have سرغه as in the text and MSS. The meaning is reasonable eight-poled shāmiānas being very commonly used.

2 MS. (A) has a different reading to the text here. It reads بر کشتي که بسردار داده بود upon a tray which he had given to the *Sardār*, instead of با ترکشي که بسرداران داده بود

3 MS (B) omits the words from نلمزده to همايون, the copyist having mistaken his place after the first occurrence of the name A'ẓam Humāyūn.

vicinity of Dhankoṭ,[1] and was defeated. A'ẓam Humāyūn] having taken a strong force pursued him as far as Sihrind. Islem Shāh sent a large army against the rebels, and at last they fought another battle in the same country, and on this occasion also the
386. Niyāzis suffered defeat, and some of their women were captured and sent to Gwālīār Islem Shāh dishonoured them, and made over to the harlots in his camp the banners and tents and all the tokens of dignity of the Niyāzis who had fallen into his hands, and naming one Sa'īd Khān, and another Ā'zam[2] Humāyūn, and a third Shahbāz Khān, in this way he distributed titles. Moreover he gave them drums which they used to play at their doors at the time of the *naubat*,[3] and the prostitutes used to give themselves airs[4] and used to say *Sag-i-falakam*[5] This class used to come every Thursday evening, in accordance with the custom of the harlots of Hindūstān, to pay their respects to Islem Shāh, and the heralds and chamberlains used to call out with a loud voice, O King cast a gracious glance hither, for a certain Khān Niyāzī, and Bahmān Khān are here to invoke blessings on thee. This used to annoy the Afghāns who were all of one tribe and of one mind, so that an intense disgust for him had sprung up in their hearts. Some assert that his conferring the titles of the Niyāzis and giving the ensigns and drums was on the first occasion[6] God knows the truth. And Ā'ẓam Humāyūn, who on the second occasion was defeated, was not able to gird himself again to war, and the Niyāzī party being scattered asunder grew daily weaker, and at first took refuge with the Ghakkars in the neighbourhood of Rohtās, making the hill country adjoining the Kashmīr territory their asylum. Islem Shāh, in order to remove the cause of the mischief, marched with a large army, and reaching the Panjāb took up a strong position in the northern hill range, and by way of guarding his head-quarter post built five
387. forts. *viz.*, Mānkoṭ and Rashidkoṭ and the others. For a space of

[1] MS. (A) دهنكوب Dhankob

[2] MSS. (A) (B) omit خان.

[3] نوبت *Naubat.* Music which is played daily by the band appointed for the purpose at stated hours. *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I. 51.

[4] طبل علالا Footnote variant, also MSS. (A) (B) Text reads طبل علا Tabl-i-ulā (nawākhtan). To beat the drum of self-conceit.

[5] سگ فلكم *Sag-i-Falakam.* "I am the dog of the sky," a parodied expression taken from the astronomical *Shir-i-falak*, the constellation Leo.

[6] On the occasion of their first defeat

two years he kept the Afghāns[1] employed in carrying stone and lime, and had such a hatred of the whole tribe that he heaped[2] the dust of infamy and oppression on their heads. At this time he did not give them even the smallest coin[3] by way of recompense. A party of them, however, who had obtained exemption from this labour,[4] he detailed to oppose the Ghakkars, and they engaged in continuous warfare with them

The Ghakkars in appearance like the tribe of 'Ād,[5] daily fought with the Afghāns, and by night entered their camp like thieves, and used to carry off whomsoever they might find, woman or man, freed man or slave, and keep them in bonds with the utmost rigour, and sell them. The Afghāns[6] dragged them in the dirt, and gave them the nickname of Ruswāī (disgraced), but no one had the power to represent this state of things to Islem Shāh till at last one day Shāh Muhammad Farmalī,[7] who was one of the most noted Amīrs for wit and good-humour in Hindūstān, and was also a specially favoured and forward boon companion said, "My Lord the King! Last night I saw in a dream three bags descend from heaven, in one of which was dust, in another gold, and in the third[8] paper. The dust fell upon the head of a soldier, the gold went to the house of the Hindū *daftarī*,[9] and the paper remained in the royal treasury" Islem Shāh was pleased with this speech, and promised that after his return to Gwālīār he would make his accountants draw up an account of the soldiers' pay, and pay them in gold. As it happened that order was never carried out, for in those same days death seized him by the collar.

Verse.

Attend to my wants to-day for that draught is of no avail
Which is given to Sohrāb after his death.

In the end, the affairs of the Niyāzīs came to this, that when 388

1 MSS (A) (B) omit دیو نژاد.   2 MS. (A) ریختند.

3 MS. (A) یک فلس و جیتل نداد *Yak fals o jītal na dād* The text reads فلوس *fulūs*. The *jītal* is an imaginary division of the *dām*, used only for purposes of calculation Its fictitious value is only the thousandth part of a rupee *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (B) I. 31.

4 Read نامزد کرد تا MS. (A) MS. (B) نامزد کرده The text is wrong.

5 See Sale's Koran, p 4.   6 MSS (A) (B) خط بيني كشيدند.

7 MS A. قرنلي   8 MS (A) در دیگری.   9 A scribe, clerk

their strength[1] was broken, and they came into Kashmīr, the Kashmīrīs, who are[2] born traitors and deceivers, first of all invited the Nīyāzīs from Rājūrī after inflaming them with spurious ambition for kingdom, and in the end their guides leading them astray[3] brought the tribes of Kashmīr to oppose them, and at a hint from Islem Shāh held the head of the pass against them. The women even of the Nīyāzīs in defence of their honour girded on quivers, (among them were the mother and wife of Ā'ẓam Humāyūn),[4] and fighting with the Kashmīrīs were attacked by a hail of stones which literally covered them, and not a soul escaped. It is said that in the reign of Shīr Shāh a body of the Afghāns of the tribe of Sanbal invited the Nīyāzīs to Dhankoṭ under treaty, and put two thousand of them to death in obedience to the orders of Shīr Shāh, putting their wives and children to the sword. Five years later the same thing happened to them,[5] and in this house of retribution they received the reward of their deeds, hand for hand. And[6] in these narrow passes they put all three brothers to the sword, sending their heads as an offering to Salīm Shāh. They also sent for him a girl from there. A part of this story has been elegantly told in the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*,[7] the composition of which is ancient though its arrangement is modern; and at the time when Islem Shāh, had sent troops against the Ghakkars and the Jānoha party who were strongly entrenched on the banks of the river Behat, he himself was occupied in building the fortress of Māngaṛh,[8] and Kāmrān Mirzā, after fighting many battles with[9]
389 Muhammad Humāyūn Padshāh, fled from Kābul and took refuge with Salīm Shāh, in the hopes that he would give him reinforcements which would enable him to capture Kābul, in the (vain) expectation that the water which had flowed away would return[10] to its source. When Islem Shāh heard this tidings, he selected from his army the notorious Humūn[11] Baqqāl, who in those

[1] Footnote variant صورت. [2] MS (A) آمده اند. [3] MSS. (A) (B) پس خم

[4] Omit كه MSS (A) (B)

[5] همان آش در کاسهٔ ایشان بود. *Hamān āsh dar Kāsa-īshān būd.* Lit The same broth was in their cup

[6] MS. (A) supplies و [7] *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*, see p 8, *n* 3.

[8] Text مال گڑه Mālgaṛh. MSS (A) (B) مانگڑه Māngaṛh.

[9] با MS (A). [10] MS. (A) omits باز.

[11] Footnote variant هیمون *Haimūn* The text reads هیموی *Haimūe.*

days, in virtue of his capacity for extorting taxes, had been promoted from being overseer of the market to a post of confidence, and sent him with another body of Afghāns to the neighbourhood of Rohtās to meet Mīrzā, and although Islem Shāh in his own mind thought this a reason for increased confidence in Mīrzā, being led to this by the want of confidence[1] he had in the Afghāns as a tribe, and the entire trust he reposed in Humūn, still Mīrzā himself made light of this, and[2] recognising that there were dregs in the very first draught of the cup was unwilling to come in person.

Verse.

Now indeed thou repentest but thy repentance profiteth thee nothing.

Nevertheless, in spite of this Mīrzā still believed that possibly Islem Shāh would overlook everything, and would treat him with honour and respect when the time of meeting arrived. However, on the day of public audience, he himself entered with arrogant assurance, and sitting on the seat of a Fara'ūn or a Shaddād,[3] gave orders to Sarmast Khān[4] the Afghān, a Dā'ūd Za'i,[5] who held the office of *Bārbak*,[6] in accordance with which he directed Mīrzā to perform the customary salutations like the servants of the ordinary public. He accordingly performed the *Kornish*,[7] and those diabolical men[8] out of sheer inhumanity seized Mīrzā roughly by the nape of the neck, and shouted aloud several times saying, Your Majesty![9] Be pleased to cast a glance hither, for Kāmrān the Muqaddam-zāda of Kābul invokes blessings. Islem Shāh after ignoring him for some considerable time, cast a haughty
glance in the direction of Mīrzā,[10] and uttered a hypocritical 390
"Welcome." He then ordered a tent and canopy to be erected

[1] Footnote variant and MS. (A) اعتمیدي ..

[2] MS. (A) و از قبیل اول خم و دردی.

[3] Shaddād the son of 'Ād, *see* ante, p 261 n. 6.

[4] MS (A) omits خان   [5] MS (A) omits داؤد زئي.

[6] باربک *Bārbak.* The chief attendant of the *darbār* or public audience.

[7] کورنش *Kornish.* A mode of salutation in which the palm of the right hand is placed on the forehead, and the head bowed. It signifies that the saluter has placed his head (which is the seat of the senses and the mind) into the hand of humility *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I 158

[8] MS. (A) دیو مردم. [9] MS. (A) پادشاها. [10] MS. (A) (B) جانب میرزا کردو.

for Mirzā near to his own tent, and bestowed upon him a horse and a robe of honour, and a slave girl and a eunuch so that they might spy into his affairs. He used also to summon the Mīrzā from time to time, and hold converse with him regarding poetry, but their intercourse was always disagreeable, and the Mīrzā was worried by those incessant ceremonial visits and shew of politeness, till he grew sick of his life, and was watching a favourable opportunity to make his escape. Moreover the Afghāns used to make jibes [1] at him in the Hindī tongue, and when he appeared in *darbār* used to say [2] *Moro mī āyad* [3] (Here comes the peacock) The Mīrzā enquired from one of the attendants, in the presence of Islem Shāh, "What do they mean by *Moro?*" He answered, "It is the name they give [4] to a man of great dignity." The Mīrzā replied,[5] "At that rate Salīm Shāh is a first rate *Moro* and Shīr Shāh was a still finer." Salīm Shāh consequently gave orders that no one was ever to use that word again,[6] nor to indulge in pleasantries at the Mīrzā's expense. At last one day Islem Shāh called upon the Mīrzā for a verse of poetry, when the Mīrzā recited this *matla'* off hand:

Gardish-i-gardūn-i-gardān gardanānrā gard kard
Bar sar-i-sāhib-tamīzān nāqiṣān rā mard kard.[7]

The revolutions of the circling heaven have brought low the mighty,
And have made worthless men to lord it over men of intelligence.

Islem Shāh fully caught the meaning of this verse, and gave secret orders to his attendants to keep the Mīrzā under open arrest The Mīrzā, however, by the help of the *zamīndārs*,[8] made an arrangement with one of the hill Rājas, and persuaded him, by holding out inducements of various kinds, to station post-

1 MS (A) (B) هزل 2 MS. (A) که.

3 मोरो *Moro* is the Prākrit form of the modern Hindī मोर *Mor*, a peacock MS. (B) reads مورو مرغ یعنے. Moro, that is to say, a bird. MS. (A) reads مورو یعنے مرغ, so also footnote variant to text.

4 MS. (A) omits میگویند. 5 MS (B) omits گفت.

6 MS (B) reads بگویند for نگویند

7 Read صاحب تمیزان for اهل تمیزان MSS (A) (B). 8 MS. (B) زمینداري

horses along the banks of the river Chināb. One night he emerged from his tent with a woman's *chādar*[1] drawn over his head. The guards imagined that it was one of the women of his *harim* and offered no interference. 81

The Mirzā crossed the river with his horse and saddle and succeeded in reaching the Rāja. From there he proceeded alone clothed in a *burqa'*,[2] and taking a *jilaudār*[3] with him, was escorted[4] by some of the Rājas' subjects till he arrived in the vicinity of the village of Gharī Khū,[5] on the bank of the river Behat, and rested there one night. Inasmuch as that village is near Sulṭānpūr the residence of Sulṭān Ādam Ghakkar, at a distance of three krohs from the fortress of Rohtās, some one went to Sulṭān Ādam and informed him that a Mughūl woman was encamped at such and such a place, attended only by one *jilaudār* and that her intention was to proceed on the following morning. Sulṭān Ādam sent messengers to make enquiries, and then proceeded[6] in person, and had an interview with the Mirzā, who by persistent entreaty prevailed upon him to give a promise that he would send him in safety to a place of refuge Sulṭān Ādam accordingly wrote a letter to Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh, who had recently arrived in that neighbourhood, begging him to spare the Mirzā's life.[7]

The Pādshāh wrote an order in accordance with this request[8] of his, and sent it to him; but eventually, two years later, he again seized the Mirzā, and[9] after blinding him with a lancet

[1] چادر *chādar*. A garment worn by women over the head and body.

[2] برقع *Burqa'*. Here the author probably means the garment covering the head and body completely, and having only a small latticed opening for the mouth, and similar openings for the eyes, worn by Afghān women when out of doors. *See* Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, for a description of the *burqa'* proper, which is a kind of veil.

[3] جلودار *Jilaudār*. An attendant whose duty it is to run beside the horse. Abul-Fazl says some of them will run from 50 to 100 *kroh* (100 to 200 miles!) a day. *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I 138.

[4] Text بیدرقی. With a footnote saying that this is the reading of all three MSS. However MS (A) reads بدرقگی correctly.

[5] MS. (A) MS. (B) reads گهری جو Gharī Jū.

[6] MSS. (A) (B) آمد و.

[7] Read with MS. (A) میرزا for بمیرزا (Text).

[8] MSS. (A) (B) مسؤل.

[9] MS. (A) supplies و

(*nishtar*) sent him to the holy city of Makkah. The word *nishtar* records the date of this occurrence.[1] These incidents have only been briefly alluded to here, because they are related[2] fully in the *Akbar Nāma* and the (Tārīkh-i-)*Nizāmī*.[3] Among the events which took place during the reign of Islem Shāh was the affair of Shāh Muḥammad of Dihlī, of which the following is a brief account. Shāh Muḥammad, in the reign of Shēr Shāh, had come from the country of 'Irāq[4] to Hindūstān, and had given himself out[5] to be a Saiyyid. There was some hesitation among the people as to this claim; however, he used to live in accordance with the customs[6] of the Shaikhs and holy
392 men, and was acquainted with the science of invocation of the mighty names,[7] and was not without an admixture of deceit.[8]

Verse.

What is expected of Shaikhs is the performance of miracles and prayer-stations.
Whereas what we really see in them are ecstatic[9] and incoherent ravings

In spite of all, Shīr Shāh gave him credit for being a *walī*, and Islem Shāh [10] also had reposed great confidence in him from the time he was a prince, and used to go and do reverence to him, and as is the custom of kings, used to take omens [11] concerning (his accession to) the kingdom, and from the excessively high opinion he had of him used to lift (the Saiyyid's) shoes. The story goes that one day they had brought a basket [12] of melons as a present to Shāh Muhammad and just then [13] Islem Shāh arrived. The Saiyyid pointed to Islem Shāh and said, I present

1 نیشتر The letters of this word *nishtar* give the date 960 H.

2 *See* Elliot and Dowson V. 147 and 235. 3 MSS. (A) (B) read مسطور.

4 MSS. (A) (B). 5 میگرفت we should read میگفت.

6 The text reads wrongly بردوش *bar dosh* MSS. (A)(B) read بروش *ba rawish*.

7 *See* ante, p. 445 n. 6. 8 خالي از شيدي نبود.

9 MS (A) reads سطحيات *saṭhiyāt*, superficialities.

10 MS. (A) supplies و MS. (B) reads و شيرشاه.

11 تفاؤل *tafā'ul* MS. (B) reads تفال.

12 MS. (B) reads سيد *saiyyid* for سبد *sabad*.

13 MSS. (A)(B) در همان اثنا.

you with this basket confident in its being as a royal umbrella to you,[1] rise, and place it on your head and be gone. Islem Shāh without hesitation lifted the basket accepted it as a lucky omen and took his departure.

How good it is to take a *lucky omen*,
Not to strike one's *cheek* (in grief) but to give mate with the *rook*.[2]

But eventually this matter became a source of annoyance to him [3] as is generally the case At all events, when Islem Shāh succeeded to the kingdom, during his reign two Saiyyids of good birth, men of ascetic habit, clean-living, dignified, and agreeable, one of whom was named Amīr Abū[4] Ṭālib who was the inferior, and the other named Mīr Shamsu-d-Dīn who was his superior and brother's son to him, arrived from the country of 'Irāq at the camp of Islem Shāh in the Panjāb, and came to Dihlī, where they took up their abode in one of the quarters of the city, and were resorted to by all classes Amīr Abū Ṭālib was so marvellously skilled in the abstruse science of medicine, that the majority of the sick who came under his treatment obtained cures, and used to bring him presents and offerings in return, to 393.
say nothing of perquisites[5] A report was spread that he was in possession of the ring of 'Alī,[6] *may God be satisfied with him*, one of the properties of which was that no one who was suspected (of being of bastard origin) could stand in presence of that ring, and retain the power of seeing it God knows the truth. Relying upon his former intimacy with Shāh Muḥammad, he desired to give his daughter in marriage to the nephew of Mīr Abū Ṭālib, but he was by no means inclined to agree to this

[1] MS. (A) supplies تو after پادشاهي.

[2] *Chi nikū bawad fāl-i-farrukh zadan*
Na bar rukh zadan, balki shah rukh zadan
There is a play here on the words *rukh* and *farrukh*, illustrating the figure known as تجنيس مركّب. The word *rukh* means *the cheek*, and also the *castle* or "rook" at chess.

[3] MS. (A) puts اورا after اينمعني

[4] MSS. (A) (B).

[5] فتوحات MS (B) reads فتوح.

[6] MSS. (A) (B) supply على. The ring of Solomon which was given to 'Alī by Muḥammad, was possessed of magical properties

proposal, and folk began to entertain increased suspicion against him, and both small and great talked openly about him. S͟hāh Muḥammad summoned these two holy men into his own private dwelling for safe custody, and took great pains to entertain them. One night, not long afterwards, an armed band entered his[1] house by the upper story and martyred both father and son who were engaged in their night's devotions. They then left the house, and in the morning the governor of the city came and enquired of S͟hāh Muḥammad how this had occurred. He absolutely denied any knowledge of the circumstances, and stated that he had no idea who the murderers were; then he prepared a report of the affair under the Great Seal, and sent it together with a despatch to Islem S͟hāh at his camp. Islem S͟hāh thereupon sent to Dihli Makhdūmu-l-Mulk Mullā 'Abdu-llāh of Sulṭānpūr,[2] who was *S͟haik͟hu-l-Islām* and *Ṣadru-s-sudūr*, to investigate this matter, and also despatched circular letters summoning the Chief 'Ulamā of the time, for example Mīyān Ḥātim Sanbalī, Mīyān Jamāl K͟hān Mufti, and others. This conflict lasted two months after this time, and after great argument and enquiry it was with tolerable certainty conjectured[3] that the murderers were agents of S͟hāh Muḥammad.[4] This result was reported to
394 Islem S͟hāh, but before any reply could be received S͟hāh Muḥammad, who had sunk from so high dignity to the depths of disgrace, could not endure the anxiety, underwent venesection and took sour milk in addition, and endured voluntarily humiliating penance. Report also says even more than this, but, every one knew perfectly well that all these austerities and self-inflictions, were the outcome of hypocrisy and deceit, and not inspired by religious motives.

Thou hast forsaken the world for the sake of the world.

Quatrain

This long time thou hast made thy tongue like a sword,
So that thou givest the attributes of a lion to one who is but a dog
Thou turnest upside down the storehouse of falsehood
In order to satisfy thy own hungry belly

1 MS. (A) omits او
2 *See* Āin-i-Akbari (Blockmann) I, Biography VII
3 MS (B) reads مفهوم شد
4 MS (B) محمد شاه

This event took place in the year 956 H. Another important incident was the affair of Shaikh 'Alāī Mahdī of Baiāna,[1] which closely resembles the affair of Sīdī Maula,[2] which took place during the reign of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Fīrōz Shāh, in fact the proverb, *One shoe is like its fellow,*[3] is exactly applicable here.

The following is a brief exposition of this affair: The father of the aforesaid Shaikh 'Alāī was called Ḥasan, and was one of the great Shaikhs of the country of Bangāla, and on his arrival from Bangāla on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the holy city of Makka with his younger brother Shaikh Naṣru-llah, who was one of the most eminent of the *'Ulamā*, came from there to Hindūstān and took up his abode in the province of Baiāna. The words *Jā'a naṣru-llāhi wal fatḥ*,[4] were found to give the date of that event. The elder brother gave his attention to *irshād*[5] and *hidāyat*, and the younger[6] to *fatwā*[7] and instruction in religious knowledge.[8]

Shaikh 'Alāī, who was the most orthodox of the sons of the Shaikh, the tablet of whose forehead was from early boyhood distinguished by the marks of nobility and uprightness, and the evidences of a youth to be spent in the worship of God and in following the ordinances of the prophet of God, *may the peace and blessing of God rest upon him*, in the service of his venerable father devoted himself to the acquirement of exoteric and esoteric sciences, and to the improvement of his character, disposition, and behaviour, and in a short time[9] having read all the routine works by the aid of his natural quickness of apprehension and clear intellect, engaged in tuition and instruction 395

[1] *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (Blochmann) I, Biography V, *seqq.*

[2] *See* Beale (Oriental Biog Dict), p. 240

[3] حذو النعل بالنعل They also say حذو القذة بالقذة, *i e.*, one feather of the arrow is like another *See* Freytag *Prov. Arab* I 345. As we say "As like as two peas."

[4] جاء نصرالله والفتح. The letters give the date 935 H. The words mean,

The victory of God and conquest has come to pass.

[5] ارشاد *Irshād*, Orthodoxy. هدايت *Hidāyat*, Guidance, direction.

[6] MSS. (A) (B) both omit خورد but the text seems probably correct·

[7] فتوی *fatwā*. Religious or judicial rulings.

[8] MS. (A) omits the words علوم دينى. [9] MSS (A) (B) فرصت.

Verse.

Continual learning is requisite with application and exertion,
Always by day argument and by night repetition.
Piety, asceticism, worship and reverence,
Without these, all acquisitions are wondrous vain.

After the death of his revered father, having abandoned the ordinary conversation and giving up all connection with the delusive phantoms of the world, he set himself to follow consistently the paths of obedience and austerity, firmly occupying the prayer carpet of the S̲h̲aik̲h̲s, and used to engage in the direction and instruction[1] of seekers of the right way. Nevertheless he still retained a residue of evidences of worldly desires, and in accordance with the saying, "The last thing to leave the head of the just is the love of glory,"[2] seeking as he did to claim superiority over his fellow-men, he was unwilling that any other S̲h̲aik̲h̲ in that city should share his dignity, this he carried so far that on the day of the festivals, from his excessive jealousy[3] and envy, he caused one of the leaders of the contemplative[4] and ascetic[5] S̲h̲aik̲h̲s of the Ṣūfī party to descend from his litter, thus inflicting a grievous blow to his dignity He used to arrogate to himself alone the dignity of S̲h̲aik̲h̲dom. His other brothers, who in respect of years and experience were his superiors, used also to yield submission to him and pride themselves upon it.[6]

In the meanwhile Miyān 'Abdu-llah, a Niyāzī[7] Afg̲h̲ān, who was at first one of the most noted lieutenants of S̲h̲aik̲h̲ Salīm Chis̲h̲tī of Fatḥpūr, and who eventually with his permission proceeded on a pilgrimage to the sacred city of Makka, and performed various kind offices and favours for him, taking part with Mīr Saiyyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr,[8] *may God sanctify his holy resting-place,* who had claimed to be the promised Mahdī, and adopting the manners of a Mahdi, on his return from the Ḥijāz took up his

[1] MSS. (A) (B) write تلقین و ارشاد.

[2] "That last infirmity of noble minds.'

[3] Badāonī here uses غبطة *ghibtat* in a sense opposed to its classical meaning which is emulation unmixed with envy.

[4] MS (A) reads میترسم for مترسمة in the text.

[5] MSS. (A) (B) read متقشف for متقشفة in the text.

[6] MSS (A) (B) read میکردند.

[7] *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I, v.

[8] *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I, iv.

abode in Biānah, and making his dwelling in the corner of a grove far from the haunts of men on the borders of a tank, used to cast water upon his head; and when the times of prayer came round, used to gather together certain of the labourers, hewers of 396.
wood and drawers of water who had to pass by that way, and compel them to form an assembly for prayer,[1] with such a degree of enthusiasm, that if he met any man disinclined for the meeting he would give him a few coins[2] and encourage him, thus not allowing the reward of the assembly[3] to escape him.

When Shaikh 'Alāī saw his conduct he was greatly pleased,[4] and said to his own followers, This is religion and true faith which Mīyān 'Abdu-llah Nīyāzī has, whereas the path in which we are held is nought but idolatry and infidelity.[5]

So long as a hair's breadth of existence remains to thee[6]
The danger of idol-worship still remains for thee.
Thou sayest I have broken my idols and my *Zunnār*, I am free,
This idol however, thy slavery to self-conceit, remains to thee.

Abandoning the customs of his forefathers, and giving up his claims as a Shaikh and a leader of religion, trampling under foot his self-esteem and conceit, he devoted himself to the care of the poor of his own neighbourhood, and with the utmost self-mortification and humility gave himself up to the service of those whom he had formerly[7] vexed, and abandoning his *madad-i-maāsh*[8] and his alms-house and monastery,[9] entering the valley of self-renunciation and abnegation, bestowed[10] all his worldly possessions

[1] MSS. (A) (B) omit نماز. [2] MS. (A) پولي چند.

[3] Concerning this it is said: "The prayers which are said in multitudes increase the rewards of those said alone by twenty-seven degrees." See *Mishkātu-l-Maṣābīh* (Mathew) xxiv. 1.

[4] MS. (B) بسيار خوش گرديد.

[5] جزبت پرستي و زنار داری نيست. *Juz but parastī o zunnārdārī nist.* The term Zunnār [Gk. ζωνάρη (Golius) or ζωνάριον (Freytag)] is applied to the belt or girdle worn by the Christian or Magian. It also applies to the Brahminical thread and thus the wearer of any of these is to Muslims an infidel.

[6] MS (A) reads تا يك سرموی تو از هستي باقي است. [7] MS. (A) سابقاً

[8] Lands given for benevolent purposes, see Āin-i-Akbarī (B) I, 270.

[9] MSS (A) (B) omit لنگر [10] MSS. (A) (B) read نثار و ايثار كرد

even to his books upon the poor, and said to his wife,[1] "The pains of the search after God have gotten hold of me, if thou canst endure poverty and hunger come with me in God's name, but if not take[2] thy portion of these goods; and take the reins of choice into thine own hands, and go thy way."

> Follow my fortunes, or else depart far from me
>
> She of her own accord was highly pleased with this determination of his[3]

397. There are some women who perform perhaps even better than men the duties of religion
Just as in boldness the lioness surpasses the lion.

Then approaching Miyān 'Abdu-llah, with all respectful submission to him, he took instruction in the ceremonial observance of *Zikr*[4] in the manner which obtains among that sect.

The interpretations of the Qur'ān, and the delicate points and minutiæ and true meanings of that sacred book were easily revealed to him, and a large number of the friends and companions who were in accord with him, and believed in him, some of them unmarried and some with families, chose companionship with him even at the risk of their lives, and following the path of his guidance with the foot of reliance in God, three hundred householders, abandoning all other source of gain and traffic, agriculture and skilled labour, spent their time with him. And whenever anything was given by Providence they used to divide it justly, apportioning to each individual an equal share. If nothing came,[5] comforting themselves with the sacred word, "Men whom neither merchandise nor selling divert from the remembrance of God,"[6] even had they died of hunger, they would not have uttered a sound, and if any person abandoning his vow made according to their mutual compact engaged in any lucrative occupation, of a surety he would expend a tithe of it in the

[1] MS (A) reads جليله. [2] MSS. (A) (B) بردار The text reads wrongly برآور. [3] This line is omitted from MS. (B).

[4] ذكر. *Zikr* The religious ceremony practised by the various religious orders of Faqīrs. *See* Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, art. *Zikr*.

[5] I read here ورلاً MSS (A) (B).

[6] Qur'ān xxiv. 37. رِجَالٌ لَا تُلْهِيهِمْ تِجَارَةٌ وَلَا بَيْعٌ عَنْ ذِكْرِ اللهِ.

service of Almighty God. Twice daily after the morning prayer and another prayer, great and small would gather in that assembly, and listen to an exposition of the Qur'ān. Shaikh 'Alāi had such a marvellous power of attraction that when he was expounding the Qur'ān almost every one who heard him, of his own accord withheld his hand from all worldly occupation, and elected to join that assembly,[1] abandoning his family and relations and children, enduring the hardships of poverty, hunger and religious warfare never troubled himself again about his work or gains; and if he had not that degree of fortitude, his penitence and repentance of his sins and iniquities would certainly have availed nothing, while many a one thought it his duty to empty his cooking vessels at nightfall of all the necessities of life even to salt and flour and water, and let them remain upside down, and 398.
they kept nothing in the way of means of existence by them, from their extreme faith in the providence of Almighty God, and the saying "Each new day brings a new provision" was the basis of their practice.

A short account of this sect is given in the *Najātu-r-rashīd*[2] which should be consulted.[3]

In spite of this they were in the habit of keeping arms and implements of war always with them[4] as a protection against their enemies, so that anyone who was unacquainted with the truth of the matter would be apt to think they were wealthy, *The ignorant think them to be rich because of their modesty.*[5] And whenever they saw any irreligious or forbidden action either in the city or the market, they went and called the offenders to account by main force,[6] and admitted no investigation by the governor, and on most occasions they got the best of it, they aided every magistrate of the city who acted in conformity with their religious tenets and principles[7] in carrying out his

[1] MSS. (A) (B) insert را after صحبت

[2] نجات الرشيد *Najātu-r-rashīd.* A MS. of this work is in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. E. 204 Its author is Badāoni.

[3] MS. (A) reads داد.   [4] MS (A) reads باو.

[5] Qur'ān ii, 274. يَحْسَبُهُمُ الْجَاهِلُ أَغْنِيَاءَ مِنَ التَّعَفُّفِ.

[6] MS. (A) reads گرفته for رفته

[7] MS. (A) reads در امداد او می کوشید.

measures, while no one who was opposed to their views could [stand against them. Matters came to such a pass that fathers left their sons, brother left brother, and wife left husband][1] and entered the charmed circle of the Mahdi, voluntarily submitting to poverty and extinction. Miyān 'Abdu-llah when he saw that Shaikh 'Alā'ī had lost his influence with rich and poor alike, and that his day was over, was much vexed, and speaking with gentleness and moderation, said by way of advice, The time cannot away with affairs of this kind, and truth nowadays has become more bitter than colocynth. It were wiser for you to quit this vale (of iniquity) and either retire into obscurity or determine upon a journey to the Ḥijāz.

Verse.

Alas! for him who escapes not from public turmoil,
Alas! for him who sets his heart upon the men of this world
The hand of the faqir holds no other coin but that of leisure,
399. Alas! for him if he abandons that also.

Shaikh 'Alā'ī,[2] retaining that selfsame habit and conduct[3] which he always had, accompanied by six or seven hundred families, set out for Gujrāt in the hope that in the companionship of the chiefs[4] and leaders of this sect he might learn the customs of the inmates of cloisters[5] At the time of his arrival at the township of Basāwar from Baiāna, my late father took me, the writer of these pages, to do homage to him. In consequence of my tender years, his form remained fixed in my memory as a dream or a vision. On his arrival at Khawāspūr which is near Jodhpūr, Khawāṣṣ Khān who had been appointed to that district, at first came out to receive him and joined the circle of his adherents: but in consequence of his devotion to musical entertainments and pastimes,[6] whereas now every Thursday night Sūfis used to assemble in his house, and Shaikh 'Alā'ī forbade music and other prohibited[7] pastimes, and enjoined[8] that which

[1] MS (A) زن از شوهر. The words in brackets are omitted in MS (B).
[2] MS (A) omits علائي
[3] MS. (B) omits و حالت.
[4] MS (A) reads wrongly باغبان
[5] Insert in the text را after دوائر MSS. (A) (B)
[6] MSS (A) (B) سماع و صفائي مقيد بود
[7] MSS. (A) (B) مناهي و ملاهي
[8] MS (B) reads wrongly اوامر for آمر

was lawful and opposed that which was forbidden by law, accordingly their association was not agreeable, besides which opposition and disagreement arose with regard to the upholding of the rights of the soldiery: The saying—

Verily speaking the truth will not leave me a single friend[1]

is a well known proverb. Shaikh 'Alā'i in consequence of certain opposition which arose, turned back in the middle of the journey and returned to Baiāna, and at the time when Islem Shāh had taken firm possession of the throne of power in Āgra, and the rumours regarding Shaikh 'Alā'i reached his ears, he sent for Mir Saiyyid Rafi'u-d-Din the traditionist, and Miyān[2] Abul-fatḥ of Thanesar and other learned doctors of Āgra, and summoned Shaikh 'Alā'i from Baiāna, at the instigation of Makhdūmu-l-mulk Maulāna 'Abdu-llah of Sulṭānpūr. He accordingly, accompanied by a party of select[3] companions, all of whom wore mail and were fully armed, came to the Court, and paying no heed to the customary observances of kingly assemblies,[4] greeted the whole assemblage in the manner appointed by the laws of Islām.[5] Islem Shāh acknowledged his salutation with indignation, as the appearance of the Shaikh greatly displeased[6] him and his courtiers.

Makhdūmu-l-Mulk had fully persuaded Islem Shāh that 400.
Shaikh 'Alā'i was a revolutionary who laid claim to being the Mahdi, and that the Mahdi himself would be king of the whole world: consequently as he presumed to revolt he was deserving of death. 'Isā Khān[7] Ḥajjāb who held a very confidential post, and the other Amirs, when they saw Shaikh 'Alā'i in this displeasing attire, with ragged clothes and worn out shoes, said to Islem Shāh "This fellow, in this condition and with this miserable appearance, wishes to take away the kingdom from us, doe he imagine that we Afghāns are all corpses!"

Prior to the convening of the assembly for discussion, Shaikh 'Alā'i in accordance with his invariable custom, had expounded a

1 إِنَّ قَوْلَ الْحَقِّ لَمْ يَتْرُکْ لِي صَدِيقًا.   2 MSS. (A) (B) میان.

3 MS. (B) omits مخصوص.

4 MS. (A) reads می یافتند for می باشد and omits سلام.

5 Omit و MSS (A) (B)   6 MSS. (A) (B) نمود.

7 MSS. (A) (B) supply خان.

few verses of the Qur'ān, and delivered such a profitable discourse, in most elegant language, comprising a criticism of the world, and a description of the last judgment, and contemptuous remarks regarding the learned men of the time, and all their faults and failings,[1] that it had the most profound effect[2] upon Islem Shāh and the Amirs who were present in the assembly, notwithstanding their hardness of heart, so that it brought tears to their eyes and left them amazed and confounded. Islem Shāh then rose from the assembly, and giving the matter his own attention sent refreshments from inside the palace for the Shaikh and his companions.[3] The Shaikh, however, refused to touch[4] the food himself, and moreover when Islem Shāh entered[5] he did not pay him any respect, and merely said to his friends: Any one who chooses may eat of it. When they enquired of him the reason of his abstaining from eating the food he replied: "Your food is due to Muslims because you have possessed more than was yours by right, contrary to the dictates[6] of the law of Islām." Islem Shāh notwithstanding this repressed his anger, and referred the enquiry into the truth of that dispute,[7] and the decision of that contention to the 'ulamā.

Shaikh 'Alā'i vanquished every one of them in argument by virtue of his quickness of intellect and clearness of apprehension,
401 and whenever Mīr Saiyyid Rafīu-d-Dīn (who died in the year 954 H.) was engaged[8] in citing the traditions which existed relating to the appearance of the promised Mahdī, and the signs by which he would be known, Shaikh 'Alā'ī used to say, "you are a Shāfi'ite by religion[9] and we[10] are Hanifites, the fundamentals of your traditions are different from those of our's;" How can we accept[11] your explanations and interpretations on this question? Nor did he spare[12] even Mulla 'Abdu-llah himself in his criticism of a single point, saying to him, "you are one of the learned men of the world and a thief of religion, and you engage in so many

1 MS (A) حطائيات.

2 MS. (A) بسيار مؤثر افتادند و.

3 MS (B) همراهيانش.

4 MS. (A) تناول كرد

5 MS. (A) هنگام درآمدن.

6 MSS (A) (B) بخلاف حكم شرع.

7 MSS (A) (B) آن مبحث.

8 MS (B) writes علامات آن وارد شدة شيخ omitting ميشد.

9 MSS (A) (B) مذهب.

10 MS. (B) و يا.

11 MS (B) reads قبول داريم.

12 MS. (B) reads و ميگذاشت

illegal practices that you have put yourself outside the pale of equity, so that even to this time the sound of pipe and tabor may be plainly heard issuing from your house, and in accordance with the true traditions of the prophet, *upon him be peace and blessing*, a fly which settles upon filth is by degrees better than learned men who [1] have made kings and emperors the object of their ambition and gad from door to door.

Verse.

Learning which exists for the sake of palace and garden
Is like a lamp to the night loving thief

In accordance with these premisses he utterėd so many scathing satires [on those who preach but do not practise, citing in support of his [2] arguments examples from the Qur'ān and Traditions] that Mulla 'Abdu-llah was not able to say a single word in defence. One day in the midst of the argument it happened that the learned Mulla Jalāl Bhīm [3] of Āgra, having turned up that tradition which relates to the description and evidences of the promised Mahdī,[4] read as follows,[5] *Ajallu-l-jabhah*,[6] on the form of the *af'alu-t-tafẓīl* derived from *jalāl*; Shaikh 'Alā'ī smiled, and said, "Good Heavens! [7] You have given yourself out to the world as a marvel of learning, and yet you cannot read with a proper pronunciation, you have no knowledge of the delicacies,

1 Omits در MS. (A)

2 Not in MS. (B) which reads اهانت می آورد.

3 MS. (A) reads تهیم *Thīm*

4 Regarding the Mahdī, *see* Blochman *Āīn-i-Akbarī* I, iii.

5 MSS. (A) (B) چنین خواند که.

6 The text here runs ·

که اجلّ الجبهة بفتح جیم و تشدید لام بصیغهٔ تفضیل مشتق از جلال

MS. (A) reads more correctly - بصیغهٔ افعل التفضیل الجلیل.

Ajallu-l-jabhah would have no accurate meaning. *Jalāl* meaning greatness.

The superlative form with the article is applied to God - اَلْأَجَلُّ Al-Ajallu.

The form أَفْعَلُ *afa'lu* is called the صیغهٔ تفضیل or form of superiority, i.e, the comparative, or, combined with the article, the superlative.

7 سُبحان الله *Subhan-Allah* (lit) *Praise be to God!* A common mode of expressing surprise or astonishment.

and subtleties and minutiæ of the science of tradition.[1] The real reading is *Ajlāu-l-jabhah*[2] which is the form *Afa'alu-t-tafẓīl* from *jalā*, not from *jalāl* which is your own name."

402. He was abashed and said not another word.[3] They likewise relate concerning Shaikh Mubārak[4] that he was an ally[5] of Shaikh 'Alā'ī in this assembly, and from that day[6] he became known[7] as Mahdawī, and Islem Shāh being deceived[8] by his speech and explanations used to say "You must have been in the habit of expounding the meaning of the Qur'ān," he also gave a message to the Shaikh in these words "Give up this claim of yours to be the promised Mahdī,[9] and renounce this pretension secretly[10] in my hearing, and I will make you chief overseer of religion in the whole of my dominions, and whatever lawful orders you have been in the habit of issuing without my authority, continue henceforth to issue these same commands with my permission. Otherwise, the 'Ulamā of this time have given their decision that you should be killed and gibbetted, but I will revise their sentence, for I am not willing that your blood should be shed. The Shaikh, however, who had been successful at every step, and in this easy pretension and partial object of attainment had got beyond the power of even Islem Shāh,[11] cared nought for

[1] MSS (A) (B) omit حدیث.

[2] اجلی الجبهة *Ajlāu-l-jabhah.* Most wide of forehead. That is to say having that degree of baldness which is termed جلا *jalā, i.e.*, baldness of the fore part of the head See Lane *Lex. s. v.* اجلی

[3] و دیگر دم نزد MS. (A) reads incorrectly و دیگر مردم نزد.

[4] MSS. (A) (B) have و before the word شیخ.

[5] MSS. (A) (B) correctly read ممد *Mumidd.* The text has محمد *Muḥammad.*

[6] MSS. (A) (B) omit روز reading ازان باز

[7] MSS. (A) (B) مشهور شد.

[8] MSS. (A) (B) omit که read فریفتهٔ بیان

[9] MSS. (A) (B) read گذشته before باز آی

[10] MS. (A) reads آینه for آهسته.

[11] MS. (B) reads بودهیم for بود بیم

any ruler and addressed[1] him in these words, "why should I change[2] my own belief at your bidding."

If thou desirest safety, reproach is right
If safety is lost, reproach is a mistake.

In the meantime tidings reached Islem Shāh[3] daily "To-day such and such an Afghān[4] general has gone over to the following of the Shaikh and sided with him, giving up all worldly considerations."

The following day Bahmān and Mulla 'Abdu-llah spent every moment in urging Islem Shāh to put the Shaikh to death. At last Islem Shāh gave orders for his expulsion,[5] and forbade him to remain in his kingdom, and ordered him to go to the Dakkan. Shaikh 'Alā'ī who had for years[6] desired to travel in the Dakkan and to see how the Mahdawī ideas were progressing there, hearing this good tidings recited[7] the text *Verily God's earth is wide.*[8] Then he arose and started without delay for that country.

Qāsim, curtail thy speech, arise, and take thy way, 408.
Cast the sugar to the parrots, cast the carcase to the vultures.

On his arrival at Handiya,[9] which is the frontier of the Dakkan, Bihār Khān, who was entitled A'ẓam Humāyūn Sirwānī, the governor of that place, kept him for some time in his own family, and having embraced his tenets used to go daily to hear his preaching, and half[10] his army, nay more than half, sided with him; this news was brought to Islem Shāh by runners, and roused his indignation. Makhdūmu-l-Mulk took great pains to paint the event in glowing colours, and misrepresented it to Islem Shāh so that orders were issued summoning Shaikh 'Alā'ī Just at this

1 Omit هي MS. (A).

2 MS. (A) تغیرمي دهم

3 MS. (A) تسليم.

4 MS. (A) افغان.

5 MS (B) اخراج او کرده.

6 MS. (B) omits باز.

7 MS. (A) خوانده و.

8 Qur'ān iv 99 قَالُوٓا أَلَمْ تَكُنْ أَرْضُ ٱللَّهِ وَاسِعَةً فَتُهَاجِرُوا فِيهَا. They said was not God's earth wide enough for you to flee away therein?

9 See *Imp. Gaz.* V. 309. Handiya is on the Narbadā in the Hoshangābād District of the Central Provinces MS (A) reads هندویه *Hindawiya*, and رسید for رسیده

10 MS. (B) همه.

juncture Islem Shāh had left Agra for the Panjāb[1] with the intention of quelling the disaffection of the Nīyāzī faction; when he arrived opposite to Baiāna at the halting-place of Bahrsūr, Makhdūmu-l-Mulk said to Islem Shāh "we have earned a few days respite[2] from the lesser evil" by which he meant Shaikh 'Alā'ī, "but the great evil, that is Shaikh 'Abdu-llah Nīyāzī, who is the instructor of Shaikh 'Alā'ī and the spiritual guide of the Nīyāzī faction, and always remains in the hill country of Baiāna accompanied by three or four hundred men fully armed and equipped, and raises disturbances there, is still flourishing." The fire of the anger of Islem Shāh, who was thirsting for the blood of the Nīyāzīs, was fanned into flame by this breath[3] of suggestion, and he ordered Mīyān Bahwa Lūhānī[4] the Governor of Baiāna, who was one of the special adherents[5] of Shaikh 'Abdu-llah, to produce the Shaikh. Mīyān Bahwa went to the Shaikh and said: It seems to me to be the best course for you to hide yourself for a few days in accordance with the saying "one should avoid misfortune" and migrate from this city to some other place, then perchance the king will forget[6] all about you and never make an attempt of this kind again,[7] and you will have met the emergency,[8] while I for my part shall have a good excuse.

Verse.

404. Fear not a misfortune when the night intervenes between it and you.

Shaikh 'Abdu-llah would not agree to this suggestion[9] of his, and said, "this is an arrogant monarch and Makhdūmu-l-Mulk is always watching for an opportunity. If they go still further away and then send for me it will cause me great annoyance, for this reason, seeing that he is only ten *krohs* distant, I had better interview him now, and as for the question of mastery here and there, it will be all one whether it is to be now or in the future, since whatever is predestined will come to pass."

Man proposes and God disposes.

1 MS. (B) omits بجانب پنجاب.
2 MSS. (A) (B) read خلاص یافتم. 3 MS. (B) reads نفیش.
4 MS. (A) بوخاني. 5 MS (A) گرویدگان. 6 MS. (B) فراموش کند.
7 MS. (B) reads حروف for حرف. 8 MS (A) باشند.
9 MS. (B) omits سخن

Verse.

The reins of affairs are not in the hands of one who looks to advisability,
Yield the reins into the hands of Fate, this is the advisable course.

Accordingly he set out by night from Baiāna, and had an
interview with Islem Sh̲āh in the morning as he was mounted
ready to march, and greeted him with '*Peace be to you.*' On the
instant Miyān Bahwa seized him by the nape of the neck and
bent his head down saying:[1] "My friend the Shaik̲h̲ this is the
way they salute[2] kings" The Shaik̲h̲ looked savagely in his direc-
tion[3] and replied: "The salutation which is in accordance with
the *sunnat*,[4] and which is that which the friends of the Prophet,
may the peace and blessing of God be upon him and his family, used
to make,[5] and which he, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon
him and his family*, used to give them in response, is this very form
of salutation, I know no other." Islem Sh̲āh, with evident aversion
asked:[6] Is this the master of Shaik̲h̲ 'Alā'ī? Mulla 'Abdu-llah
who was lying in wait for him said · The very man. By order
of Islem Sh̲āh he was at once seized and most unmercifully
beaten with sticks, and kicked and cuffed; the Shaik̲h̲ as long as
he retained consciousness kept repeating this text of the sacred
word "Lord forgive us our sins, and our extravagance in our
affairs; and make firm our footing, and help us against the mis-
believing folk!"[7] Islem Sh̲āh enquired what he was saying
Mulla[8] 'Abdu-llah said: He is calling you and the rest of us
unbelievers; Islem Sh̲āh becoming exceeding wroth waxed still
fiercer in his efforts to punish and torture him,[9] and kept his retinue 405.
standing[10] an hour longer while they cudgelled him, and when he
thought that the breath had left[11] his body—

1 MS. (B) omits گرفته and که after گفت.

2 MS. (A) سلام میگفتند.

3 MSS (A) (B) بجانب.

4 The سنة *sunnat* is the traditional law of Muḥammad.

5 MS. (A) omits کردند MS (B) reads کردة اند.

6 MSS. (A) (B) insert گفت.

7 Qur'ān iii. 141. See Palmer's Translation

8 MS. (B) omits ملا.

9 MSS. (A) (B) read تعذیب و عقوبت.

10 MSS. (A) (B) omit ایستادة او را MS. (B) reads سواري.

11 MS. (A) منقطع شد.

One single breath was left as a mediator (between Life and Death),
That mediator also rose and departed.

he desisted, and went on his way.

A spark of life however remained[1] in the Shaikh, so they wrapped him in a raw hide, and kept him warm for a night and a day before a fire, till he recovered. This occurrence took place in the year nine hundred and fifty-five. When he had regained his health he left Baiāna, and commenced travelling, and spent some time in Afghānistān (Rūh), and some time among the Afghāns of Pattan in the Panjāb,[2] on the confines of Bajwāra between Ambér and Amritsar,[3] and was in the habit of saying[4] This was the fruit of consorting with argumentative people.

Oh ye lords of contemplation, all my trust is in you,
But ye masters of discussion I'll have none of you.

Finally he came to Sirhind,[5] and giving up all connection with the manners and customs of the Mahdawī party (moreover he turned all the Mahdawī party from that faith) began to deal with all the followers of Islām according to the tenets of the orthodox school, till eventually in the year 993 H., at the time when the Emperor was on his way to Benares, he summoned Shaikh 'Abdullāh and granted him a portion of *madad-i-maāsh*[6] land in Sirhind with remainder to his children. And in the year 1000 H., he bade farewell to this transitory world at the age of ninety or thereabout

Rubā'ī.

If the courser of the sky give the reins into your hand,
And if the world gives you wealth as the dust under your feet
If your wisdom surpasses the wisdom of Aflātūn,[7]
406. These are all as nought, at last you must die.

After that Islem Shāh had overcome the Niyāzī faction, and had

1 MS (A) omits ماندہ

2 MS (A) پتن پنجاب در سرحد. Pāk Pattan or Ajūdhan.

3 MSS (A) (B) read here مابین انبیر و انبرسر. MS. (A) adds ناین before مبر.

4 MS. (B) همین می گفت.

5 MS. (B) omits بسرهند آمده.

6 MSS (A) (B).

7 Plato.

returned to Āgra, Mulla 'Abdu-llāh set about inciting him,[1] and giving him a song which reminded him of former intoxications, again induced him to summon Shaikh 'Alā'ī from Hindīya, and to order punishment to be executed upon him, and spared no pains to remind him in the vilest possible way, that Shaikh 'Alā'ī had been condemned to banishment, whereas now Bahār Khān had become his disciple and follower, and the whole army had shewn their leaning towards him. Seeing that his own relations had sought absolution from him and had adopted his faith, there was great probability of disturbance in the kingdom. Accordingly Islem Shāh summoned Shaikh 'Alā'ī thence, and used still more strenuous exertions than before[2] to bring matters to a satisfactory settlement, and knowing as he did the ambitious nature of Shaikh 'Alā'ī, and recognising that there was no other man among the learned men[3] of Dehlī and Āgra capable of settling this dispute, he therefore directed Shaikh 'Alā'ī to be sent to Bihār to Shaikh Budh[4] the learned physician, in whom Sher Khān had the very utmost confidence, and who is renowned for the authoritative commentary which he wrote upon the *Irshad-i-Qāzī*,[5] and bade him act in accordance with his directions.[6] When Shaikh 'Alā'ī went thither, he heard the sound of singing and musical instruments proceeding from the rooms occupied by Shaikh Budh the physician, and saw in his assembly certain other things repugnant both to the natural feelings and[7] to religious law[8] also, the very mention of which is disgraceful, so felt constrained to enjoin[9] what was lawful and to forbid what was prohibited. Since Shaikh Budh was very infirm[10] and aged, and was not strong enough to speak, his family answered for him that certain customs and observances which have obtained vogue in Hindustān are of

1 MSS. (A) (B) محرک شدہ. 2 Omit خود. MS. (A).

3 MS. (B) omits را after دیگر and inserts it after آگرہ.

4 MS. (A) reads شیخ هده Shaikh Hadah (?)

5 See Hāji Khalifah, 522 Irshād.

6 MS. (A) reads فتوی او. MS. (B) reads عمل می نمایند.

7 MS. (B) شریعتی. 8 MS. (B) دیدند.

9 MS. (A) reads امر معروف و نهي منكر نه كرد which is the exact opposite of the reading in the text.

10 MS. (B) omits فاني and reads قدت for قدرت and احقاوش for احقادش.

such a nature that if one should forbid them in any way whatever, worldly injury, and loss both bodily and spiritual [1] would inevitably result to the prohibitor, also that the women of Hindustān who as a class are worthless, consider that loss
407. as the result of restrictive measures, and for that reason become infidels. In any case legalising incontinence was probably a less sin than legalising infidelity.[2] Shaikh 'Alā'ī said that this is an iniquitous conjecture,[3] as is proved by the fact that, whensoever worldly loss according to their belief is the result of the interference [4] with some prohibited pleasure, and the injunction to obedience is held by them to be the cause of personal death and injury to their property and position, they have not even the fundamental properties of Muslims, so that their conformity to Islām need not even be considered. Seeing that the argument concerns the validity of Nikāḥ,[5] why should one regret [6] the fact of their not being Muslims? for it is said, *That which is based upon iniquity is most iniquitous of all.*[7] That class therefore stand condemned. Shāikh Budh the physician however,[8] having regard to equity became their apologist and entered a plea for them, praising [9] Shaikh 'Alā'ī and treating him with the utmost courtesy and respect.

First of all he wrote a letter to Islem Shāh in the following terms, "Seeing that the Mahdawī question is not indissolubly bound up with the faith of Islām, and very great difference of opinion exists as [10] to the veritable signs by which the Mahdī is to be distin-

[1] The text varies from the MSS (A) and (B) which read ديوي و ندني و جاني while MS (B) omit بمانع.

[2] We should read here
بهرحال در تجويز فسق شايد از تجويز كفر بزه كمتر باشد MSS (A) (B).

[3] MS. (A) قياس فاسد [4] MS. (B) reads wrongly تعبير for تغير.

[5] نكاح *Nikāh* The marriage contract A marriage contracted between a Muslim man and a Hindu woman is invalid in accordance with the injunction of the Qur'ān The issue of such a marriage is however held to be legitimate. Under no circumstances can a Muslim woman marry any but a Muslim For fuller discussion of this subject, *see* Hughes, *Dict. of Islām,* art Marriage.

[6] MS. (B) reads كرد for خورد. [7] البناء على الفاسد افسد.

[8] MS. (B) reads و for اما and omits در مقام انصاف.

[9] MS. (B) reads كردة for نمودة. [10] MS. (B) omits بباب.

guished, it is accordingly impossible to convict Shaikh[1] 'Alā'ī of infidelity and impiety. At any rate, all doubts regarding him should be removed. Here books[2] are very scarce, whereas there are sure to be many[3] books in the library of the learned men of your country, let them settle the truth of the matter.".

The sons of the Shaikh impressed upon him that Makhdūmu-l-Mulk[4] was the *Ṣadru-ṣ-ṣudūr*,[5] and said, "This opposition of theirs to him has undoubtedly been the cause of your being summoned. At your great age it is far from wise for you to undertake so long a journey, and to undergo the severe fatigue incidental to it." They accordingly cancelled his first letter[6] and, whether he would or not, secretly wrote another letter[7] as if from Shaikh Budh, couched in terms of flattery of Mulla 'Abdu-llah, and sent it to Islem Shāh, saying, "Makhdūmu-l-Mulk is one of the most discriminating of the learned doctors of the day. What he says is the truth and his decision is the sound decision."

At the time when Islem Shāh was encamped in the Panjāb 408.
Shaikh 'Alā'ī arrived at the camp of Bin Bāū; when Islem Shāh read the sealed letter of Shaikh Budh the physician, he called Shaikh 'Alā'ī to come close to him and said to him in a low tone of voice, "Do you only[8] say to me in my own ear that you are penitent for having made this claim, you shall then be accorded complete liberty to go where you will[9] and do as you please." Shaikh 'Alā'ī however refused to give ear to his proposals and paid no heed to him; Islem Shāh in despair[10] said to Mulla 'Abdu-llāh, I leave him in your hands.[11] This he said, and gave orders for him to receive a certain number of stripes in his own presence.[12] Shaikh 'Alā'ī

1 MS (B) omits فسق. 2 MS (A) reads و اینجا کتب کمیاب است.

3 MS (B) omits بسیار. 4 MS (B) reads مخدوم.

5 The Ṣadru-ṣ-ṣudūr is the chief judge of all religious questions among Muhammadans He was also known as Sadr-i-kul or Ṣadr-i-jahān. *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I. 271.

6 MS (A) reads نوشتهٔ اول اورا فسخ کرده.

7 Insert خطی after نغواهی MS (B).

8 MS (A) reads تو تنها در گوش من بگو

9 MSS. (A) (B) insert و before فارغ البال.

10 MS (B) reads مایوس شده.

11 تو دانی و این. *Lit.* You know and this fellow, *i.e.*, the matter is one between you and him.

12 MS. (B) inserts بحضور خود after تازیانه, not as in the text.

himself had a wound in his neck, the result of an operation for the pestilence which raged in that year throughout the whole of Hindustān, and had destroyed the greater part of the people.[1] This wound had to be kept open by a tent,[2] in addition to which he was suffering from the fatigue of his journey, and had hardly a breath of life left in him, so that at the third lash his lofty soul quitted its humble frame and took its flight to the abode promised in the words "*In the seat of truth, in the presence of the powerful king*"[3] and rested in the pleasant places of which it is said "*Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard neither hath it entered into the heart of man.*" And after his death they tied his delicate body[4] to the feet of an elephant, and trampled him to pieces[5] in the street of the camp, and issued orders forbidding the burial of his corpse,[6] and appointed agents (to see to this). At that very time a vehement whirlwind arose and blew with so great violence, that people thought that the last day had arrived,[7] and great lamentation and mourning[8] was heard throughout the whole camp, and men were in expectation of the early[9] downfall of the power of Islem Shāh.

And they say that in the course of the night such a wealth of flowers was scattered over the body of the Shaikh that he was completely hidden beneath them and was so to speak entombed in flowers

After this event[10] the power of Islem Shāh lasted barely two

1 MS (A) اكثر خلايق. The bubonic plague appears to have been the epidemic here referred to.

2 فتيلة MS. (A) reads قبيلة

3 Qur'ān liv 55. The full quotation is

إِنَّ الْمُتَّقِينَ فِي جَنَّاتٍ وَنَهَرٍ فِي مَقْعَدِ صِدْقٍ عِنْدَ مَلِيكٍ مُقْتَدِرٍ

Verily, the pious shall be amid gardens and rivers, in the seat of truth, with the powerful king.

4 MS. (B) reads بدن.

5 MS. (B) reads پارة پارة

6 MS. (A) reads دفن نكنند.

7 MSS. (A) (B) read قيامت قيا م.

8 MSS. (A) (B) read غلغلة و ماتم

9 MS (B) omits عنقريب.

10 A footnote to the text reads قضيه دولت اسليم شاهي الخ MS. (A) omits these words and reads و بعد ازين دولت اسليم شاهي

The textual reading ap[pears] to be wrong.

years. It was in fact an exact counterpart of the affair of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Fīroz Shāh Khiljī after the execution of Sīdī Maula,[1] save that the decay of the kingdom of Salīm Shāh was even more rapid than that of Jalālu-d-Dīn. People considered Mulla 'Abdūllāh, who was always vexatious to the holy men, to be the cause of all this heart-burning, and this was really the case. 409

This event took place in the year 957 H. (1550 A.D.) the writer of these pages was at that time ten years of age, and invented the two following chronograms: The first is *Ẕākiru-llāh*, the second *Saqāhum rabbuhum sharāban*.[2]

Among the events which happened in the reign of Islem Shāh was the murder of Khawāṣṣ Khān, of which the following is a brief account. When Khawāṣṣ Khān, after the battle with the Niyāzīs fled to the foot of the hills, Islem Shāh appointed to that district Tāj Khān Karrānī who was the brother of Suleimān Karrānī, and the most learned and able of the whole Afghān line, and wrote a command from his camp at Bin Bāū, that they were to induce Khāwaṣṣ Khān, even if it were by means of treaty oaths, to come down from the hills, and put an end to him. However Tāj Khān was unable to effect[3] anything owing to the impregnability of that mountain retreat, and accordingly sent Khawāṣṣ Khān the message of Islem Shāh promising him safety.[4] He, relying upon the word of a Muslim, came[5] and had an interview with Tāj Khān, who instantly[6] had him put to death and sent his head[7] to Salīm Shāh at the township[8] of Bin (Bāū), and after burying his body[9] at the township of Sarastu, in the neighbourhood of Sambal, transferred it thence to Dihlī This event happened in the year 959 H. (A D. 1551). As a chrono-

[1] MS (A) reads كشتن.

[2] ذاكر الله *Ẕākiru-llāh* — The mindful of God.　　سقاهم ربهم شرابا *Saqāhum rabbuhum sharāban.* — May their Lord give them to drink a draught of wine.

Each of these gives the date 957. H.

[3] MSS. (A) (B) كاري نتوانست ساخت

[4] MSS. (A) (B) insert و.　　[5] MSS. (A) (B) آمده و.

[6] MS. (B) omits و تاج خان

[7] MS. (B) omits را and reads سليمان for سليم.

[8] MSS. (A) (B) omits قصبة.　　[9] MS. (A) و جثة.

graphical record they invented the words *Musībat ba'ālam shud*,[1] that is to say, A calamity for the world.

One of his magnanimous acts was the following. On his arrival
410. at Kalpī in the company of Shīr Shāh he gave two *laks* of rupees to the sweetmeat sellers of that city so that they might send sugarcane to Rautanbhor without intermission In the same way also he gave money to all the mango gardens of Baiāna, so that they might send mangoes day after day[2] to the halting-places for the poor and necessitous.

In the meantime Shīr Shāh died, and Salīm Shāh appointed persons who recovered the sum of twenty-four thousand rupees[3] which remained of that money, and on receiving it put it into the treasury

In this same year Shaikh 'Abdu-l-haiyy, the son of Shaikh Jamālī Kanbāwī of Dihlī,[4] who was adorned with excellencies of science and poetry,[5] and was a devout man,[6] and the boon companion and specially favoured intimate of Islem Shāh, delivered up the life entrusted to his keeping, and Saiyyid Shāh Mīr of Āgra invented the following chronogram :—

He said—

My name in itself would furnish the *tārīkh*
At such time as 'abd (the slave) was not in the midst of it[7]

Among the events which happened during the time that Islem Shāh was encamped at Bin was the following. One day in the

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1 A footnote to the text says that these words give the date 989 and that therefore there is some mistake.

It appears that the real reading should be مصيبت بعام شد *musībat ba 'ām shud*, which would give the correct date, and this is in fact the reading in MS. (A) The text should accordingly be corrected in accordance with this, and we should translate, A general calamity.

2 MSS. (A) (B) روز بروز.

3 MS (B) omits هزار and reads را after روپيه instead of او as in the text.

4 MS. (A) دهلي 5 MS (A) reads شعراى for شعرى.

6 صاحب سجاده. MS. (B) reads صاحب سخاوت a generous man.

7 The lines run thus ' گفت نامم همي شود تاريخ بندهٔ وقتي كه در ميان نبود.

If we take the name شيخ عبدالحى and remove from it the centre word عبد *'abd* which means *a slave* we find the remaining words give the date 959 H.

interval between two times of prayer Islem Shāh was sitting at ease upon his roadster,[1] and was proceeding with a small escort from the camp to visit the fort of Mān Garh,[2] which lies at a distance of five or six *krohs* or thereabouts, in accordance with his usual custom, when suddenly a man sprung up in front of him and blocking the road, holding a sword concealed in his armpit like the proverbial Taabaṭa Sharran,[3] under pretence of seeking redress (for some grievance) came forward and aimed[4] a blow at him. Salīm Shāh, however, with great adroitness caught the blow upon the head of his whip. The handle of the whip was cut through and a slight wound was inflicted upon his face. When the man raised his arm to strike a second blow Salīm Shāh sprang forward and hurled himself upon that ruffian, and wrested the sword from his hand. At this instant Daulat Khān Ajyāra, the son of Saẕāwal Khān, who was the chosen intimate and bosom friend of Islem Shāh, galloped up and dealt a blow at that miscreant. Others also came up and enquired from him the reason for his action. Salīm Shāh did not approve of this[5] and said: 'This wretch will destroy the houses of numberless people, lose no time in taking due vengeance on him.' However he recognised that sword as the one he had given to Iqbāl Khān. This Iqbāl Khān was one of the scum and off-scourings of Hindustān who had rendered Shīr Shāh several services. He was so exceedingly ill-favoured,[6] mean-looking, and oafish in appearance that they used to call him Raḥmatu-llāhī, which in Hindustān is the term **411.**

[1] Read راهوار for رابدار.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) مان کڈھ.

[3] تأبط شرا. The surname of Ṣābit-bin-Jābor bin Safyān al-Fahmī, a famous Arab athlete and warrior, who was so called according to some because the sword never quitted him, or because he put beneath his arm-pit (ابط) a quiver of arrows, and took a bow, or put beneath his arm-pit a knife and came to an assembly of Arabs and smote some of them, see Lane s v. ابط. According to the account in the Aghānī, he acquired his name from having slain a lion in a dark night in the midst of a violent storm of thunder and lightning, when morning came he brought the lion to his companions under his arm, and they said, *Laqadd taabaṭa sharran*; "Verily he has put destruction under his arm."

[4] MSS. (A) (B) زخمی بر اندا خمت. [5] MSS. (A) (B) راضی نه شده گفت.

[6] MS. (B) omits بسیار MS. (A) omits بود inserting it after صعقور.

applied to a weaver.[1] Islem Shāh himself[2] had raised him from the very lowest of the low, and had given him a position of intimacy with the highest, so that he made him the envy of the noble Amirs,[3] and would not permit him to be out of his sight for one moment. From that day forward, when he recognised that sword, he deprived him of his rank, so that[4] he made him an example[5] of the saying: *Everything returns to its original state;* but in spite of the incitation of the Amirs of the Afghāns that he should put him to death, he replied, "I am heartily ashamed to destroy the man of my own training.[6]

Verse.

Water cannot swallow down wood, knowest thou why?
It is ashamed[7] to destroy that which it has reared.

Islem Shāh, who had for this same reason become distrustful of Afghāns, now became afflicted with complications of his disease, and increased the opium in his wine,[8] and the snake-bitten one drank a draught of poison,[9] and thirsting for the blood of the Afghāns, became more than ever[10] set upon eradicating them. The crisis was as though it was saying to him:

Verse.

Thou hast laid a foundation, which will destroy thy family,
Oh, thou whose family is destroyed, what a foundation thou hast laid!

1 جولاهه *jūlāha*. MS. (A) reads جولاسا. Either reading may be accepted. If we read جولاهه as in the text the translation will be as above, with the implied meaning of that stupidity for which weavers are proverbially noted. See Fallon's Dictionary *s v.* جلاها.

If we read جولاسا the meaning will be dull, apathetic, stupid.

2 MS. (A) inserts خود and omits اورا inserting this after آورده.

3 MS. (A) omits خود here. 4 MS. (A) گرفت تا

5 MS. (A) omits مظهر 6 MS. (B) ترمت for تربیت.

7 MS. (A) reads شرمست for شرمش. MS. (B) omit ز

8 MS. (A) سراب.

9 MSS. (A) (B) مارزده The meaning appears to be that the opium he took as an anodyne acted as a poison, and increased the effects of the disease from which he was already suffering.

10 MS. (B) بیشتر از بیشتر

After these events Islem Shāh returned[1] towards Gwāliār, which he had made his metropolis, and had arrived at Dihlī[2] when tidings arrived that Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādshāh had reached the banks of the Indus, with the aim of conquering Hindustān. Islem Shāh just at the[3] very moment when this tidings arrived, 412.
had applied a leech[4] to his throat, but instantly took it off, dashed some water upon his head,[5] and binding up his throat with linen rags[6] ordered his army to proceed, and[7] the first day covering three *krohs*, encamped, and the rank and file of his army who were at the last gasp from drunkenness, involuntarily followed him as though led by a halter round their necks. Certain of the Vazīrs who were well-disposed to him[8] represented that inasmuch as a powerful foe had come against him, and his soldiery were worthless, it would be just as well if orders were given for their pay to be issued to them. Islem Shāh replied that if[9] he were to give them money at that particular time they would attribute it to his being weak and in straits, so I will wait, said he, till my return after this victory,[10] when I will give them, with one stroke of the pen, two years pay. The soldiers had patience and without a murmur awaited what fortune Providence would bring them, at the same time expecting some sudden calamity,[11] and in spite of their state of unpreparedness arrived at the encampment. When it was reported to Islem Shāh that the artillery was ready, but that, as the bullocks[12] for the gun-carriages had been left at Gwāliār, they awaited his orders, he replied, 'What possible use are such a crowd of thousands of infantry and cavalry, are they to get their monthly pay for nothing?' accordingly he made them all do

[1] MS (A) omits نمودة here and inserts it after بود in the next line.

[2] MSS (A) (B) omit توجه نمودة چون. MSS (A) (B) read
بدهلي رسيدة بود كه خبر

[3] Read در آن ساعت كه اين خبر رسيد MSS (A) (B)

[4] زلو بر گلو چسپا نيدة بود MS. (A) reads زيور probably a copyist's error for زلورا or زلوى

[5] Omits تا MS. (A)

[6] لتة *latta*. MS (A) reads مليند (?)

[7] Insert و MSS. (A) (B)

[8] MS (A) insert بعد before بعض.

[9] MS. (A) put اگر before درين وقت not after it as in the text.

[10] MS. (B) omit بازگشته

[11] MS. (A) reads واقعة for آفت MSS (A) (B) read بودة for مى بودند

[12] Text گاوان ارادة. MS (A) reads گاروان. MS (B) عرادة

the work of bullocks,[1] and ordered them to drag the gun carriages, thus proving the truth of the following:—

Verse.

These whom you see are not all human beings,
Most of them are tailless oxen and asses.

Some of the large mortars were of such a size that it took one or two thousand men, more or less, to drag each one.[2] At this rate of speed they reached the Panjāb in the course of seven days. Humāyūn Pādshāh in person, in accordance with certain advantageous plans he had formed, advanced as far as Banbhar,[3] at the skirt of the mountain range to the north of the Kashmir
413. frontier,[4] and then returned towards[5] Kabul. A short resumé of these events will be given in its proper place if the Most High God so will it[6]

Islem Shāh also upon hearing this tidings[7] fled[8] with all haste from Lāhor to Gwāliār. In the course of his retreat arriving in the neighbourhood of the township of Anberī,[9] he was occupied in hunting, when a band of ruffians,[10] at the instigation of certain of the Amīrs, blocked his path, and meditated doing him harm, but a messenger arrived who informed Islem Shāh of this design, and he consequently entered the city by another road,[11] and after putting to death[12] a number of men, among whom were Bahāu-d-Dīn and Maḥmūd and Madā,[13] who were[14] the fountain heads of the rebellion attempted by the

1 Omit دختر. MSS. (A) (B). MS. (A) reads اعتبار کردهٔ.

2 The text reads که هر کدام را هزار هزار کس دو دو هزار کس کمتر و بیشتر MS. (A) inserts after کس and omit the second کس replacing it by و.

3 At the foot of the Alidek range. *See* Rennell's map, Tieff., Vol III. *Behnbur.* MSS (A) (B) read بنبهر *Banbhar.* The text reads بنهر *Banhar.*

4 MS. (A) omits از حد کشمیر.   5 MS (B) reads به کابل to Kābul.

6 MS. (A) inserts انشاء الله تعالی between خود and مذکور

7 MS. (A) omits خبر.   8 MS (A) فرار.

9 This is the reading of the text but MSS. (A) (B) read انتری *Antarī.*

10 لوندان Text MS. (B) reads لوابید.   11 MS. (A) براهی دیگر.

12 MSS. (A) (B) رسانیدهٔ.

13 MS. (B) omits these last names and reads وغیرها and others.

14 MS. (A) بوده for بودند.

mutineers, imprisoned all persons against whom he entertained suspicion, afterwards putting them to death. Then he threw open the doors of the treasury and issued a public order directing the issue of two years pay to the soldiery,[1] and sent written despatches to the Amirs of five thousand and ten thousand to this effect. Some of the troops received the pay, others did not. At this very time the army of Fate, who is the most powerful of all powerful foes, made an onslaught upon him[2]

Verse.

That man owned a single ass, but had no pack-saddle,
He found a pack-saddle, but in the meantime the wolf had made off with the ass.[3]

[4] Among the forces which overthrew him was, it is said, a carbuncle which appeared in the neighbourhood of his seat, others assert that it was cancer.

He was beside himself with pain and[5] had himself bled, but without relief Whilst in this state of distress and prostration, he used from time to time to say, 'I had no idea that God was so extremely powerful,'[6] and while in this condition, as long as he retained consciousness he ordered Daulat Khān to sit facing him, and would not cast a glance in any other direction save on 414.
his face alone.[7]

Verse.

Maḥmūd gives not a soul to the Angel (of Death)
Until he sees him in the form of Ayāz.

Notwithstanding the fact that he had lapsed into unconsciousness, he would now and hen open his eyes, and these words would

[1] MS (B) سپاهیان.

[2] A footnote directs attention to a suggested variation in the text by placing كه after سپاه اجل instead of before those words This is the reading found in MS (A) and is obviously correct.

[3] A proverbial saying of this kind is—

جب چنے تھے تب دانت نہ تھے جب دانت ہوئے تب چنے نہین.

When I had pease I had no teeth, now my teeth have come I have no pease.

[4] Omit و مقدمة MS. (A).

[5] Insert و.

[6] MSS (A) (B)

[7] MS. (B) omits در before جانب. MS. (A) reads جاے for جانب

come [1] to his lips 'Where is Ajyāra.' [2] They say also that although he found it excessively difficult to turn from one side to the other, yet he would not consent to their giving Daulat Khān the trouble of coming in front of him, but he would say, 'Please turn my face in his direction.'

One day he saw that Daulat Khān was absent and asked 'where can he be?' They replied he has probably gone to the house of one of his relatives. Then he knew that to all appearance he was playing a time-serving part with others. At that moment Daulat Khān arrived and Islem Shāh quoted this verse.—

Thou knowest my value, how faithful I am [3]
Stay! before thou seekest the companionship of other friends.

It is reported on excellent authority also that Islem Shāh had ordered [4] the treasury-officer that he should give Daulat Khān every day for his personal expenses as much as a *lak* of tankas, as a matter of course and unasked, [5] but that if asked for a larger sum he should produce it for his use At last seeing that his condition became more grave day by day, nay, hour by hour, his physicians despaired of relieving him

Verse.

In one small detail the whole of the philosophers have been found wanting,
For what can man do against the Eternal decree [6]
When the natural causes of the pulse depart from the fundamental movement, [7]

[1] MS (B) میگذشت.

[2] Daulat Khān Ajyāra, who has been before mentioned. MSS (A) (B) read اجیارا Ajyārā, but the text reads (؟) هیارة Haiyāra with a note of interrogation Ajyāra is the right reading

[3] For چسانم MS (A) read جانم

[4] MSS. (A) (B) حکم کردة بود.

[5] MSS. (A) (B) read نه پرسد for ناپرسیدة

[6] کن فیکون Qur'ān II, III

بَدِیعُ السَّمٰوٰتِ وَ الْاَرْضِ وَ اِذَا قَضَی اَمْرًا فَاِنَّمَا یَقُولُ لَهُ کُنْ فَیَکُونُ

The originator of the heavens and the earth, when he decrees a matter he doth but say unto it, BE, and it is.

[7] The modifying causes of the pulse are classified by Sadīdī thus (1) ماسک *māsik* or constant such as animal force in the heart and vessels, (2)

The foot of Aflaṭūn himself becomes fixed in the mire of helplessness.
When the conduct of nature turns towards disorder,
The Qānūn[1] of Bū 'Alī lies useless in the hand. 415.

At last he left this world of regrets, wounded by countless sorrows, and abandoned his kingdom to the desire of his enemies The duration of his reign was nine years. His body was taken to Sahsarām and buried by the side of his father. This event occurred in the year 961 H.,[2] and by a coincidence it happened that in the course of this (self-same) year[3] Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujrāt, who had adorned the throne with justice[4] and equity and the fear of God, drank the cup of martyrdom at the hands of his servant Burhān[5] Nizāmu-l-Mulk Baḥrī,[6] the king of the Dakhan, also took his way to the ocean of non-existence, and Mīr Saiyyid Na'matu-llāh, whose poetical name was Rusūlī,[7] who was one of the incomparable learned men and a close companion of Islem Shāh, wrote this chronogram :—

Verse

At one time came the decline of three emperors,
Whose justice made Hindustān the abode of safety

مغير *mughaiyyir* or variable, such as age, sex, sleeping or waking; exercise, bathing—others of this class are external or accidental, such as, feverishness, and inflammations The pulse says, he is necessary for the quieting of the natural heat, and for dispelling vapours. It is opposed by rigidity of the vessels and weakness of the animal powers *See* Sadīdī, p. 54, *et seqq.*

1 قانون بوعلي *Qānūn-i-Bū 'Alī* This is the famous قانون في الطب, *Qānūn fi-ṭ-ṭibb*, canon medicinæ, by the celebrated Shaikh Abū 'Alī Hussain bin 'Abdu-llāh commonly known as *Ibn Sīna* (Avicenna) *See* Hājī Khalīfah, No. 9354

Abū Sīna was a famous Muhammadan physician who was born in Bukhārā, and died at Hamadān in July 1037 A D., 427 A H.

(H K. says 428 A H). *See* Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p 20

2 MSS. (A) (B) both write نه صد و شصت omitting و يک which is added in the text.

3 درمدت تک سال MSS (A) (B) 4 MS. (B) reads بنصفت.

5 The text reads لا برهان له a punning comment on the servant's name, which will not admit of translation.

6 *See* Beale, *O. B D*, for an account of the Nizam-Shāhī dynasty

7 MSS (A) (B) the text reads رشوتي Rishwatī

One was Maḥmūd the Emperor of Gujerāt,
Who, like his empire, was still in the pride of youth;
The second was Islem Shāh, that mine of beneficence,
Whose beloved son [1] was Sher Khān;
The third was Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Bahrī
Who as Emperor was seated on the throne of the Dakhan.
If you ask of me a *tārīkh* for the death of these three [2] Emperors?
I answer *Zawāl-i-khusrūān* [3]

Islem Shāh notwithstanding his not having read poetry had
416. many apt quotations in his memory, and being a clever critic, used constantly to practise the art of versification with Amīr Saiyyid Na'mat Rusūlī,[4] and used to compose many elegant verses and to enjoy listening to those of his fellow poet Moreover he was highly esteemed by the learned and religious men [5] of his time. They say that when he reached Alwar on his way to the Panjāb, he one day caught sight of Mulla 'Abdu-llāh of Sulṭānpūr [6] who was at some distance coming towards him, addressing his attendants he said "Have you any idea who this is who is approaching" They replied "Who is it, please inform us." [7] He said. "Bābar Padshāh had five sons, of whom four [8] left Hindustān and one remained." They said "and who is that one?" He replied "This Mulla who is approaching" Sarmast Khān said "What is the use of keeping up connection with such a vicious person?" [9] He replied [10] "What can I do, when I can find [11] no better than he?" And when Mulla 'Abdu-llāh came up he ordered him to sit upon his own throne, and bestowed upon him a bead-roll of pearls, valued at twenty thousand rupees,[12] which had at that moment arrived as

[1] MS. (A) reads عزیزش

[2] MS (A) این هرسه

[3] زوال خسروان *Zawāl-i-khusrūān* The decline of the Emperors. The letters of *Zawāl i-khusrūān* give the date 961 H See note 2 *supra*

[4] MSS (A) (B) The text as before reads Rishwatī.

[5] MS (A) omits وصلحا

[6] MS (A) omits را.

[7] MSS (A) B) فرمای

[8] MSS (A) (B) چهار.

[9] Text reads متقلی; MS. (A) reads مفتن seditious. MS (B) reads متعدی parasitic

[10] MSS (A) (B) گفت

[11] MSS (A) (B) نمی یابم.

[12] Omit با before بیت. MSS (A) (B)

a present from some place. He never missed the public prayers, and never touched any intoxicants[1] not even *jauz*,[2] [and Shaikh Salim Chishti of Fathpūr and Ḥāfiẓ Niẓām of Badāon were both of them his imāms].[3]

Fīrōz Shāh ibn-i-Islem Shāh,

Who was called Fīrūz Khān, was raised to the throne in succession to his father at the age of twelve[4] with the title of Pādshāh.[5] The affairs of the kingdom did not prosper in his hands, and Mubāriz Khān the son of Niẓām Khān[6] Sūr, who was brother's son to Islem Shāh,[7] after three days attempted the life of that innocent one, and although Bībī Bā'ī, who was the sister of Mubāriz Khān,[8] and the wife of Islem Shāh, fell at his feet and besought him piteously saying: "Ah my brother, spare the life of 417.
this poor harmless boy, and let me take my own way and bear him away[9] to some place where no one will have a trace of him, and where he will have nothing to do with sovereignty, nay, will not even mention the name of kingship."[10] That pitiless tyrant would not heed her, but entered the palace and cut[11] off the boy's head under the very eyes of his mother. At this day his issue is cut off just as the line of Islem Shāh; and it is said that Islem Shāh

[1] MS. (A) reads و از کیفیت معنی جوزهم. A variant given in a footnote to the text reads وبغیر از کیفیت معني جوزهم. On the whole the textual reading seems the best adding معنی as in the two readings given.

[2] جوز ماثل *Jauzu māṣil.* Datura, sp alba D. fastuosa N O. Solanaceæ called in Hindustāni धतूरा *dhatūrā*, and in Sanskrit धुस्तूर from धुस elegant, and तूर injurious. (Wilson) Used as a narcotic and intoxicant. According to the *Makhzanu-l-adwiya* a wine is made from the juice of the leaves. An overdose is said to produce symptoms resembling *delirium e potu*, the patient raving and chasing imaginary animals along the walls of the room.

[3] These words are not in the text but both MSS (A) (B) read

وشیخ سلیم چشتی فتحپوري و حافظ نظام بداوني هردو امام او بودند

[4] MSS. (A) (B) read thus دوازده. The text reads ده ten.

[5] MSS. (A) (B) موسوم شد [6] MS (B) reads مبارز خان بن نظام سور

[7] MS (A) reads که برادر زادهٔ شیرشاه و عمزاده و برادر زن اسلیم شاه بود

Who was brother's son to Sher Shāh, and uncle's son and wife's brother to Islem Shāh.

[8] MS (A). [9] MS. (A) بجای بدرم که کس. [10] MS (A) omits هرگز.

[11] MS. (A) برید.

had made several attempts upon the life of Mubāriz Khān, and used to say to his wife, 'If you value your child keep clear of your brother,[1] and if you wish to preserve the one, take away all hope of life from the other" She used to say in a deprecatory way, "My brother spends all his time in amusing himself,[2] and the robe of royalty is in no way suitable to his standard of ambition; give up the idea of destroying him."[3] Islem Shāh however, whenever he saw Mubāriz Khān used to say to his wife in a reproachful way, "In the end you will regret this at a time when regret will avail nothing." And at last the prophecy of Islem Shāh, which he had made by his judgment of physiognomy, was confirmed to the letter[4]

Verse.

Whatever the young man sees the mirror,
The old man sees that same in the unbaked brick.[5]

Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil commonly known as 'Adlī.[6]

Who was the son of Nizām Khān Sūr,[7] and went by the name of Mubāriz Khān, ascended the throne with the concurrence of the principal Amīrs and Vazīrs, and caused himself to be addressed by the above title[8] The general public however used to
418. call him 'Adlī, and that name even[9] they perverted to Andhlī
which has the commonly accepted signification of "blind"[10] At the commencement of his reign, having heard of the conduct of Muḥammad 'Ādil ibn Tughlaq Shāh,[11] he used to imitate him in lavishing money, and having opened the doors of his treasury he

[1] MSS (A) (B) omit خود

[2] Omit ولغو. MSS (A) (B). [3] MS (B) omits او.

[4] In MS. (A) these words precede the verse, and read و عاقبت الامر هم چنان شد الخ. MS (B) omits هم

[5] MS (A) reads تیر در خشت پخته آن بیند, a footnote variant reads کهنه (old) for پخته (baked) I follow the reading of the text, taking the meaning to be that the aged can see the tendency of the young as clearly as the young can see the reflection in a mirror

[6] See *Āīn-i-Akbar* II, (J) 221 n 3

[7] MS. (A) reads ابن نظام خان سور که omitting که and بود و.

[8] MS. (B) مخاطب کرد [9] MS (A) omits نیز.

[10] اندهلي means "a blind woman"

[11] MS. (A) reads سلطان محمد تغلق را

aimed at securing[1] the goodwill of great and small · and he had made arrows tipped with[2] gold of a money value of five hundred *tankahs* and used to throw them. Whatever[3] poor person's house they used to fall at, he then bestowed that amount in money upon him and used to take back the *kalība-bāsh*, this fitful habit however quickly[4] came to an end after a few days.

Verse

Inorganic matter is one thing : spontaneous growth is another.

Verse.

If the tears flow down upon the cheeks,
True weeping is easily distinguished from false.

The rank of *Vazīr* and *Vakīl* was bestowed upon one Shamsher Khān, a slave who was the younger brother of Khawaṣṣ Khān and Daulat Khān, the "new-Muslim," a protégé of the Luḥānī[5] faction He also gave uncontrolled authority to Hīmūn the greengrocer, of the township of Rewārī in Miwāt, whom Islem Shāh had gradually elevated from the position of police superintendent of the bāzārs and confirmer of punishments, and had by degrees made into a trusted confidant[6] He now gave him the superintendence of all important affairs both military and civil.

Inasmuch as 'Adli had originally been accustomed to the profession[7] of music and dancing and was fond of a life of ease and luxury and was otiose in his habits he was by no means fitted for the conduct of military affairs, or the duties of civil administration, superadded to this was the murder of Fīrūz Khān and his unbounded confidence in Hīmūn Accordingly these Amirs who were of true Afghān descent, evinced a great repugnance to obey him, and aroused such widespread feelings of

[1] MS. (A) ساخت

[2] Text كتيبة باش MS (A) كنه باش MS (B) كنه باش ها.

The reading of the text is unintelligible We should read كته باس in the meaning of a bamboo shaft Firishta s reading is quite clear he says

Bo Text, p 439 كته باسي كه پيكان آن يک تولة طلا بود

That is, *Katah*, a bamboo shaft, whose head was one tola of gold

[3] MS (A) reads دخانهٔ هر غريبي. [4] MS (A) زود برطرف شد

[5] MS (A) نوحان [6] MS (A) صاحب اعتبار.

[7] MS (A) reads پيشه for پيشگي

shame, that hardly had a month passed since his accession, when on all sides rebellions arose, and they became rulers of their several clans. Sedition awoke from its heavy slumber, the bonds of kinship with Sher Shāh and of orders passed by Islem Shāh
419 snapped asunder, and disorder reigned supreme :

Verse.

When the heart of the times writhes, the bond of fellowship snaps,
When a flaw appears[1] in the string, the pearls are scattered.

One day when, having summoned the most renowned Amīrs to the durbār hall of the fort of Gwāliār, 'Adlī was engaged in distributing *jāgīrs*, he ordered that the Sarkār of Qanauj should be transferred from Shāh Muḥammad Farmalī, and given in perpetuity to Sarmast Khān Sarbanī, [Shāh Muḥammad was ill],[2] whereupon his son Sikandar, who was a brave, handsome, and well built youth spoke fiercely with regard to this *jāgīr*. Shāh Muḥammad however admonished[3] him in gentle terms and forbade him to speak thus, but he answered his father "Once Sher Shāh placed you in an iron cage and kept you a prisoner for some years, while Islem Shāh made you the captive of his kindness and by intercession and influence obtained your release Now the Sūr faction are attempting to destroy us, and you do not understand their infamous design ,[4] thereupon he began to abuse Sarmast Khān with all the petulance of youth and the arrogant pride of race and said : "Now our affairs have come to such a pass[5] that this dog-seller[6] is to enjoy our *jāgīr*" Sarmast Khān, who was a tall, powerful man full of energy, placed his hand upon the shoulder of Sikandar intending to make him prisoner by underhand means, and said : "My boy, why are you saying all these bitter things," Sikandar however perceived his intention, clapped his hand to his dagger, and struck Sarmast Khān such a deadly blow over the shoulder blade, that he fell on the spot unconscious and died. Sikandar Khān also made some others of those[7] hell-dogs so heavy of head

[1] MS. (A) reads آمد پدید.

[2] MS. (A) adds the words in brackets و شاه محمد بیماری داشت.

[3] MS. (A) نصیحت مینمود.

[4] MS. (A) omits را.

[5] MS. (A) بجولی رسیده.

[6] MS (A) لا این سگ فروش.

[7] Text دوزخیان. MSS (A) (B) read دور چنان.

and sleep-stricken[1] that they will never wake[2] till the morn of the great assembly, and certain others remained so intoxicated that they spent the remainder of their lives in recovering from it.[3]

Verse. 420.

Thine eye which was wonderful in slaying thy lovers
Would slay one and cast its glance upon another.

It was currently reported that from the time when[4] the dagger was first invented in Hindustān no person can have ever used it in the way that Sikandar Khān did A tumult arose among the people, and 'Adlī fled and entered the women's quarters and put up the chain on the inside. Sikandar after that he had killed some and wounded[5] others, at last made towards 'Adlī and[6] aimed a blow at him with a sword, which however struck a plank of the door: had he attacked him in the first instance he would have despatched him. The Amīrs of 'Adlī's party shewed themselves in their true colours that day, as most of them cast away their swords[7] and took to flight, and were going about distractedly, till at last, after Sikandar had done as much mischief as salt in the yeast,[8] they attacked him simultaneously from all sides. This contest went on for three or four hours, when[9] Sikandar fell to a blow from the sword of Ibrāhīm Khān[10] Sūr, sister's husband to 'Adlī, and Shāh Muhammad was struck down by the sword of Daulat Khān Lūhānī,[11] both of them taking their way to the city of non-existence. It so happened that on that day before the assembly of that meeting Tāj Khān Karrānī, the

1 MS (A) سرگران و خواب آلودة MS (B) read سرگردان

2 MS (A) بیدار نشود

3 Read here بعضي دیگر شبر گیر ماندة This is the reading of MSS. (A) (B) and is far preferable to the reading in the text.

4 MS (A) reads ازان زمان که. 5 MS (A) مجروح ساخت.

6 MSS (A (B) نمود و

7 MS. (B) reads اکثری از سر دیوار های خودرا انداختند. Most of them threw themselves from the walls This is also the reading given in a foot-note variant to the text.

8 The addition of salt to yeast is said to check its fermentative powers.

9 MSS. (A) (B) و 10 MS. (A) omits خان

11 MS (A) نوحانی.

brother of 'Amād and Suleimān, who eventually became the autocratic[1] ruler of the province of Bengal, and gave himself the title[2] of Ḥaẓrat A'lā, having left the audience hall of 'Adlī was going outside the fort, when on his way he met with Shāh Muḥammad Farmalī. They asked[3] after each other's affairs, and Tāj Khān said: "I see signs of mischief, and consequently I am removing my manly footsteps outside this circle,[4] and am
421. going outside. Do you too come with me and follow my lead,[5] for the scale has turned.

Verse.

When you see that your friends are no longer friendly,
Consider that flight is an opportunity to be seized.

But inasmuch as the hand of death had seized the skirt of Shāh Muḥammad and was dragging him to the grave,[6] he would not consent to this advice and went to 'Adlī.

Verse.

When the appointed time of the quarry comes it goes towards the huntsman

And that which was written in his fate befel him, Tāj Khān in full daylight fled from Gwāliār towards Bengāl and 'Adlī sent an armed party in pursuit of him, and[7] himself also started to follow him in front of the township of Chhapramau[8] in the district of Qanauj an engagement took place between the two parties The stars in their courses fought for 'Adlī, and his army

[1] MSS (A) (B) read صاحب استقلال and MS. (A) reads بیگانه for صوبهٔ بنگاله

[2] MSS. (A) (B) و خطاب داد و should be omitted.

[3] MSS (A) (B) read پرسدد which is better than the textual reading پرسیدند

[4] MSS (A) (B) read (B) میروم / (A) میرویم } ازیں دایرہ بدر نهادہ بیرون.

[5] MS. (A) reads wrongly مکن for بکن

[6] MS. (A) reads شاه محمد را and MSS. (A) (B) read کشان کشان.

[7] MSS (A) (B) و خود نیز.

[8] MS. (B) چهپرا مؤ. The text is without dots. MS (A) reads چهپرا مؤ Chheirāmau.

was victorious,[1] and Tāj Khān turning in flight made the best of his way to Chhinār,[2] wherever he found the authorities favourable to 'Adlī he made prisoners[3] of them, and laid hands on whatever cash and valuables he could find. A hundred head of elephants also fell into his hands. Thus he proceeded till he joined hands with Suleimān and 'Imād and Khwāja Ilyās who held sway over certain *parganas* on the banks of the Ganges and other places. Then he openly sounded the note of rebellion. 'Adlī arrived at Chunār,[4] and the Karrānīs on the banks of the river[5] Ganges came out to fight with him. Hīmūn asked for a *ḥalka* of elephants, that is to say, a hundred elephants, and fought a desperate battle with them gaining a victory. And 'Adlī while in Chunār intended to seize[6] Ibrāhīm Khān, the son of Ghāzī Khān Sūr, one of the cousins of Sher Khān, but the sister of 'Adlī, who was married to him, became aware of this intention, and brought him down by a secret passage[7] from the fort. Ibrāhīm Khān made his way towards Baiāna and Hindūn which was his father's *jāgīr*; 422
'Adlī despatched 'Īsā Khān Niyāzī after Ibrāhīm Khān, and they fought a battle[8] in the vicinity of Kalpī, the breeze of victory fanned the standards of Ibrāhīm Khān, and he gained the day. Then having assembled a large following, and entering that country, he proclaimed himself sovereign[9] 'Adlī thereupon disengaged himself from the Karrānīs, and came against Ibrāhīm Khān to attack him, and when he arrived near the river Jon, Ibrāhīm Khān made overtures,[10] and sent a message saying "If Rāī Ḥusain Jilwānī,[11] and Bihar Khān Sarwānī, to whom Islem Shāh gave the title of Ā'zam Humāyūn, with some others[12] of the Amīrs noble and renowned, will come and reassure me,[13] then will I in reliance upon their assurances agree to make

[1] The textual reading is wrong, omit بر reading with MSS (A) (B) فوج او غالب آمد

[2] MS (A) جنار. MS (B) چنار

[3] دستگیر ساخته MSS. (A) (B).

[4] MSS (A) (B).

[5] MSS. (A) (B) دریاي گنگ

[6] MS. (A) مقید سازد.

[7] MS. (A) reads او را بصوب مجهولي از بالاى قلعه which is better than the text.

[8] MSS. (A) (B) جنگ کرده.

[9] MSS. (A) (B) دم از استقلال زد.

[10] MS. (A) omits درمیان.

[11] MS. (A) reads حلواني.

[12] MS. (A) omits دیگر

[13] MS. (B) reads بدهند.

submission to you." 'Adlī[1] accordingly sent them, and no sooner had they arrived than they gave in their allegiance to Ibrāhīm Khān, giving him the title of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, and thus putting[2] a different complexion upon the dispute, *raised the standard* of insurrection against 'Adlī.

The *Khuṭbah* was read in the name of Ibrāhīm Khān in Āgra and certain other districts, while 'Adlī, realising that he was not able to cope with him, left Gwāliar for Bhatta, and thence returned towards Chunār[3] taking with him[4] large amounts of treasure, many elephants and a large following

After the death of Islem Shāh, at the time when the kings of clans arose,[5] Ahmad Khān Sūr, one of the cousins of Sher Shah, who had to wife the second sister of 'Adlī, a man of distinguished bravery and endurance, sat in conference with[6] the Amīrs of the Panjāb, and implanted in their minds all sorts of evil notions regarding 'Adlī and of his unfitness, (they being already ill-disposed towards him) and with the aid and assistance of Tātār
423. Khān Kāsī,[7] and Ḥabīb Khān, and Naṣīb Khān Ṭughūji, who had attained this title from Sher Shāh,[8] declared open war against 'Adlī, and[9] assuming the title of Sultān Sikandar and reading the *Khuṭbah*, and entertaining hopes of still further increase of power[10] proceeded to Dihlī and Āgra[11]

On the other hand, Ibrāhīm having collected a large army confronted Sikandar at Farah,[12] which is situated at a distance of ten *krohs* from Āgra.

Most of the noted Amīrs, such as Ḥājī Khān Sulṭānī, Governor of Alwar, who was virtually a king, and Rāī Ḥussain Jilwānī[14] and Mas'aūd Khān and Ḥusain Khān Ghilzāī were on the side of Ibrāhīm To some two hundred of them Ibrāhīm had given royal

[1] Omit و. MSS (A) (B)

[2] MS. (B) قرار دادة ادای.

[3] MS. (B) omits بسوی.

[4] MSS. (A) (B) omit خود reading درتصرف داشت.

[5] MS. (B) omits both ملوک and شدند

[6] MS. (A) به امرای.

[7] A footnote variant reads كالپي *Kālpī*

[8] MS. (A) reads یافتة بودند

[9] MSS. (A) (B) و.

[10] چشم تازة زور. MS (A) reads روز in error.

[11] MSS. (A) (B) شد

[12] MS. (B) مقابل شد,

[13] MSS. (A) (B) فرة.

[14] MS. (A) حلوائي

tents and standards, and ensigns[1] and kettle drums, and it frequently happened that to anyone who came and brought with him ten or fifteen horsemen he gave a sort of makeshift flag-staff with a bit of red rag wrapped round it, simply to gain favour and to attract people, bestowing upon him also a grant of dignity and a *jāgīr*.[2] In this way nearly eighty thousand men flocked to him; and on the day when Ḥājī Khān came from Alwar and gave in his allegiance to him, he shewed him great favour bestowing upon him a lofty and spacious tent covered on the outside with *saqirlāt*[3] of Portugal, and on the inside with Frankish velvet, had it freshly pitched for him. Moreover he lavished upon Ḥājī Khān magnificent carpets, and vessels of gold and silver and all other requirements on the same scale; accordingly he entered the tent without hesitation and there took up his abode. This treatment occasioned great envy and jealousy[4] among the Amīrs of pure Afghān blood who became disheartened and spared not to express their discontent among themselves. Iskandar, who had a following of twelve thousand men, inasmuch as he estimated the army of Ibrāhīm as being more numerous than his own, shilly-shallied and made overtures for peace, and wrote a treaty in the following terms, that from Dihlī to the eastern extremity of Hindustān as 424
far as could be arranged,[5] should belong to Ibrāhīm Khān,[6] and that the country of the Panjāb and Multān as far as possible should belong to Sikandar, so that he might attain the object for which the Mughuls came to Hindustān. The Afghāns of both

[1] The text here reads طوق MS (A) however reads توع. The true reading should evidently be توغ which according to M. Pavet de Courteilles means a standard composed of the tail of the قطاس (*qutās* or Tibetan *yak*) fixed to a pole

[2] MSS (A) (B) و جایگیر

[3] MS. (B) reads سقرلات *saqirlāt* Dozy, however, gives no such form of the word and the word is probably سقّلات *siqlāt*, meaning a silken stuff brocaded with gold. *See* Dozy *s v* *See* also Yule and Burnett Glossary *s. v.* Suclāt also, Skeat Etym Dict. *s v* Scarlet

[4] Another instance of Badāonī's use of غبطة in this unusual sense.

[5] We should apparently read here تا آنجا كه توانند بشود MS (B) omits the words altogether. MS. (A) agrees with the text, which however does not seem satisfactory.

[6] MS (A) omits خان.

armies, who were blood-relations or connections of each other, were pleased at the prospect of a peaceful settlement, and Kālā Bhār[1] the brother of Sikandar, and the Amīrs of the *Panj Bhaiya* which means "the five brothers," who were[2] with the sword the marvel of the age, made this additional stipulation that if after that Ibrāhīm (Khān)[3] gets possession[4] of the treasury of 'Adli and the kingdom of Bhatta, which is near being realised, he shall make us partners in both of these gains, then all well and good,[5] but if not we will annul the peace. Sikandar agreed to this proposition,[6] and the majority of the Amīrs of Ibrāhīm (Khān)[7] impressed upon him that there was no danger to be apprehended from agreeing[8] to this proposal, inasmuch as the treasury and kingdom of Bhatta would certainly be theirs, "and then," said they, "it will require a man to oppose[9] us (successfully), while for the present, at any rate, we shall have tided over this difficulty satisfactorily

Verse.

Be not proud, for I hold the staff of wisdom in my hand,
The arm of riot is long (and)[10] a stick has two ends.

Ibrāhīm came round to this view but Mas'ūd Khān and Husain Khān Ghilz'ai with some of the new Amīrs said "Seeing that in the end the matters in dispute between us and Sikandar will one day have to be decided by the sword, now that our party has increased, while his following is exceedingly small, why should we not decide[11] the matter at once,[12] and not desist until we have secured ourselves against a repetition of this in the future. To agree to peace now will be a confession[13] of weakness on our part.
425 and an admission of the bravery of our enemies."[14] Upon 'Adli

[1] MSS (A) (B) so also Firishta. The text reads کالا پہاڑ Kālā Pahār.

[2] MS (A) reads بود

[3] MS (B) adds خان.

[4] MS (B) reads بدست آورد which seems better than the text.

[5] MS (A) omits بهتر

[6] MS (B) reads رای for سعی

[7] MS (B) ابراهیم خان

[8] MS (B) omits قبول

[9] MSS (A) (B) read که بمقابلهٔ ما در آید

[10] MSS (A) (B) omit و That is to say, a staff is a weapon both of offence and defence.

[11] MS (A) reads برسانیم but the textual نرسانیم is better.

[12] MS (B) reads قضیه را بفاصل فیصل

[13] MS. (B) omits دلیل

[14] MS (B) reads اعدا می شود

also, who has crept like a rat into his hole, with all his elephants and retinue, the desire of conflict with us is creeping, and that peace which had been concluded has been confounded." Ibrāhīm Khān put off fighting till after the arrival of Miyān Yaḥya Tūran, governor of Sambhal, who was famous both as a warrior and as a man of sound judgment. Miyān Yaḥya in the year 961 H. during the disturbances, gave battle in Badāon to twenty of 'Adlī's Amirs who had been appointed to the district of Sambhal, and defeated them; he then fought a great battle on the plain[1] of the township of Kandarkhī with Rāja Matar Sen Kahtarīya, who was the former ruler of Sambhal and had collected a great force, and defeated him. The author of this *Muntakhab*, who was at that time accompanying his father, now deceased, was in the twelfth year of his age,[2] and had gone to Sambhal to study, wrote this chronogram: *Chi bas khūb karda and*[3] (How well have they done)! Before that he could convey the news to his teacher,[4] the prince of learned men, the guide of connoisseurs, the exemplar of the intelligent,[5] the master of masters, the Miyān Ḥātim of Sanbhal, this[6] tidings had already reached him. At the time when he was by way of benediction and blessing giving instruction in the *Kanz-i-Fiqh*, he said, "Count the letters of this *tārīkh* which I have spoken without forethought, *Fatḥhā-i-āsmānī shud*."[7] I replied nine hundred and sixty, which[8] is one unit short. He answered,[9] I said it with the *hamza* of *Iẓāfat*, that is to say, *Fatḥhā-i-āsmanī*, which is in conformity with the ancient spelling in respect to the value of letters: and in this way it is correct.[10] He gave his blessing, and fixed a time for the lesson, and adding

[1] MS. (B) reads درموضع.   [2] MS. (B) reads درسنهٔ and تحصیل.

[3] چه بس خوب کرده اند *Chi bas khūb karda and*. A footnote to the text points out that this gives the date 962 H. whereas the event chronicled occurred in 961 H.   [4] Read مدرس. MS. (B).

[5] MSS. (A) (B) read مقتدای جهاندنه instead of مقتدای جهاندیده.

[6] MS. (A) این خبر.

[7] فتحهاء آسمانی شد *Fatḥhā-i-āsmānī Shud*. They were heaven-given victories. Read with hamza this gives 961 H.

[8] MS. (A) reads که for و MS (B) reads کو

[9] MSS. (A) (B) read میفرمودند که.

[10] MS. (A) reads wrongly دست. According to this the value of hamza is 1 and it is taken as equivalent to Alif. The hamza of iẓāfat is said to be

a few pages, written with his own hand to the pages which I had
426. written containing the instruction of the Qāẓī, gave them to me as a souvenir, and entrusted my instruction to Miyān Shaikh Abūl Fatḥ, the son of Shaikh-allahdīyah [1] of Khairābād, *may God be merciful to him*, who is now seated on the throne of instruction and guidance in the room of his father; and inasmuch as Miyān Yaḥya after taking forcible possession of [2] the country of Kānt [3]-o-Golah and that district, going by way of Badāon had built a bridge across the Ganges at the township of Ahār,[4] and had gone towards Ibrāhīm Khān, I accompanied my father, now departed, *may he rest in peace*, to Amroha,[5] and was thus separated from that army; [6] and being introduced to the presence of the late Mīr Saiyyid [7] Muḥammad Mīr 'Adl, *may God have mercy on him*,[8] with whom he had some hereditary connection, remained some time under his instruction. In short on the day on which Miyān Yaḥya joined Ibrāhīm Khān, on that very morning Ibrāhīm Khān had drawn up his army and placed Miyān Yahya in the command of the advance guard, while he appointed Hājī Khān to the command of the left division, and Rāi Ḥusain Jilwānī with the Ghilz'ais to the right division. He himself taking the centre drew up in line of battle. On the other side Sikandar Sūr

an abbreviated ی (Platts' Persian Grammar, p 43), but if this were the case its value would justly be 10 and not 1. It thus appears more probable that the hamza of iẓāfat is in reality hamza, and does not represent an original ی.

[1] MS. (A) ولد شیخ الهدیه *See* J. A. S. B., 1869, p 118.

[2] MS (B) reads بضبط آورده

[3] Kānt. Town in the Shāhjahānpur District, N.-W P, *see* Hunter, I G vii 437. Kānt-o-Golah in Shahjahānpur according to Blochmann, J. A S B, 1869, p 122.

[4] Ahār Ancient town in the Bulandshahr District, N.-W. P, *see* Hunter I. G. i. 81

[5] Amrohā Town in Moradabad District, N.-W P., *see* Hunter, I G i 266.

[6] MS (A) reads و با مروهه رفته *after* ازان لشکر جدا شده.

[7] *See* J A S B, 1869, p 126, and *Āīn-i-Akbari*, (B), I p 268. The Mīr 'Adl was the officer entrusted with the duty of carrying out the finding of the Qāẓī, see *Āīn-i-Akbari*, III. (J) 41.

[8] MS (A) reads رحمة الله علیه.

also drew up his forces and came out [1] from his camp. The right wing of Sikandar's forces (the Panj Bhaiya), carried away the left of Ibrāhīm's army by sheer weight, and after sacking [2] the camp went on to Āgra and pillaging the city issued a proclamation on behalf of Sikandar.[3]

The right of Ibrāhīm Khān's army, however, carried away the left of Sikandar's force, and driving them back pursued them as far as the township of Hodal [4] and Palwal,[5] shouting, Prosperity to Ibrāhīm Khān.[6] Ḥāji Khān at the instant the two opposing ranks closed, passing by the side of his tent,[7] and seeing it had been torn to shreds by the pillaging party,[8] in pretended ignorance of what had occurred hastened to Alwar. A slight engagement ensued with Mīyān [9] Yaḥya Paran who commanded the advanced guard of Sikandar's army, and a wound was inflicted upon the hand of Mīyān Yaḥya and two of his fingers were cut off [10] He did not draw rein till he arrived at Sambhal. Ibrāhīm Khān took up a position on the lower ground with four hundred [11] men, and with his front facing down-hill [12] awaited the attack of Sikandar, the shots from whose mortars [13] passed over the heads 427.
of his men, so that they could not move a step.

When Ibrāhīm saw that the field remained empty and that his troops were scattered like motes in a sun beam,[14] he realised that Sikandar himself was present with the opposing army, so yielding to necessity [15] he proceeded to Itāwa His canopy and all his regalia [16] were taken Sikandar pursued him as far as Itāwa,[17] where he heard that Jannat Āshiyānī had reached [18] Hindustān ·

1 MS. (B) بدر آمد   2 MS (B) reads نهيب كردة.

3 MSS (A) (B) omit بنام   4 MS (A) reads بهودل Bhodal.

5 For Hodal and Palwal, *see* Hunter, I. G v. 437 and xi 21

6 MS. (A) omits خان   7 گذاشتة. MS. (A)

8 MS (A) omits غارت گران   9 MSS (A) (B) درعيان صدلى يحيى.

10 Read with MSS. (A) (B) دوری از انگشتان او.

11 Supply صد from MSS (A) (B)

12 I am not quite clear as to the meaning of this passage.

13 The text and both MSS seem to be incorrect. we should read I think, وضرب دیگهای سکندر The text and MS (A) read زنگها. MS (B) reads رنگها.

14 Qur'ān, xxv 25. MS. (A) reads wrongly here سایر منثورا. MS (B) شد

15 MSS. (A) (B) بضرورت ماند و   16 MS. (A) reads خبر for چتر.

17 MSS. (A) (B) از عقب او اتاوة رسید.   18 MS. (B) آمد.

retracing his steps thence he proceeded by continuous marches as far as Sihrind,[1] he eventually fought a battle there and was defeated. Ibrāhīm leaving there went to Sambal, and collecting an army procured a fresh gold-embroidered canopy, and a month later crossed (the river) with a force of three[2] thousand sowārs by the ford of Kisti,[3] and (?) made towards Kalpī in order that having collected a fresh army,[4] he might fight 'Adlī again. At this juncture 'Adlī had appointed Hīmūn the grocer, who was his vazīr and uncontrolled agent, and had sent him from Chinhār with certain eminent Amīrs, and five hundred elephants like storm clouds (for blackness), and unlimited treasure to proceed to Āgra and Dilhī.

Hīmūn, regarding Ibrāhīm as his own especial prey, considered it essential to overthrow him;[5] Ibrāhīm came out to oppose him[6] ready for battle, and taking up a strong position shewed a resolute determination to withstand him, such as perhaps Rustum, if anyone, displayed before.[7] But for all this, by the decree of the Almighty[8] he was not successful[8] He was the possessor of all the praiseworthy qualities which should belong to kings.[9] He was well formed and well spoken, modest, cultured and refined,[10] daring and liberal, but success in war is God-given,[11] and it is not in mortals to command it, it was not his *fate*[12] to win. Accordingly in this space of two years of disorder he must have fought[13] sixteen or seventeen battles, and on every occasion after gaining a success

428. met with a defeat. *God preserve us from failure after success.*[14]

[1] MSS. (A) (B) تا عاقبت.   [2] MSS. (A) (B) سه هزار.

[3] MS (A) كني kanī (?). MS (B) گيسي gīsī (?).

[4] MS. (B) جميعتي

[5] MS (A) reads واقع for دفع.   [6] MS (B) reads درمقابله بمقاتله.

[7] MSS (A) (B) read نهايتش for همان قدر

[8] MS. (A) reads برنيابد

[9] A footnote to the text says that the word با is superfluous, MS. (A) omits با.

[10] MS. (B) reads wrongly توضع for تواضع and متعقق for متخلق.

[11] MSS (A) (B) موهبتى.   [12] MS. (B) reads again بصيغة for نصيب.

[13] MS (A) supplies فترات

[14] نعوذ با لله من الحور بعد الكور A tradition, meaning we have recourse to God for preservation from decrease or defectiveness after increase, or redundance. See Lane s.v. حور.

Ibrāhim Khān after this [1] defeat, leaving Kalpī made straight for [2] Baiāna with all speed, and Hīmūn pursuing him arrived at Baiāna. Ibrāhīm Khān taking a body of the Nuhānī [3] and Afghān cultivators [4] and landholders of Baiāna, again [5] went out to meet Hīmūn, and, making a night attack upon him, the following morning fought a fierce battle with him near to the township of Khānwah, ten *krohs* distant from Baiāna, but could not prevail against his destiny, and Hīmūn said 'It is easy to smite a stricken foe' and rolled him up and inflicted a defeat upon him, so that [6] he was compelled to fortify himself in the fortress of Baiāna, which is a fort of exceeding loftiness and strength. Hīmūn thereupon, making that fortress the centre of his operations, attacked it continuously every day, subjecting the fort to a heavy bombardment; [7] Ghāzī Khān the father of Ibrāhīm Khān [8] kept the fort provided [9] with supplies by way of the mountain passes to the westward of Baiāna Hīmūn kept up the siege of this fort for three months, and made inroads on the districts of Baiāna on all sides, pillaging and destroying.[10] Nearly all the books which my late father [11] possessed in Basāwar [12] were destroyed. A severe famine prevailed throughout the eastern [13] portion of Hindūstān, especially in Āgra, Baiāna, and Dihlī. It was so severe a famine that one *ser* of *jawārī* [14] grain had reached two *half-tankahs*, and was in fact not to be had (even at that price). Men of wealth and position had to close their houses, and died by tens or twenties or even more in one place, getting neither grave [15] nor shroud. The Hindūs also were in the same

[1] MS. (A) این.
[2] We should read here یک انداز *yak andāz* MS (A)
[3] MSS. (A) (B).
[4] MSS. (A) (B) زرعون The text reads ارفون which has no meaning.
[5] MS. (A) داری
[6] MS. (A) تا بالضرورة.
[7] MS. (A) آتشبازي.
[8] MS. (A) omits خان.
[9] MS. (B) reads میفرستاد
[10] MS. (A) غارت کردة MS. (B) غارت می‌نمود.
[11] MSS. (A) (B) والد مرحوم.
[12] MS. (B) omits بساور.
[13] MSS. (A) (B) ممالک شرق رویه.
[14] The *ser* is approximately two pounds *Jawārī* is the Hindustānī name for the small variety of millet also known as *chhota jawār*. (*Andropogon sorghum*)
[15] MS. (A) reads in error مذکور for نه گور

plight, and the bulk of the people were *fain to live on the seeds* of the *Mughailān* thorn[1] and on wild herbs,[2] also on the skins of the oxen which the rich slaughtered and sold from time to
429. time; after a few days their hands and feet swelled[3] and they died. As a date for that year the phrase *Khashm-i-Izad*[4] (Divine wrath) was invented[5] The writer of these pages with these guilty eyes of his saw man eating his fellow-man in those terrible days. So awful was their aspect that no one dared let his glance rest upon them, and the greater part of that country, what with scarcity of rain, and shortness of grain,[6] and desolation, and what with the constant struggle and turmoil, and two years continual anarchy[7] and terror, was utterly ruined, the peasantry and tenants disappeared, and lawless crowds attacked[8] the cities of the Muslims. Among the strange[9] incidents of the year 962 H., during the time of the war between Sikandar and Ibrāhīm, was the fire which occurred in the fort of Āgra. The following is a short account of this incident. During the time when Āgra[10] was emptied of the troops of 'Adlī,[11] one of the Amīrs[12] of Ghāzī Khān Sūr entered the fort of Āgra and took up his abode there,[13] to make certain preparations and to take charge of the supplies; while he was engaged in inspecting[14] the rooms of the warehouses, he happened to go early one morning into one of the rooms,[15] and was going round[16] carrying an open lamp,[17] a spark *from which fell in one of the rooms which was full of*

1 مغيلان *Mughailān* for أم غيلان *Ummu-ghailān* According to the *Makhzanu-l-Adwiya*. This is the tree called in Hindī *kikar* or *babūl* (*Acacia Arabica*) see also Ibn Baiṭār (South) I 82, according to whom it is *Spina ægyptiaca. Mimosa gummifera* *See* also Drury, useful plants of India who states that the seeds and pods are used as food tor sheep when grain is scarce

2 حشيش جنگلي MS (B) adds بود 3 MS. (B) ورم می کردو

4 خشم ايزد *Khashm-i-Izad.* Gives the date 962. H.

5 MS. (B) يافتة شد

6 MS (B) omits غلة 7 MS. (B) omits فتنه.

8 MS. (A) omits می reading تاختند. 9 MSS. (A) (B) غرايبی.

10 MS. (B) omits آگرا 11 MS. (B) reads عدل خان 'Adl Khān

12 MS (A) reads اميري از. 13 MSS. (A) (B) قيام می نمود و.

14 MSS. (A) (B) ميديد. 15 MS (A) درون. 16 MSS. (A) (B) سيری ميکرد

17 چراغ *chirāgh* is an open lamp with a naked flame generally consisting of a small earthenware saucer of oil with a wick.

gun powder. In the twinkling of an eye an explosion occurred,[1] and the flames shot up to the sky, attended with a violent shock, which led the people of the city to imagine that the judgment-day had arrived, and starting from their sleep they began repeating the formula of *Tauḥīd* (Declaration of Unity),[2] and *Tauba*[3] (Repentance), and *Istighfār* (seeking for pardon). Heavy slabs of stone and massive pillars were hurled[4] through the air to a distance of several *krohs* across the river Jamna, and great number of people were killed,[5] in fact human hands and feet, and the limbs of all kinds of animals were thrown five or six[6] *krohs*. As the name of the citadel of Āgra was originally Badal Gaṛh, the words *Ātash-i-Badal gaṛh*[7] made a chronogram to record the date.

In the days when Hīmūn blockaded the fortress of Baiāna God's people were crying for bread and taking each other's lives,[8] a hundred thousand sacred lives were as nought for a single grain of barley, whereas the elephants of Hīmūn's army, which numbered five-hundred, were fed solely upon rice, and oil, and sugar; the senses[9] were shattered by anguish upon anguish in that terrible time :— 430.

Verse.

We cherish enemies, we also destroy friends,
What mortal has the power to question our decrees.

On one occasion Hīmūn was one day presiding at a public banquet, and summoning the Afghān Amīrs[10] into his presence,

1 آتشي در گرفت که MS. (A)

2 The formula of *Tauḥīd* is *Lā ilāha illa Allāh waḥdhu lā Sharīka lahu.* There is no god save God. He is one, He has no partner.

The other formula is *Istaghfiru-llāh wa atūbu ilaihi.* I ask pardon of God and to Him I repent.

Both these formulæ are used on occasions of sudden alarm and peril.

3 MS (B) omits وتوبة. 4 MS (B) reads نویذه instead of پریده.

5 MS. (A) تلف شد. 6 MS. (B) omits و شش MS. (A) omits و.

7 آتش بدلگڑه *Ātash-i-Badalgaṛh* The fire of Badalgaṛh. These words give the date 962 H.

8 I read here with MS. (A) نان می گفتند و جان می گرفتند. Although MS (A) also reads in the margin می دادند, the other reading is more probably correct, and is a further statement of the terrible straits to which the garrison of Baiāna were driven.

9 A footnote variant reads خلق را. MS. (A) reads عقل

10 MS (B) omits افغانان

to the head of the table[1] urged them to partake of food, saying: "Help yourselves to the largest morsels," and if he saw anyone of them eating slowly no matter who he was,[2] he would address him[3] in terms of the foulest abuse saying: "How can such a nondescript nonentity as you who are sluggish in eating your victuals hope to contend against your own son-in-law the Mughul in battle." As the fall of the Afghān power was near at hand,[4] they had not the courage to say a word to that foul infidel, and laying aside all that disregard of superior force[5] for which they were renowned, swallowed his insults[6] like sweetmeats, either from fear or hope,[7] this had become a regular practice with them.

Verse.

Lay not your hand obsequious on my foot,
Give me but bread, and brain me with your boot!

In the meanwhile news reached Hīmūn that Muḥammad Khān Sūr, Governor of Bangāla, had assumed the title of Sulṭān[8] Jalālu-d-Dīn, and was marching with an army[9] like the ants and locusts for multitude from Bangāla, and having reduced Jaunpūr was making for[10] Kālpī and Āgra. Just at this juncture an
431. urgent summons[11] arrived from 'Adlī to Hīmūn in these words "At all costs come to me at once as I am confronted by a powerful enemy" Hīmūn thereupon abandoned the siege, and when he arrived at Manḍāgar,[12] which is distant six *krohs* from Āgra, Ibrāhīm (Khān)[13] like a hungry hawk which leaves[14] its nest and pursues the crane, pounced upon him, and hurled against him in

1 MS. (B) omits سر

2 MS. (B) omits هرکه می بود.

3 MS. (A) reads برآور for بزبان (Text).

4 MS. (B) insert و unnecessarily.

5 I read here جهل دستبرد. *Jahl-i-dastburd* instead of the textual reading MS. (A) gives reason to think that this is correct, it reads جهل دستبرة which making allowance for conversion of د into ة in writing gives the reading adopted. The textual reading has no meaning

6 MSS (A) (B) دشنام اورا.

7 MS. A omits از امید.

8 MS (B) omits سلطان.

9 MS. (A) omits عظیم.

10 MS (A) شده.

11 Omit نیز. MS. (A).

12 MS (A) reads سدآکر. *Mandākar* MS (B) منڈاگرة *Maudāgarh.*

13 MSS. (A) (B) omit خان

14 MS (B) reads پریدة

battle, but being defeated went towards Alwar. Then, after obtaining[1] reinforcements from Hāji Khān Alwari,[2] he again set about[3] accomplishing his own objects, and Hīmūn detailed[4] his brother's son named Thar Yāl[5] with a fully equipped army to pursue him. Thar Yāl[6] marching with restless haste pursued Ibrāhīm for two stages, and joined Hīmūn; Hāji Khān was not pleased at Ibrāhīm's coming, nor would he send him any assistance. Ibrāhīm being disheartened[7] turned aside, and bidding farewell to his father, brothers, and all his blood-relations, left them in Hindūn, and, with a small band of followers took the road to Bhatta. Eventually Ghāzī Khān a short time after, fell a prisoner into the hands of Ḥaidar Khān Chaghta in Baiāna, relying upon assurances,[8] and great and small of his party were put to death, and not a single one of that line was left, as will be related in its proper place,[9] if God Most High so will it; and now that kingdom and empire, and the independence of that family have become as an idle tale. How wonderful are the ways of God!

Masnavī.

The world is a juggler decrepit and bowed,
It brings to pass one thing but promises another;
It calls you with kindness but drives you away with rancour;
All its dealings are invariably of this nature.
If it calls you know not whither it calls you,
If it drives you forth you know not whither it drives you.
All of us, old and young, are destined to death,
No one can remain in the world for ever.

Inasmuch as everyone liked Ibrāhīm Khān who was considered by all to have a wonderful fortune in store for him, in a short time large numbers gathered to him from all parts. He fought 432
with the army[10] of Rām Chand, the ruler of Bhatta, but was

1 كومک گرفته. MS. (A) reads كومک كوفته.
2 MS. (B) omits الوری. 3 MS. (B) كرد 4 MS. (A) فرمود.
5 MS. (B) reads نهرپال Nahar pāl.
6 MS. (B) reads نهرپال Nahar pāl
7 Read here نا امید MS (A) reads تومید (?). MS. (B) نومید.
8 MS (A) reads تعهد 9 MS (A) reads محکم for محل.
10 Read بفوج. MS (A), for بقنوج

forced to flee[1] and was taken prisoner. Rājā Rām Chand, in accordance with the customs of landholders,[2] made him a present of a bow, and treated him with the utmost honour and respect,[3] and in a personal interview[4] presented him with a royal tent, with the apparatus of royalty, and attendants: then seating him upon the throne, standing humbly as a servant, performed the offices of attendance.

Ibrāhīm Khān[5] spent some time there, till Bāz Bahādur the son of Sazāwal Khān, Ruler of Mālwa, who eventually read the *Khuṭbah* in that country, became involved in a quarrel with the Miyānī Afghāns, who summoned Ibrāhīm Khān[6] and raising him to the supreme command, sent him against[7] Bāz Bahādur. Rānī Durgāwatī the ruler of the country[8] of Kara Katanka also, who was embroiled with Bāz Bahādur on account of the proximity of her kingdom, rose up[9] to assist Ibrāhīm, and went out to fight against Bāz Bahādur, who made overtures for peace[10] and dissuaded the Rānī from assisting Ibrāhīm. She, accordingly, returned to her own country, and Ibrāhīm, not considering it advisable to remain there any longer, went off bag and baggage to Orissa, which is the boundary of Bangāla, and lived on good terms with the *zamīndārs*. Suleimān Karrānī, when he took possession[11] (of Orissa), made terms with the Rājā, and sending for Ibrāhīm with assurances of safety, slew him treacherously in the year 975 H.

Verse.

Fix not thy heart on this world, for it has no foundation,
Speak not of life, for that too is ruined.
The tent of life which thou placedst at first,
Death[12] will surely uproot, were it of solid steel.

1 MS., (A) omits فرار نموده.
2 MS (B) reads است for میباشد
3 MS. (B) omits و آداب MS. (A) reads ادب.
4 MSS. (A) (B) دید.
5 MS. (A) omits خان.
6 MS. (A) omits خان.
7 Read سرداددند MSS (A) (B), for سپردند (Text).
8 MS (B) omits ولایت
9 MS. (A) برخاست و.
10 MS (A) reads استیلا
11 MS. (B) reads wrongly درمقدمات.
12 اجل. MS. (A) reads حل.

Hīmūn proceeded by rapid marches till he joined 'Adlī [1]

'Adlī and Muḥammad Khān Gauria were at that time sitting down over against one another, with the river Jamna between them, at a place called Chhappar Khatta, fifteen *krohs* from Kalpi. 433

Gauria, confidently relying upon his superior force to overcome the forces of 'Adlī, had drawn up his cavalry and infantry and elephants to a number surpassing all computation, and was every moment [2] expecting victory, when suddenly the scale turned against him, and Hīmūn swept down upon him like a comet, and no sooner did he reach the ranks of the picked elephants after crossing the river Jamna,[3] than he swooped down upon the army of Gauria, taking them unawares as does the army of Sleep, and making a night-assault gave no one time so much as to lift his hand.

They were in such utter confusion [4] that no man knew his head from his heels, nor his turban from his shoes. The greater part of his Amīrs were slain, while the remnant who escaped chastisement took to flight. The wretched Gauria was so effectually concealed that up to the present not a trace of him has been found, and all that retinue and paraphernalia of royalty [5] and grandeur became "like the scattered moths and like flocks of carded wool,"[6] and became in a moment the portion of the enemy. The kingdom is God's, the greatness is God's.

Verse.

In one moment, in one instant, in one breath,[7]
The condition of the world becomes altered.

After this heaven-given victory and unforeseen triumph, 'Adlī proceeded to Chunhār and appointed Hīmūn,[8] who who was the commander-in-chief of his army, with abundant treasure and a countless host, elephants of renown, an ornament to the army

[1] MS (A) عدل [2] MSS (A) (B) read دمبدم The text reads درميدان.

[3] MS (A) omits پاياب

[4] Literally: Crying, where shall I put the cup, where shall I put the case?

[5] MS (A) omits سلطنت و

[6] Qur'ān II. 4

[7] MSS. (A) (B) read بيک ساعت بيک لحظه بيک دم. MS (B) reads لمحه for لحظه.

[8] MS (A) هيمون را

and a terror to the enemy, to repel the forces of the Mughul which had taken possession of the country as far as Itāwa and Āgra, as will be presently related if God Most High so will it.

Just at this juncture Khiẓr Khān, the son[1] of Muḥammad Khān Gauria, who had been killed, succeeded his father in Kor,[2] issuing the currency and reading the *Khuṭbah* in his own name, with the style and title of Sulṭān (Muḥammad)[3] Bahādur, and collecting a huge army to revenge his father's death, came up against
434. 'Adlī, who notwithstanding his distress[4] fought bravely on that field, and contrary to expectation met with fierce resistance. After fighting manfully 'Adlī was killed, and joined Muḥammad Khān whose life-blood was yet freshly spilled, fighting in hot blood. This event occurred in the year 962 H. and *Gauria bikusht*[5] was its chronogram.

Verse.

My soul, do thou look at the world and take what it gives to thy heart's desire;
Live at thine ease therein a thousand years like Nūḥ.[6]
Every treasure and every store which kings have laid by,
That treasure and that store seize[7] and take for thine own.
Every pleasure which the world contains do thou consider as made for thee;
Every fruit which grows in the world[8] do thou taste and take.
In the final round which brings the end of thy life,
A hundred times seize the back of thy hand with thy teeth and gnaw it (in despair).

[1] MS. (B) reads و for ولد

[2] MS (A) omits در کور

[3] MSS. (A) (B) omit محمد.

[4] The text reads با وجود آن تنگدلی. MS. (A) reads تندگی (sic) MS. (B) reads تندگی The meaning is not very clear

[5] گوریه بکشت *Gauria bikusht.* A footnote to the text points out that these words give 963 as the date. Thomas (*Pathān Kings*, p. 416) gives 964 H. as the date of 'Adlī's death.

[6] A footnote variant gives چرخ.

[7] MS. (B) reads دست for چنگ.

[8] MSS. (A) (B) read بدنیا for بعالم

'Adlī was so highly skilled in singing and dancing that Miyān Tānsīn, the well-known *kalān-wat*[1] who is a past master in this art[2] used to own to being his pupil, and Bāz Bahādur, son of Sazāwal Khān, who was also one of the most gifted men of his age and had no equal in this life-wasting accomplishment acquired the art (of music) from 'Adlī.

Verse.

They owned no rival, but surpassed them all,
May God *He is exalted and glorified*, pardon them.

One day a performer from the Dakhan brought into his assembly an instrument called *pakhāwaj*,[3] which is in length[4] equal to the height of a man, so large that the hands of no man could reach[5] the two ends of it, as a sort of challenge to those who were present, and all[6] the performers of the kingdom of Dihlī were unable to play it; 'Adlī, however, found out by his knowledge of other instruments how to play it, and placing a cushion on the floor beat[7] the drum now with his hand and now with his foot. The assembled people raised a shout and all the skilled musicians owned their allegiance to him, and praised him exceedingly, and at the time when he was an Amīr, and as a commander of twenty-thousand held a *jāegīr*,[8] a Bhagat boy[9] handsome and comely who had acquired perfection in his art, used to come to his assembly from some of the villages near Badāon, and used to play.[10] 'Adlī was so fascinated by his beauty and skill that he kept him in his own service and took pains to educate him, giving him the name of Mujāhid Khān.[11] When he attained to kingly power 435.

1 *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī I, (B) 612, *note* 1. *Kalān-wat* or *Kalāwant* is a Hindī word meaning a singer or musician MS. (A) reads كلاونت *Kalān want*

2 Badāonī uses the word وادي *wādī* a valley or desert, apparently to shew his disapproval of the art.

3 A large kind of drum. *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (J.) III, 255

4 MS. (B) reads كلاني for درازي.

5 MS. (A) رسيد

6 MS (A) omits همه

7 MS. (A) omits مى.

8 MS (A) reads here اهاون *Ahāwan* MS (B) reads اجاون *Ajāwan* So also footnote variant to text.

9 بهكت پسري. The Bhagatiya are "a caste of loose people who pass their time in buffoonery, singing and dancing" Sherring I, 276

10 MSS. (A) (B) بازي كرد.

11 MS (A) خان.

he made him a commander of ten thousand. His natural elegance and refinement were such that one day upon returning from the polo ground of Badāon [1] he said, "I am hungry." Ghāzī Khān Sūr whose tent [2] was at the head of the road said "What I have ready is at your service." 'Adlī, for politeness sake, felt constrained to accept his hospitality; first they brought some fried sheep's liver.[3] No sooner had he smelt it than he leapt from his seat, and was so disgusted that he left the company [4] and drew rein nowhere till he reached his house; they say also that the sweepers used to gather up the remains of camphor of the finest quality two or three times daily from his dressing-room, and whenever a necessity arose [5] he would first grow red, then pale and livid,[6] and would faint while his countenance changed. In spite of all this leisure and luxuriousness, his fasts and prayers were never duly
436 performed; [7] he had entirely given up the use of intoxicants, and the day he left the world the treacherous time even grudged him two yards of cloth, and it was never known where his corpse went.[8]

Verse.

Oh ye lords of wealth beware! beware!
And you, ye lords of state, beware! beware! [9]

After him, the kingdom fell away from the race of Afghāns and returned to its original holders, and right once more became established.

1 The text reads اجاون with a footnote variant بداون MSS. (A) (B) read بداون.

2 MS. (B) omits كه ذيره.

3 MS. (A) قلية پوتي. The text reads بوتي meaning scraps of meat

4 The text reads غشيان *ghashyān*. MS. (A) reads غثيان *ghasayān*. If we take the reading of the text it will be 'he felt faint'

5 تقاضاى گرفت MS (A).　　6 برمي آمد MS. (A).

7 MS (A) قضاشدن.

8 He was, as has been described, killed in battle

9 MS (A) reads خداوند مال in the first line, and خداوندان حال in the second MS. (B) reads حال in the first and مال in the second

Nasiru-d-Din Muhammad Humayun Padshah Ghazi,

Returning from Kābul, a second time fought a fierce battle with Sikandar, and being favoured by fortune[1] with victory and conquest, restored to the imperial throne fresh lustre, glory and fortune. The following is an epitome of these events: After that the kingdom of Hindūstan slipped from the grasp of that Pādshāh glorious as Jamshīd, like the ring from the hand of Suleimān,[2] and the opposition and strife between his brothers was not changed to amity and concord,[3] and each one took his own way and sought his own asylum, considering his own interests by consultation with advisers, as has already been briefly related,[4] Humāyūn crossed from the Panjāb and attempted to seize Bakkar,[5] making his camp at the township of Lohri,[6] which is near to Bakkar. Mīrzā Hindāl having left Sind proceeded to the township of Pāṇtar,[7] which is fifty *krohs* distant from Bakkar, on account of the abundance and cheapness of grain. Humāyūn sent a robe of honour and a horse with a message to Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn, governor of Tatta, saying, "I have arrived here driven by necessity and have fully determined upon the conquest of Gujrāt,[8] and this undertaking is dependent upon your advice and guid- 437.
ance." Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain spent five or six months[9] in temporising, and brought Humāyūn by specious pretexts from the Bakkar territory to the neighbourhood of Tatta, with the intention of doing whatever might be advisable later on.

1 A footnote says that one copy gives مستعده. MS. (B) has this reading.

2 *See ante* p. 205, *note* 3.

3 Read ایتلاف for ایلاف, MSS. (A) (B).

4 MS. (A) omits در.

5 See Hunter, *Imp. Gas., Ind.*, Vol. III, also Tieff. I, 117, Bukkur. See *Proceedings*, A. S. B., April, 1895, p. 69.

6 See Hunter, *Imp. Gas., Ind.*, Vol. XI, Rohri. Firishta writes لهری *Luhrī*. *See* Bombay text, p. 409.

7 MSS (A) (B) read پاتر *Pātar*. I can find no mention of any place of this name

8 MS. (B) reads فتح گجرات مصمم و این مرقوف الخ. Firishta says "asked for assistance in the conquest of Gujrāt," Bombay text, p 409.

9 Omit و, read پنج شش MSS. (A) (B).

In this year, 948 H.,[1] Humāyūn married Ḥamida Bānū Begam, and coming to Pāṭar returned to Lohrī. Mīrzā Hindāl started for Qandahār in answer to the summons of Qarācha Beg,[2] the governor of that district, and Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā, who had encamped at a distance of ten *krohs* from (Humāyūn's) camp also intended to proceed to Qandahār. Humāyūn thereupon sent Mīr Abūl-Baqā,[3] who was one of the most distinguished of the learned men of the time, Persian commentator on Mīr Saiyyid Sharīf, and author of other compositions, to advise him and dissuade him from his purpose, [4] At the time of crossing the river a party sallied out from the fortress of Bakkar and rained showers of arrows upon the people in the boats. The sainted Mīr was struck by the soul-melting arrow of Fate, and was drowned [5] in the ocean of martyrdom. This event took place in the year 948 H. and the chronogram *Surūr-i-kāināt* [6] was invented to commemorate it.

Mīrzā Yadgār Nāsir hearkened to this advice and counsel and remained in Bakkar, and Humāyūn proceeded to Tatta, whereupon many of his soldiers left his camp and joined Mīrzā (Yādgār) and spent their days [7] in comfort by reason of the increased pay they received. In this way Mīrzā gathered strength, and Humāyūn crossing the river laid siege to the fortress of Sīyāhwān [8] Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain kept sending [9] reinforcements

1 The text reads 947 H. (۹۴۷) نهصد و چهل و هفت with a footnote saying that one MS. reads 948 H and another نهصد و چهل و هفت و هشت 947–948 MSS. (A) (B) both read 948 H. and this is the correct date.

2 MSS (A) (B) روان شد Firishta, Qarācha Khān, Bombay text, p 409

3 MSS. (A) (B) read میر ابوالبقا MS. (A) omits را

4 MSS. (A) (B) add و. 5 MS. (A) شد.

6 سرور کائنات *Surūr-i-kāinät*. Joy of created things These words give the date 948 H.

7 MS. (A) گذرانید MS (B) گذرانیدند.

8 Firishta says سهوان *Sihwān*. Sihwān or Sehwān is in the Karāchi district of Sind, lat 26° 26′ N. long 67° 54′ E. The river Indus formerly flowed close to the town but has now quite deserted it The fort of Sehwān is ascribed to Alexander the Great. *See* Hunter *Imp. Gaz*, XII 305, but Tieffenthaler (I. 123) attributes it to Ḥusain, son of Shāhbeg Arghūn.

9 MSS (A) (B) آزوقه.

and supplies[1] to the garrison,[2] and embarking on a boat,
and[3] coming near to the camp blocked the avenues of supplies (to
Humāyūn). The siege lasted for seven months, and victory seemed
as far off as ever, while great distress was felt from scarcity of 438.
grain[4] and want of salt.[5]

Verse.

Every feast which is prepared[6] by the hand of heaven
Is either altogether without salt or is altogether so salt (as
to be uneatable).

The soldiers were reduced to such extremities,[7] that they were forced to give up grain and content themselves with the flesh of animals, and finally[8] they had to abandon the hope of even this.

Verse.

The hungry-bellied fastened his eyes on skins,
For fur is the near neighbour of flesh.

Then he sent messengers a second time to Bakkar to summon Mirzā[9] Yādgār Nāṣir, so that in conjunction with him he might repel Mirzā Shāh Ḥusain and gain possession of the fort. He sent a reinforcement, which was however of no service,[10] and hearing of the distress which prevailed in the camp he saw no good in going there, so remained in Bakkar.[11] Mirzā Shāh Ḥusain played upon his ambition by false promises of the rule of that kingdom, and of having the *Khuṭbah* read and the currency issued in his name; he also promised to obey him, and also that he would give him his daughter in marriage, and thus misled him into

1 MS. (B) می فرستاد.

2 This is the statement of one author, but Firishta says "The siege lasted for seven months. Mirzā Shāh Husain Arghūn also came with boats and blocked the road by which supplies of grain came, in consequence of so great scarcity of food ensued that they had to live on the flesh of animals." Bombay text, 409.

3 MSS. (A) (B) و.

4 MS. (B) قحطي غله.

5 بی نمکي

6 Footnote variant دست ساز

7 MS. (A) omits سر.

8 Text reads آخر. MS (B) reads اکثرے را most of them.

9 MS. (B) omits میرزا.

10 MSS. (A) (B) read نیاید

11 Footnote variant بهکر *Bakkar*

opposing Humāyūn.[1] He further took possession of all[2] the boats belonging to Humāyūn, who, in consequence of all these obstacles, any one of which was a sufficient reason,[3] seeing the distress and misery of his army, abandoned the siege[4] of the fortress, and all unwillingly saying, "Retreat is the wisest course," turned back towards Bakkar, and remaining several days inactive for want of boats, at last by the help of two *zamīndārs* recovered two boats which Mīrzā had sunk, and reached[5] Bakkar. Mīrzā, as a means of covering[6] the shame he felt, before he came to pay his
439. respects,[7] marched by forced marches against Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain, and putting to death or taking captive large number of the people of Tatta, who in ignorance of his intentions had left their boats,[8] did a good deal to repair[9] his former defections. Then with shame and confusion he came and had an interview (with Humāyūn) and brought in countless heads of the enemy. His faults were overlooked, but in consequence of certain events which occurred, he again became rebellious, and being deceived by the wiles of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain, prepared for war. Mun'im Khān who eventually became *Khān-i-Khānān* also meditated[10] flight. Both of them, however, became[11] aware of the folly of their design, and realising its heinousness abandoned their iniquitous intention. The men of Humāyūn's force were day by day going over to the side[12] of Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir. In the meantime Maldeo, Rāja of the kingdom[13] of Mārwār, who was distinguished above all the *zamīndārs* of Hindūstān on account of the strength of his following[14] and his exceeding grandeur, again sent letters of summons. Humāyūn not thinking it advisable to remain[15] any longer in the vicinity of Bakkar and Tatta, proceeded by way of Jaisalmīr towards Mārwār. The Rāja of

1 MS. (A) reads با پادشاه مخالفت ساخت

2 MS (A) omits بتمام

3 Thus the text MS (A) reads که کدام علتي مستقل بود از براى ويراني لشکر.

4 MS (A) ازسرقلعه. 5 MS (B) رسيد

6 MSS. (A) (B) دفع. 7 Footnote variant بدفع,

8 MS (B) reads از کشتي بدر آمده بودند. 9 MS (B) reads تلافي.

10 MS (B) ارادهٔ. 11 MS (B) مطلع شد.

12 MS (B) جانب. 13 MSS. (A) (B) ملک,

14 Omit و read قوت جمعيت MSS. (A) (B).

15 MS. (A) omits خود after بودن,

Jaisalmīr blocked the road by which his army was to pass, and fought a battle in which he was defeated. In that waterless desert Humāyūn's army suffered terrible distress, so much so that [1] around the wells blood was spilled in place of water among his followers, and most of them [2] from the violence of their thirst cast themselves into the well as though they had been buckets, till it became choked.

In this state of affairs Humāyūn quoted the following *maṭla'*, whoever is the author of it:—

Verse.

So many rents did the heavens make in the garments of the afflicted ones,
That neither could the hand find its sleeve, nor could the head find its opening.

From Jaisalmīr proceeding by forced marches to Mārwār he sent Atka Khān to [3] Māldeo, and halted for several days in the vicinity [4] of Jodhpūr, awaiting his arrival. Inasmuch as in those [5] days, Nāgor had fallen into the hands of Sher Shāh, and [6] had inspired Māldeo with the utmost awe of the majesty and power of Humāyūn; accordingly Māldeo, fearing the wrath of Sher Shāh, [7] was afraid to obey that summons, and detaining Atka Khān by some trick, sent a large force under the pretence of welcoming him, with the intention of treacherously attacking Humāyūn and taking him prisoner [8] Atka Khān [becoming 440.

[1] MS. (A) چنانکه

[2] A footnote reads: بحدي كه تشنه لبان از فرط عطش خود را الخ To such a height (did their sufferings rise) that the thirsty-lipped ones from excess of hunger (cast) themselves (into the wells). MS. (B) has this reading omitting the word لبان.

[3] MSS (A) (B) نزد.

[4] MS (B) omits نواحي.

[5] MS. (A) omits ین writing درایام.

[6] MS (A) و.

[7] A footnote variant to the text, agreeing with MS. (B) runs thus

از خوف غضب شیر شاه ملاحظه نموده ازان طلب

This is the reading adopted. it seems preferable

[8] This is according to the text A footnote variant (and MS. (B)) reads

بقصد غدر و مکر کمر عناد محکم بسته بطلب پادشاه فرستاد

Sent...with treacherous design, and girding the loins of rebellion"

aware of their treachery from its outset] [1] returned without asking permission, and informed Humāyūn of the real state of affairs. He on the instant started with all haste for Amarkoṭ. It so chanced that two of Māldeo's spies had arrived at that same place, and Humāyūn gave orders for them both to be put to death. In their despair one drew a knife, and the other a dagger,[2] and fell upon (their enemies) like boars wounded by arrows, and killed [3] a large number of living things,[4] men, women and horses, whatever came in their way [5] Among the number was Humāyūn's charger. Humāyūn thereupon asked Tardi Beg for a few horses and camels,[6] he however behaved meanly, and Humāyūn mounted a camel. After a while [7] Nadīm, his foster-brother,[8] gave the horse which his mother was riding to the king, he himself going on foot in his mother's retinue through that bare desert, which was like an oven for heat.[9] His mother afterwards rode on the camel, and they traversed that road [10] which was so terribly difficult, amid constant [11] alarms of the attack of Māldeo, [and with intense labour and distress.[12] In the middle of
441. the night they reached a place of safety, by chance the Hindūs of Māldeo's army] [13] pursuing them through the night, missed their

1 The words in brackets are not in MSS (A) (B)

2 Read کارد یکي و خنجر دیگری کشیده MS (A).

3 هلاک ساختند و بقتل رسانیدند. MS (A) This is the preferable reading

4 Read جانداران for معاندان MSS (A) (B)

5 هرچه پیش مي آمد. MS. (B) آید. MS (A).

6 This is the reading of the text. MS (A) reads جند است شیر (sic).
Firishta says that Humāyūn's horse shewed signs of tiring, (سستي نمود) so that he asked Tardi Beg for a horse, who unkindly refused, and as every moment tidings kept arriving that Māldeo's army was near at hand, Humāyūn had no alternative but to mount a camel (Bo Text, p. 410.)

7 Text تا آنکه. MS. (A) omits Firishta writes با آنکه whereupon.

8 Firishta writes ندیم کوکهٔ خود.

9 Firishta gives a slightly different version of this: stating that Nadīm himself went on foot and placed his mother on his own horse leading it, afterwards mounting her on a camel. (Bo text *loc cit*).

10 MS (A) آن راه را MS (B) reads روز.

11 MSS (A) (B) omit و هردم

12 Omit راه after مشقت. MS. (A)

13 All this passage from بود to شاشب is omitted in MS. (B).

way,[1] and in the morning, in a narrow pass, came upon the rearguard of the army, who were two and twenty in number. Mun'im Khān and Roshan Beg[2] Koka, and another[3] party of men who belonged to that side having arrived, a battle ensued. In the very first onset the leader of the Hindūs went to hell from an arrow-wound, and a large number were killed. They could not withstand the attack, and many camels fell into the hands of the Muslims. This victory was the occasion of great rejoicing.[4] Marching from thence and being without water,[5] after three days they arrived at a halting-place, where, on account of its depth[6] a drum had to be beaten at the mouth of the well, so that its sound might reach the place where the oxen for drawing the water were.[7] For lack of water, a crowd of people in their distress were lost, and[8] disappeared like water in that sandy plain, which was a very river of quicksand, while many horses and camels

1 According to our author's account it seems as though Māldeo's men lost their way, but Firishta's account is as follows "When the tidings of the approach of the infidels arrived Humāyūn ordered certain of his officers who were with him to follow him in close succession, while he himself started with a small party of not more than twenty-five, when night came on the officers lost their way and went in another direction, towards morning the ranks of the enemy's army became visible, and in accordance with (Humāyūn's) orders Shaikh 'Alī and the rest who were in all not more than twenty-five men repeated the creed, then turned and with stout heart gave battle. Fortunately the very first arrow struck the leader of the infidels in the breast, he fell headlong to the earth and the rest fled The Muslims pursued them and captured many camels Humāyūn returned thanks to God and alighted at a well which contained a little water where the Amirs who had lost their way came up."

2 MS. (A) omits بیگ 3 MS. (A) omits دیگر.

4 MS. (A) reads خوشوقتی.

5 آب برداشته, is the reading of the text and both MSS (A) (B) but it does not tally with Firishta who writes "Marching thence, for three stages water was absolutely unprocurable, and the people were in great distress, on the fourth day they reached a well, &c" Perhaps we should read از آب برداشته. Putting up with the want of water.

6 MS. (A) omits آب.

7 The rope was so long that before the bucket reached the mouth of the well the oxen used to draw it up, had gone so far that the sound of a drum was necessary to warn their drivers that they must stop MS (A) reads گاو آبکش بود میرسید also دهل for دهلي.

8 MS. (B) omits و غايب

drinking water after their long and unaccustomed drouth, died[1] from surfeit of water. And inasmuch as that desert, like the midday mirage,[2] was as interminable as the troubles of the hapless[3] wretches of the army, perforce they turned aside by a circuitous route[4] towards Amarkoṭ, which lies at a distance of a hundred *krohs* from Tatta The governor of Amarkoṭ, named Rānā, came out to meet them accompanied by his sons, and did all in his power[5] to render fitting service.

Humāyūn bestowed[6] all that he had in the treasury upon his followers, while to supply the party who had not yet arrived,[7] he borrowed from Tardī Beg and others by way of assistance, and gave it them He also made presents of money, and sword-belts[8] to the sons of Rānā, who, for the reason that his father had been put to death by Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn, collected a large force[9] from the surrounding country,[10] entered the service of Humāyūn, and leaving his baggage and camp equipage in[11] Amarkoṭ under the care and protection of Khwāja Mu'zam, the brother of Begam,[12] he (Humāyūn) proceeded towards Bakkar.[13]

2. On Sunday, the fifth of the month Rajab, in the year 949 H the auspicious birth of the Khalīfah of the age Akbar Pādshāh occurred in a fortunate moment at Amarkoṭ. Tardī Beg Khān conveyed this joyful tidings to Humāyūn at that halting-place, who after giving (the child) that auspicious name,[14] proceeded

1 MS. (A) هلاک گشتند

2 سراب MS. (A) reads سیراب

3 بلادیدگان اردو The calamity stricken of the army

4 راه گردانید I can see no other meaning for this expression

5 MS (A) reads حسب المقدر MS (B) reads حسب مقدور.

6 MSS (A) (B) بخشش فرمودند.

7 MS (A) که نرسیده

8 کمر خنجر. MS (A).

9 MSS (A) (B) omit را.

10 از اطراف کرده اورده. MS (B). The text is correct

11 MSS (A) (B) در

12 MSS (A) (B) omit پادشاه

13 It was now that Akbar was born, according to Firishta, before Humāyūn left for Bakkar. See Bo text, p 411. Briggs, II 95, but from our author's text it appears that Humāyūn had left Amarkoṭ before his son was born, and only saw him at Jhanī

14 The text and both MSS (A) (B) read این نام سعادت فرجام مانده which is not capable of satisfactory interpretation. It is suggested that we should read نهاده instead of مانده

with all haste towards Bakkar. At the camp of Chaul [1] he sent for the Prince of auspicious mien, and was rejoiced by the well-omened sight of his son. His soldiers, in whose nature the craft of unfaithfulness was as firmly planted as is deceit in the nature of the times, were one by one, including even Mun'im Khān, deserting.[2] At this time Bairām Khān [3] came from Gujrāt and tendered his allegiance. Considering it unadvisable to remain in that country Humāyūn determined to make for Qandahār. Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain thinking this an opportunity not to be lost, in accordance with a requisition [4] sent thirty boats and three hundred camels, and Humāyūn crossed the river Indus. At that time Mīrzā Kāmrān[5] had taken Qandahār [6] from Mīrzā Hindāl and had left it in charge of Mīrzā 'Askarī, and having given Ghaznīn to Mīrzā Hindāl had read the *Khuṭbah* in his own name. After some time, however, he changed that also.[7] Mīrzā Hindāl having given up all royal dignity in Kābul used to live like a *darvesh*,[8] and Mīrzā Kāmrān yielding to the instigation of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain wrote to Mīrzā 'Askarī saying, "Seize the road by which the Pādshāh will proceed and take him prisoner in any way you can contrive." Accordingly when he arrived at the camp of Shāl Mastāng,[9] Mīrzā 'Askarī [10] marched by forced marches from

1 چول *Chaul* or Chore, a village situated on the route from Amarkot to Jaisalmīr, eight miles north-east of the former place. *See* Thornton's *Gazetteer*, I. p. 148, and map. Lat. 25° 25′ Long. 69° 51′ See also Keith Johnston's Atlas

2 MSS. (A) (B) .با مدعم خان نیز یکان یکان فراري نمودند. So also Firishta who says " But after a short time the army began to scatter and nothing could be accomplished, Mun'im Khān also fled, &c."

3 *See* Āin-i-Akbarī, I. (B) 315, No 10.

4 MS. (B) omits حسب.

5 MS (B) omits میرزا کامران.

6 MS. (A) omits را

7 MS. (A) reads .آنرا نیز تغیر نمودة. MS. (B) reads .آنرا تغیر نمودند.

8

9 The text reads شال مشانگ *Shāl Mashāng*, but both MSS. (A) (B) read سال مستان منزل اردو بود *Sāl Mastān manzil-i-Urdū būd*. Firishta Bo. text, p. 411, line 10 reads سال وهسنان *Sāl Wahsanān*, which is probably a copyist's error for شال و مستان *Shāl-o-Mastān* We should therefore read Shāl-o-Mastāng, understanding by it Mustung which lies S. S W. of Quetta or Shāl, at a distance of about 25 miles *See* Thornton's *Gazetteer*, II. pp 66 and 188. The distance from Qandahār to Shāl is about 150 miles.

10 A footnote variant reads میرزا هنداں *Mīrzā Hindāl* Not in MS (A) or (B).

Qandahār and sent Chūlī[1] Bahādur Uzbakī to reconnoitre.[2] He however, went straight off and informed Bairām Khān, whose camp he reached at midnight, and Bairām Khān went with all
443. haste behind the royal tent and represented the state of affairs. Accordingly he gave up all idea of Qandahār and Kābul, and in opposition to his brothers, uttering the formula[3] of separation, took the road to 'Irāq, accompanied by twenty-two men, among whom were Bairām Khān and Khwāja Mu'azzam. These two he sent to bring the Queen-consort and the young prince, asking Tardī Beg for the loan of a few horses, who, however, again branding himself[4] with the stigma of meanness and disgrace, refused to comply with this request, and further declined to accompany him. Humāyūn left the young Prince, who was an infant of only one year, in the camp under the charge[5] of Atkah Khān[6] on account of the great heat and the scarcity of water along his route, but took the Queen-consort[7] with him and journeyed by way of Sīstān.

Mīrzā 'Askarī just then arrived at the royal camp,[8] and alighting and tearing the veil of humanity from the face of modesty, set about appropriating the valuables. He also placed Tardī Beg[9] in rigorous confinement, and carried off the young

[1] Footnote variant جوكي *Jūkī.*

[2] MSS. (A) (B) فرستاده. MS. (B) omits كيري.

[3] MS. (A) omits كلمة. *See* Qur'ān xviii. 77.

[4] MS (B) reads كشوده for كشيده

[5] اتابكي *atabakī.* The word *atābak* or *atābek* is a Turkī word signifying "grand-père, precepteur, instituteur du fils des Sulṭāns" (Pavet de Courteille),

[6] Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Atgah Khān *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī I (Bl.) 321. No 15, where we learn that it was he who assisted Humāyūn to escape drowning after the defeat of Qanauj. Humāyūn attached him to his service, and subsequently appointed his wife wet nurse (*anāqah*) to Prince Akbar at Amarkot, conferring upon her the title of Jī Jī Anūgah."

The word انا *anā* means a mother in Turki, while اناكه *anākah* or اناكا *anākā* means a nurse, as اتا *atā* means a father ; the word اتاكه *atākah* would mean foster father, and this is probably the name given to Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad, not Atgah or Atka

[7] MS (B) omits پادشاه after بيگم. MSS (A) (B) read گرفتند for بردند.

[8] ديوانخانهٔ عالي *Dīwān Khāna-i-'Alī.*

[9] The words بحكم do not seem to convey any definite meaning, we should perhaps read بتحلم *be hilm*

Prince [1] to Qandahār, and handed him over to Sulṭān Begam, his own wife, with injunctions to take every care for his kind treatment and protection.[2] In that journey important events took place,[3] which, although they were fully and elaborately detailed in the original,[4] do not admit of relation in this place; and must be rapidly passed over as he did that long stretch of road. These events took place in the year 950 H. (1543 A.D.). In short, leaving Sistān and journeying to the city of Khurāsān, he had an interview with Sulṭān Muhammad Mīrzā, the elder son of Shāh Ṭahmasp, who held the rule of that country under the tutelage [5] of Muḥammad Khān Taklū,[6] and receiving all the necessaries of royalty, and requisites for his journey,[7] with all honour and ceremony reached the sacred city of Mashhad (Meshed); and at each succes- 444
sive stage, by order of the Shāh, the governors of the provinces hastened to welcome him, and made all preparations for entertaining him and shewing him hospitality, escorting him from stage to stage Bairām Khān proceeded to do homage to the Shāh, and brought with him thence a letter congratulating Humāyūn upon his arrival. The two monarchs met at Pulāq-Surīq [8] and exchanged the customary honours and courtesies.

In the course of conversation the Shāh asked what had led to his defeat; Humāyūn incautiously [9] replied 'The opposition of my brothers.' Bahrām Mīrzā, the brother of the Shāh, who was

[1] MSS. (A) (B) omit را.   [2] Omit و MSS (A) (B)

[3] روی داد MS (A).

[4] MSS. (A) (B) دُرنسخهٔ اصل That is to say, in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. See *Elliot* and *Dowson*, V 217, *et seqq*

[5] اتاليقي *Atālīqī*. The termination *liq*, *ligh*, *lūq*, or *lūgh*, indicates either relationship, as in this instance, an abstraction, as in چو قلوق *chūqlūq*, abundance; or possession. *See* Pavet de Courteille *s v.*

The word *patronage* would more etymologically represent *atālīqī*, but in modern usage this word has become perverted from its true sense.

[6] Called by Nizāmu-d-Dīn, Ahmad Muhammad Khān Sharfu-d-Dīn Ughlī Taklū (E. and D, v. 217) The word تكلو *Taklū* means "eau qui coule d'une vallée et des flancs d'une montagne; lieux humides et verdoyants" (P de C).

[7] MS (B) reads ديده و ما يحتاج سلطنت گرفته This reading is also given as a variant in a footnote to the text

[8] The text has نيلاق سورتق (Sic) (? ايلاق) *Ilāq Sūrtaq*, but both MSS. (A) (B) read پلاق سوريق *Pulāq Sūrīq*

[9] MSS. (A) (B) omit the article, reading خالي ذهن.

present, was grieved at this speech, and from that day[1] forth sowed the seeds of enmity against Humāyūn in his heart, and set himself to overthrow his enterprise, [nay more to overthrow Humāyūn himself as well],[2] and impressed upon Shāh Tahmasp, saying, "This is the son of that self-same father who taking so many thousand Qizilbāsh soldiers to reinforce his army, caused them to be trampled under foot by the Ōzbaks, so that not one of them escaped alive"[3] This was a reference[4] to that affair in which Bābar Pādshāh took Najm-i-Awwal from Shāh Isma'īl[5] with seventeen thousand Qizilbāsh cavalry,[6] and led them as an auxiliary force against the Ōzbaks, and at the time of the siege of the fortress of Nakhshab, otherwise known as Kash,[7] (?) wrote the following verse upon an arrow and discharged it into the fort:

Verse

I made Najm Shāh to turn the Ōzbaks from their path,
If I did wrong, (at any rate) I cleared (my own) path.

The following day when the two armies met[8] he withdrew[9] to one side, and the Qizilbāsh troops met with the treatment which was in store for them; that circumstance[10] is notorious.

However, to return from this digression, Sultān Begam[11] the sister of the Shāh, whom he regarded as an adviser equal to the

1 MSS. (A) (B) read ازان روز باز

2 MS. (B) omits the words in brackets. MS (A) reads ضایع ساختن of *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Elliot, v. 218.

3 MSS. (A) (B) زنده بدر نیامده.

4 The text is correct تلمیح MS. (A) reads بلمح.

5 In the Memoirs of Bāber, (Erskine, p 243), he is called Nijim Sani Isfahâni. (Najm-i-Sānī Isfahānī)

6 MSS (A) (B) omit سوار

For an account of this see Erskine (Memoirs of Bāber), pp. 242, 243.

7 MS. (A) reads کس *kas* (?).

نخشب *Nakhshab* "In Mawarān-u-nahr between the Jaihūn and Samarqand, but not lying on the road to Bokhārā, is kept on the left in journeying from Bokhārā to Samarqand, also called Nasaf, situated three stages from Samarqand" See Yāqut, s v. نخشب and نسف. In Bokhārā, see Kesh (Keith Johnston's Atlas), or Shehr-i-Sabz

8 MS. (B) reads تلاقی for التقای. 9 MS (A) کشیده.

10 MSS. (A) (B) قضیة. Text reads قصة.

11 MS. (A) reads سلطانم *Sultānam* So also *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*.

promised Mahdi,[1] (who in the belief of the Shi'ahs lies
concealed in a subterranean dwelling in the city of Sāmirah,
otherwise known by the name of Surra man-ra'ā,[2] and when 445.
necessity arises will emerge from thence and inaugurate an era
of equity), and with whose opinion and advice all the affairs[3] of
State were bound up,[4] dissuaded him from that mistaken step,[5]
and by the use of rational argument brought him back[6] to an
attitude of kindness and manhood, and induced him to help and
assist. His Majesty (Humāyūn) wrote a *rubā'ī* (quatrain) of
which the following is the last verse.[7]

Verse.

All kings desire the shadow of the Humā,[8]
Behold! the Humā has sought thy shadow

On a certain occasion he interpolated this verse into a fragment from Salmān,[9] and sent it to the Shāh.

1 The promised Mahdi, or Leader who is to appear before the Resurrection. See *Mishkātu-l-Maṣābīḥ*, xxiri. also Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, 305.

2 Sāmarrā, in 'Irāq Founded by Al Mu'tasim b'Illāh eighth Khalifah of the house of Abbās See *History of the Caliphs* (Jarrett), p 350

Its name was changed by Al Mu'taṣim for the sake of good augury into Surra-man-raá meaning "Who sees it rejoices" Sāmarrā was at one time the capital of the Caliphate, but became once more merely a provincial town when the seat of government was removed to Baghdād, remaining however a place of pilgrimage to the Shi'a Muslims, for here were to be seen the tombs of two of their Imāms, also the Mosque with the underground chamber, from which the promised Mahdī, Al-Qāim is to appear *See* J R A S, 1895, p. 36, for the article from which this note is abridged, a translation from the Arabic of Ibn Serapion, by Mr Le Strange

3 MS. (A) مهمات.   4 MS. (B) omits بود.

5 Text ازان وادي گردانيدند. MS. (A) reads کبياندند. (?)

6 MS (A) آورد   7 MSS. (A) (B) بيت آخرين اين است

8 هما. *Humā*, see p 57 of this work, and *note* 2.

There is an allusion here to the name Humāyūn in its etymological sense of relation to the Humā or bird of royal augury.

9 Read قطعهٔ سلمان را. MS. (A).

Salmān Sāwajī. Jamālu-d-Din, a native of Sāwah. Shaikh 'Alāu-d-Daulah of Samnān said, "I have never seen in all the world the equal of the verses of Salmān or the pomegranates of Samnān" He died in the year 669 H. *Majma'u-l-Fuṣaḥā*, II 19. *See* Beale *O B D.*, p 235, where Salmān is said to have died in 779 A.H. *See* also H K. 8946 Firāqnāma. The date of his death given in the *Majma'u-l-Fuṣaḥā* must be incorrect, as Salmān was the panegyrist of Amīr Shaikh Ḥasan and of his son Sultān Awais Jalāyer the latter of whom died in 776 A.H. *See* Āin-i-Akbarī, I. (B) 100 n. 6

Verse.

I hope that the Shāh will out of kindness treat me,
As 'Ali treated Salmān in the desert of Arzhan.[1]

The Shāh was extremely pleased, and after innumerable banquets and associations in travelling, and hunting expeditions,[2] arranged all preparations on a scale of regal magnificence in Humāyūn's honour, and took much trouble in giving his assent to the religious tenets of the Shi'ahs, and to that which the later writers of that persuasion say regarding the blessed companions of Muhammad, *may God be pleased with them*, and Humāyūn after[3] much ado said "Bring them written upon a sheet of paper." Accordingly they wrote down all their religious beliefs, and Humāyūn read them with a view to copying them, and gave precedence[4] in the *Khutbah*, after the custom of 'Irāq, to the recital of the twelve Imāms.[5] Shāh Murād, the son of the Shāh, an infant at the breast, with ten thousand[6] cavalry under the command[7] of Bidāgh Khān Qizilbāsh Afshār,[8] was nominated[9] to reinforce Humāyūn, and it was determined that the Qizilbāsh should march

[1] One day Salmān was in the desert of Arzhan which is between Bushire and Shirāz and swarms with lions. Suddenly a lion confronted him, and in his helplessness he called upon 'Ali for aid who appeared and drove away the lion. There is a spot known to this day as the *Muqām-i-Salmān*. He is buried at Madām See *Isâbah*, II. p. 224. Salmān Abū 'Abdi-llah al Fārsi, called in Persian Rūzbih.

MS. (A) reads instead of the first line given in the text

هست أميد آنكه لطف با ما آن كند MS. (B) reads أميد وارم.

[2] Omit و and read ترتيب داد و MS (A). [3] بعد التيا و المتي.

[4] Read here تقبل نمودند for نقل نمودند. MSS (A) (B)

[5] The Shi'ahs apply the term *Imām* to the twelve leaders of their sect whom they call the true Imāms. They are on this account called the Imāmiyah and the Isnā 'Ashariyah. *See* Hughes' *Dict of Islām*, 203 and 572

[6] MS. (B) reads دوازده هزار 12,000.

[7] باتاليقي. Bidāgh Khān was according to *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* the Prince's tutor. Hence apparently the use of this word.

[8] See *Tārikh-i-Rashidi* (Elias and Ross), p 214 *n* Afshār is the name of one of the seven Turki tribes who had been the chief supporters of Shah Ismail, and whom he distinguished by a particular dress, including the red cap from which the Qizilbāsh derive their name.

[9] MS. (A) نامزد شد و.

by one route and Humāyūn by another,[1] and that Humāyūn should, after gaining the victory, hand over Qandahār to Shāh Murād. Taking leave, and marching rapidly through Ardabīl and Tabrīz, (Humāyūn) again went to Mashhad the holy city,[2] and succeeded in visiting the shrine of the fountain-head of light.[3]

At the time when one night he was walking alone in that sacred enclosure, one of the pilgrims said in a low voice[4] to his fellow, 446.
"This is not Humāyūn Pādshāh."[5] The other replied "Yes it is." Then coming close, he said in the ear of Humāyūn "So! you are again laying claim to omnipotence!" This was a reference to the circumstance that Humāyūn used generally in Bangāla to cast[6] a veil over his crown, and when he removed it[7] the people used to say, Light has shined forth! He also washed his sword in the river and said[8] "Upon whom shall I gird the sword?" When he arrived at Āgra he imposed upon the populace a new self-invented form of salutation, and wished them to kiss the ground (before him). At last Mīr Abūl Baqā with the Amīrs and Vazīrs paid the due respects, and the Amīrs of the Qizilbāsh coming (by another road)[9] arrived at Garmsīr and took possession of the whole of that territory, and had encamped within view[10] of Qandahār, when[11] after five days Humāyūn arrived, and Mīrzā 'Askarī was besieged, and for three months continuously[12] fighting was kept up, and a large number were daily killed on both sides. Thereupon Bairām Khān was sent to Kābul as an ambassador to

1 MS (A) reads قرار یافت که پادشاه قند هار را ... . گذارند It was settled that Humāyūn should .... hand over Qandahār (to Shāh Murād).*
MS (A) omits مراد

3 MS (A) inserts مقدس

3 At Mashhad (Meshed) is the tomb of 'Alī, son of Mūsa ar-Reẓā. *See* Meynard *Dict de la Perse*, p 396 *s v.* طوس. *See* also Āin-i-Akbarī, (J.) III. 86. Firishta reads (Bo. Text, p. 212)

متوجه مشهد مقدس امام علیه الاف التحیه

4 Insert آهسته after دیگری instead of after زایران MSS. (A) (B).

5 MS. (A) reads نیست for این ست

6 MSS. (A) (B) می انداختند.   7 Read برمی داشتند MSS. (A) (B)

8 Supply که. MSS (A) (B)   9 از راه دیگر. MS (A).

10 MS. (B) reads درظاهر and ساختند.   11 Omit درین اثنا MS. (A).

12 Insert پیاپی after ماه ناسه. MSS (A) (B)

Mirzā [1] [Kāmrān in whose behalf Mirzā 'Askari was fighting and Mirzā Hindāl and Mirzā] Suleimān Badakhshi and Mirzā Yadgār Nāsir [2] who had arrived from Bakkar in a wretched plight; [3] and [since] [4] the idea of the Qizilbāsh was that no sooner would Humāyūn arrive than the Chaghatai would submit to him [5] and would all come in [6] This, however, did not happen, and the siege became very protracted, and a large [7] number were killed. It was also currently reported that Mirzā Kāmrān was coming to the assistance of Mirzā 'Askari, they accordingly lost heart and meditated a return to their own country.[8] It so happened that just at that very time certain Amirs deserted from Mirzā Kāmrān, namely, Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzā, Ulugh Mirzā, and Mirzā Ḥusain Khān with other noted commanders, and offered their services to Humāyūn. Mu'yad Beg, who was a prisoner in the fortress of
447. Qandahār, escaped [9] from the fort and had an interview with him, meeting with very kind treatment. Mirzā 'Askari in his alarm, sued for quarter, and joined [10] the ranks of Humāyūn's followers, his faults were pardoned and he was distinguished by especial marks of favour.

1 The words within brackets occur in both MSS (A) (B) which read

میرزا کامران که میرزا عسکري از جانب او محاربه

می کرد فرستادند و میرزا هندال و میرزا سلیمان الخ

This also tallies with the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* *See* Elliot and Dowson, V 219

2 MS (A) reads از but it seems to be in error

3 Omit فرستاد in this place, MS (A)   4 MS (A) omits چون.

5 ایل شدن - چغتیه ایل خواهند شد *Il shudan.* To become submissive *See* Pavet de Courteille, *s v* ایل

6 Read here وهمه خواهند در آمد MSS (A) (B) The word با طاعت seems unnecessary and tautological, possibly it is an interpolation by a scribe who failed to understand the word ایل *īl*, taking it in its ordinary sense of "tribe"

Regarding the Chaghatai, see *Tārikh-i-Rashidi*, (Elias and Ross, pp. 2, 3)

7 MS. (A) کثیر

8 MS. (A) omits می before خواستند and reads

که بدیار خود مراجعت نمایند.

9 The text read پایان آمده having come down The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* says "managed to escape by stratagem, and let himself down from the walls by a rope" E and D *loc cit*

10 MS (A) شده

Verse.

There's a sweetness in forgiveness which there is not in revenge.

He also ordered the Amirs of Qizilbāsh that for the space of three days they should abstain from interference with the families of the Chaghtā tribe,[1] and the inhabitants of the city, so as[2] to allow of their all coming out, and although Humāyūn had no territory in his possession, yet on account of the promise which had gone forth he brought Bidāgh Khān and Mīrzā Murād into the fort and made over the whole of that country to them.

Verse.

If a man fulfils the obligation of his promise
That man rises superior to any estimate you may form of him.

With the exception of Bidāgh Khān and two or three other Amīrs,[3] no one remained in the service of Mīrzā Murād, while the remaining Amīrs of the auxiliaries, all returned to 'Irāq.

Humāyūn was induced by the coming on of the winter winds, to ask Bidāgh Khān to provide shelter for the followers of his army within the walls of the city, but that inhuman being invariably sent strangely rough answers.[4] On this account some of the Chaghatai Amīrs began[5] to take to flight towards Kābul; among them was Mīrzā 'Askari, who was seized in the way and brought to Humāyūn, who imprisoned him. Many stirring events[6] happened in those days, which[7] led to the delivery of Qandahār from the hands of the Qizilbāsh. First among these was this, that the Chaghatai Amirs urged upon Humāyūn the necessity of seizing Qandahār, on account of the coldness of the weather, saying

1 الوس چغتا *Ulūs-i-Chaghtā*. The word *Ulūs* is a Turkish word, it is not found in Redhouse's dictionary. In Fazlu-llāh Khān's Turkish Persian Dictionary its meaning is given as قبيلهٔ بزرگ *qabila-i-buzurg*, a large tribe.

The title of *Ulūsbegī* "chief of the tribe" was a very old one among the Mughuls. See *Tarīkh-i-Rashīdī* (Elias and Ross), p. 132 n. 1.

2 MS (A) reads wrongly يا for تا

3 Bidāgh Khān, "Abūl-Fatḥ Sulṭān Afshār, and Sūfī Walī Sulṭān Kadāmū." *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* E. and D., v. 221.

4 Read سخنان نادر MSS (A) (B).

5 MS (B) reads نهادن کردند.

6 MS (A) reads از قضایا قضای چند. The text is correct.

7 Omit بعضی MS. (A).

that after the conquest of Kābul and Badakhshān he ought[1] to
18. bestow the greater portion of that place again upon the Qizilbāsh as compensation, so that due requital might be made them.

Secondly, the passing of Mīrzā Murād on that very day,[2] by a natural death, from the world of existence and trouble.

Thirdly, the tyranny and oppression inflicted by Qizilbāsh *canaille* on[3] the inhabitants of the city, and their preventing the Chaghatai from entering the fort, upon any pretext whatever.[4]

Fourthly, this incident, that a fierce[5] *Taburrā*, in accordance with

[1] MSS. (A) (B) omit بايد but it seems to be necessary.

[2] MS. (A) inserts قرار داد after روز "the very day of the agreement."

[3] Omit نسبت MS. (B).   [4] MS. (B) omits مطلقا.

[5] MS (A) reads تبراى تندي The word here seems to mean one who is anathema, i e., a Sunnī

The following long note is necessary as no book I can find explains the word تبرا *Tabarrā.* This word means enmity (as opposed to تولا *Tawalla*, affection) and is a technical term in use among the Shī'ahs. In defining *tabarrā* a distinction is to be made between مخالفت *mukhālafat* opposition, and عداوت *'adāwat* enmity, the former not necessarily involving the latter, for instance two men may be in opposition (*mukhālafat*) on worldly matters, and yet be in thorough amity (*mahabbat*) in matters of faith, or may be opposed to one another in questions of philosophy and yet be unanimous in religious questions Thus enmity includes opposition, but opposition does not necessarily imply enmity And yet it is held that محبت *mahabbat*, affection, and عداوت *'adāwat* enmity may occasionally co-exist for the reason that عداوت *'adāwat* is of two kinds, *religious*, as for instance the *'adāwat* of Muslims and Infidels, who regard each other as enemies on the ground of the fundamental differences in their faith and, *worldly*, as the *'adāwat* between one Muslim and his fellow Muslim on account of some conflict of worldly interests Thus it is conceivable that *'adāwat* and *mahabbat* may co-exist Or again one Muslim may have an affection for another Muslim *quā* Muslim, but entertain a hatred for him as an adulterer, while he may love even a kāfir (Non-Muslim) for his good works such as alms, &c, while he hates him as an Infidel. his love being merely of a worldly nature in no way connected with religion.

The co-existence of *'adāwat* and *mahabbat* in one person due to one consideration is however impossible.

Again, the *'adāwat* which true believers entertain against each other on account of worldly considerations is not injurious to the faith, however reprehensible it may be.

Moreover, the essential origin of *'adāwat* in religious matters is *kufr* (infidelity), therefore one must consider every *kāfir* as an enemy: thus although there may be lawful ties of worldly affection (*mahabbat*) between a

Muslim and a Kāfir, such as the relation of father and son, or brotherhood other blood relationship or friendship, get all these considerations must be cast aside from the exigencies of religion, and *'adāwat* must be based upon their *kufr*. Again religious affection is centred in *imān* (faith of Islām), we must therefore from religious considerations love all the brethren of this faith whether they are obedient or contumacious.

Maḥabbat and *'adāwat* between a true believer and an unbeliever (Kāfir) has different degrees, just as there are differences of degree in the love which any reasonable being entertains for his different relations. So also in religious love there are degrees ... The highest is that for the Prophet Muḥammad, next to this love for the assembly of believers who have close connection and intimate relation to the Prophet; and that assembly is confined to three parties: First, the children and relations of the Prophet who are his members; secondly, his pure spouses who are in a way his members; thirdly, his companions who elected to serve him and gave their lives for his cause.

If among the believers there be any devoid of faith (*īmān*), or guilty of any sin which destroys their former works, and in accordance with the dictates of the Qur'ān become worthy of *'adāwat* (واجب العداوت) they are excepted (from the rights of *maḥabbat*) and enquiry should be made into their faith or absence of faith. ... Inasmuch as فسق *fisq* (immorality) does not necessarily exclude ايمان *Imān* (faith), it is not lawful to curse such an one, nor to display تبرا *tabarrā* against him, but rather to pray for his pardon; as long as he retains *Imān* it is lawful to entertain محبت *maḥabbat* for him, and *'adāwat* on religious grounds is unlawful, inasmuch as *tabarrā* and سب *sabb* (reviling) are only justifiable when *maḥabbat* for a person no longer remains, which is restricted to death in infidelity.

Now we must consider the words of the Shi'ah divines who consider opposition to and contention regarding the Khilāfat of 'Alī as *kufr*, according to the words of Khwāja Naṣir Ṭūsī "*Mukhalifūhu fasaqah wa muḥāribūhu kafarah.*" "Those who oppose him are immoral and those who fight against him are infidels."

Accordingly a section who have contented themselves with opposition are not deserving of *tabarrā*, because their extreme fault is *fisq* (immorality) and the *fāsiq* (immoral man) may be a true believer.

The above is translated from the *Tuḥfa-i-Isnā 'ashariyah* of Shāh 'Abdu-l-'Azīz of Dihlī.

The gist of the matter appears to be this that *Tabarrā* is not justifiable for immorality, but only for infidelity. It seems therefore to take the place in Muslim Theology of the ἀνάθεμα of the Christian Code. It is more than excommunication, inasmuch as death in infidelity is made the test of *tabarrā* which thus implies final separation and curse.

The use of foul abusive language against the companions of the Prophet would be held to be loss of ايمان (*Imān*) and hence to render the reviler liable to تبرا *tabarrā* provided he died in that state. As the person referred to in the story was killed by Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir he is called تبرائى *tabarrāī* accursed.

their notoriously brutal manner, in the presence of Yādgār Nāṣir Mīrzā [1] [who had fled in concert with Hindāl Mīrzā from Kāmrān Mīrzā] and come thither, uttered foul [2] and improper abuse against the companions of the Prophet,[3] *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him and his family, and may God be pleased with them;* Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir could not endure this, and struck him such a blow with an arrow which he had in his hand that the arrow penetrated his chest up to the wing, and passing through him struck the ground.[4] Hājī Muḥammad Khān Kūkī with two servants first of all entered the fortress of Qandahār together with a train of camels laden (with supplies), and put the guards to the sword, a second party following him, came up, Mīrzā Ulugh Beg and Bāirām Khān were of that number.[5] The Qizilbāsh were astounded,[6] and utterly confounded,[7] and the proverb was exemplified,[8] "Qāẓī, I am an old woman,[9] and if you don't believe me, I can scream just like one, listen!" Their haughtiness was humbled, and Humāyūn[10] entering the fort[11] allowed Bidāgh Khān, who had come to him[12] in trepidation and anxiety, to proceed towards 'Irāq. Notwithstanding this, all the inhabitants of the city, who were heartily sick of them, killed the Qizilbāsh in every street. After he had settled Qandahār to his satisfaction,[13] he made over charge of that district to Bairām Khān and determined to attempt the conquest of Kābul Mīrzā Kāmrān also came out to meet him with the intention[14] of fighting. Every day one or two[15] of his noted Amīrs deserted and joined the army of Humāyūn. In very truth the greater

1 MS (B) omits the portion in brackets

2 MS (A) omits ی فاحش. 3 MSS (A) (B) omit الله

4 MS. (A) reads از او نزعبدن رسید MS. (B) reads آزاد بیفتاد

5 ازان جملة MSS. (A) (B) read ازان جماعت

6 Omit و MSS (A) (B) 7 *Literally*, lost their hands and feet.

8 بکار آمد MSS (A) (B).

9 The text reads قور بقة a footnote gives two variants قازی من قوز بقة ام and قاری من قور بقة ام The latter is the reading of MS. (A). I read for قور بقة *qūrbaqa*, the word قورتغا *qūtaghā*, which is Turkī for 'an old woman.' *See* Pavet de Courteille.

10 MS. (A) omits پادشاه 11 MS (B) insert دید که after آمده

12 MS. (A) omits و دیده 13 MS. (B) omits خاطر

14 MS. (B) بعزیمت جنگ باستقبال بر آمده 15 MS. (A) یک دواز

part of the inhabitants of the world[1] are like a flock of sheep, wherever one goes, the others immediately follow.[2] Mīrzā Kāmrān, losing the clue of all independent action, availed himself of the services of the _Shaikhs_ and *'Ulamā* to sue for pardon. Humāyūn, upon condition of personal submission, effaced the record of his transgressions from the page of his mind with the water of forgiveness. Mīrzā, in accordance with the saying "*The traitor is a coward,*"[3] would not consent to an interview, and took refuge in the citadel of Kābul, where he entrenched himself, and fled thence in the dead of night to Ghaznīn. The whole of his army[4] came over to the camp of Humāyūn, who appointed Mīrzā Hindāl to pursue him, and came himself to Kābul, and the hidden meaning of the sacred word "*Verily, He who hath ordained the Qur'ān for thee will restore thee to thy returning place*"[5] was revealed, and he refreshed to the full his eyes with the sight of the noble Prince his son. This victory was gained on the tenth of the month of Ramazān the blessed,[6] in the year 952 H. (A.D. 1545),[7] and the following hemistich was written as a record of the date:— 449.

Be jang girift mulk-i-Kābul az wai[8]

"He took the kingdom of Kābul from him without fighting."

And inasmuch as others are responsible for the relation of these events, and the compiler of this *Muntakhab* has only adapted his record from them, now however much he may desire to epitomise,[9]

1 MS. (A) مردم عالم, MS (B) omits عالم حکم

2 MS. (B) می آوردند

3 الخاین خنیف *Al-khāinu khāif* MS (B) reads الخاین و الخایف

4 MS (A) reads سپاهیانش

5 Qur'ān xxviii. 85.

6 MS. (A) omits المبارک.

7 The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Elliot and Dowson, v. p. 222) says: "The victory was accomplished on the 10th Ramazān, 953 H. when the Prince was four years, two months and five days old. Some place the event in the year 952 but God knows the truth." A footnote (I, page 223) states that the *Akbar-nāma* (vol I p 323) makes the date 12th Ramazān, 952.

8 بی جنگ گرفت ملک کابل ازوی These words give 952 H. Firishta also gives this same hemistich. (Bo. text, p 448).

9 Text که طناب اطناب را کشیده دارد. *Lit.* to draw tight the tent cords of prolixity. MSS. (A) (B) omit را, MS. (B) reads سخن for اطناب.

the thread of his discourse[1] has involuntarily become lengthened (in accordance with the saying). *Narration has many bye-paths.*[1]

To make a long story short when Mīrzā Kāmrān proceeded to Ghaznin and was unable to enter it,[2] he departed towards Sakkar, and Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain, who had given him his daughter (in marriage), came forward to assist him.

Humāyūn put to death Mīrzā Yādgār Nāṣir who was meditating flight, and proceeded with the intention of conquering Badakhshān. Suleimān Mīrzā gave him battle, and was defeated, and
450. Kāmrān Mīrzā coming up in Humāyūn's absence took possession of Kābul, placing guards over the ladies[3] of high degree, and over the young Prince.

Humāyūn, after relieving Mīrzā Hindāl of the government of Badakhshān, wrote a patent conferring it upon Mīrzā Suleimān, and making over[4] the government of that country to him returned with all speed to Kābul. Mīrzā Kāmrān, after the defeat of his forces, remained entrenched in Kābul, and when he found himself in straits, out of sheer cruelty several times gave orders for the young Prince to be placed upon the ramparts of the fort within range of both artillery and musketry fire, but Māham Ānka[5] made her own body a shield for him against the arrows of calamity.

Verse.

If the sword of the world leaps from its sheath,
It can sever no vessel till God permits.

[1] MS (A) omits بی اختیار MS. (B) omits رشتهٔ سخن.

The proverb is الحدیث ذو شجون *Al-ḥadīṣu ẕu-shujūn,* and is used to express one story reminding the narrator of another, *see Arabum Proverbia,* Freytag, I. p 350, *n* 29.

The text reads wrongly الحدیث شجون and a footnote calls attention to the correct reading. MS. (B) reads شبخون

[2] MS. (A) و در آنجا

[3] بر حضرات عالیات بیگمان *Bar ḥaẓarāt-i-'āliyāt-i-Begamān.*

[4] MS. (B) reads سپردهٔ for تفویض نمودهٔ.

[5] Māham Ānka (or Anagah) was one of Akbar's nurses and attended on Akbar from his cradle to his accession. *See* Āīn-i-Akbari, I. (B) p. 323.

Anākā or Anāka in Turkī signifies *nurse* (P. de C.) Fazlu-llāh Khān gives انگه *Anagah* in the meaning of foster-mother شیر مادر *shīr mādar.* Read the account given by Niẓāmu-d-Dīn. (Elliot, v. p. 227).

The Sardārs and Amirs, on account of the heat of the contest in which they were engaged, began to traffic in hypocrisy,[1] and kept coming backwards and forwards, now in one direction now in another. Many of them on both sides were killed. At last,[2] Mirzā,[3] having made a hole in the wall of the fort, came out in disguise,[4] and when Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān, who had been detailed with a party of men to pursue him, came up with Mirzā,[5] Mirzā said to him "What if I have killed your father Bābā Qashaqa?" Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān, who was a veteran soldier, energetic and experienced, pretending not to understand him, returned, and the Prince reached his father Humāyūn safe and sound, and the part returned to the whole.[6]

Mayest thou live a thousand years, and a thousand years[7] beside,
For in the prolongation of thy life are a thousand advantages.

And Mirzā Kāmrān took refuge with Pir Muḥammad Khān, Governor of Balkh, and asking his assistance[8] seized certain of the provinces of Badakhshān without a struggle from Suleimān Mirzā and his son Ibrāhim Mirzā, and took possession of them; and Qurācha Khān,[9] who had done notable service, together with certain other grasping[10] Amirs, entertained extravagant expectations from Humāyūn, and when their iniquitous desires were not realised betook themselves to Badakhshān and Kābul. 451

Within those few years the earth had quitted its accustomed state of repose, and had undergone tremblings and agitations. A certain witty writer[11] says with reference to this:

1 MS (A) omits را, i e, to make feints.

2 Read تا آخر مرزا MS (A).

3 Mirzā Kāmran.

4 Text بصورت ناشناسا MSS. (A) (B) read بصورت ناشنا سان.

5 MS. (A) بمیرزا رسید

6 Text reads و جزء به کل رجوع نموده. MS (A) has the better reading جزو بکل رجوع نمود.

7 A footnote variant reads هزار معنی را for a thousand objects, so also MS. (A).

8 Text مدد خواسته. MSS. (A) (B) مدد طلبیده

9 MS. (A) reads جان.

10 MS. (A) reads خام طمع شده .... نمودند و اعراض

11 Text و ظریفی دران باب گفته This admits of translation also "a certain

The fortress of Kābul which in height surpasses the seventh heaven,[1]
Like the Kite which is six months female and six months[2] male.

On several occasions it happened that Mirzā Kāmrān came to pay his respects to Humāyūn and had a personal interview with him. Humāyūn, out of natural kindness and innate good-will pardoned his shortcomings, and cleared his heart of all rancour against him,[3] and after he had sought permission to leave to make the pilgrimage to the sacred city of Makka, bestowed upon him the country of Badakhshān,[4] and himself going up against Balkh, fought with Pīr Muḥammad Khān and 'Abu-l-'Azīz Khān, the son of 'Abdu-llah Khān,[5] the Ozbak king, and defeated them after a sharp engagement. But following the bad advice of his Amīrs, who were treacherous hypocrites,[6] and in alarm about Mīrzā Kāmrān, he turned back and came to Kābul[7] Mīrzā Kāmrān[8] once more broke[9] his treaty obligations, and inasmuch as the untrustworthy leaders on both sides began to practise unfaithfulness, and led him out of the way,[10] and he had to fight numerous battles,[11] he eventually sought

Ẓarif" There was a poet of that name, Mīrzā Muḥammad Hasan of Ispahān See *Majma'u-l-Fuṣaḥā*, II 315

1 كيوان *Kaiwān* The planet Saturn which is in the seventh heaven

2 See *ante* p 352 n 1

3 و سينه صاف شدند

4 *See* Elliot, v 229, 230

5 MS. (A) reads عبيد الله خان *'Ubaidu-llah Khān*
The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* calls him *'Abid Khān*, Elliot, v. p 230

6 MS (A) reads امراى مّزاني منافق.

7 The account given by our author is explained by that of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* which says that on the night before Balkh would have fallen, some of the Chaghatai chiefs whose wives and families were in Kābul, became alarmed because Mīrzā Kāmrān had not joined the army, so they met together and advised Humāyūn not to cross the river of Balkh, but to fall back upon Darra Gaz taking up a strong position then, after a short time the garrison of Balkh would surrender Humāyūn agreed to this, and both friends and foes imagined that a retreat to Kābul was intended The Osbaks took courage and followed in pursuit. A battle ensued in which Humāyūn was personally engaged, but cut his way out, and reached Kābul in safety. *See* Elliot, v p 231

8 MS (A) omits كامران

9 MS (A) كردو

10 او را از راه عيبردند

11 Read نمود for نمودند. MS (A)

and from Islem Shāh, but, meeting with disappointment,[1] and returning thence, was delivered into the hands of Humāyūn by the machinations of Sulṭān Ādam Ghakkar at Pashāla.[2] Notwithstanding all his repeated rebellions his life was spared, but **452.** the jewel of sight was taken from him,[3] (as has already been stated), and he was permitted to depart for the sacred Makka. He had the good fortune to make the *Hajj* four times, and thus made amends for his past evil deeds, and there delivered up the life that had been entrusted to him.

Verse.[4]

Never in the garden of Faith has a blade fulfilled its promise,
Never has a shaft aimed by Heaven failed to strike the mark.
The tailor of Fate has never clothed any man in a garment
which it has not afterwards torn from him.
The Age has never given any coin which it has not changed.
The Time has never played any piece without practising
deception with it.
Whom has the Heaven placed in safety beneath the Sun,
That it has not made short-lived like the shining dawn
Khāqānī! cast dust into the eyes of the world,
For it has caused thee pain in the eyes and has given thee
no remedy

[1] MS (B) reads از اسلیم شاہ مایوس گشتہ

[2] Our author is very brief in his recital of this portion of the history, for a fuller account see Elliot, v. 232 to 234 MS (A) reads پرهاله Parhāla.

[3] Mirzā Kāmrān was blinded by the stroke of a lancet, see Elliot, v. 146 and 235 in the year 960 H Firishta gives the *tārīkh* written to commemorate it چشم پوشید زبیداد سپهر *Chashm poshīd zi bedād-i-sipihr* He closed his eyes to the injustice of heaven It is clear that Humāyūn in destroying his brother's eyesight was only choosing the lesser of two evils, the Chaghatai leaders clamouring for his death Firishta also says that he made the pilgrimage (*Hajj*) three times, dying on the 11th of Zū Ḥijjah 964 H (*Bo Text*, p 455), October, 1557 A D

[4] Khāqānī, whose name was Afzalu d-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī an-Najjār, a famous poet, was originally a pupil of Abūl 'Alā Ganjawī, he took the name Haqāiqī, as his *takhallus* and entered the service of Shirwān Shāh the great Khāqān Manuchihr, from whom he received the title of Khāqānī Having absented himself without permission, he was captured and imprisoned in the fortress of Shādarwān, where he wrote many poems After his release he hastened to Makka and wrote the *Tuhfatu-l-'Irāqain* while on the way. He

Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī[1] wrote this *tārīkh*.

Verse.

Kāmrān,[2] than whom no man has been found more fitted for sovereignty,
Went from Kābul to the Ka'bah, and there committed his soul to God, and his body to the dust.
Kāhī spake this as a *tārīkh* to commemorate his death,
Pādshāh Kāmrān died at the Ka'bah.[3]

And the poet Waisī[4] wrote:

Verse.

Shāh Kāmrān the renowned Khusrū,
Who in majesty raised his head to Kaiwān.
Faithfully served the holy temple four years
And entirely freed his heart from worldly bonds.
453. After performing his fourth pilgrimage
In pilgrim garb, he yielded up his soul to his Lord.

died soon after his return, and was buried in the cemetery of Surkhāb in Tabrīz in the year 582 H.

Majma'u-l-Fuṣaha, 1, p. 200 See also Beale, *O B D* s v. Khāqānī.

[1] MS. (B) reads مولا. MS. (A) reads ومولا قاسم کاتبي.

[2] This also means, Happy is he than whom &c.

[3] *Pādshah Kāmrān baka'bah bimurd.* The letters of this line give the date 968 H instead of 964 H.

Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī otherwise known as Mīyān Kālī Kābulī. Our author (*see* vol III. p. 172 of the text), stigmatises his poetry as crude and wanting in originality, although he acknowledges that it possesses a peculiar quality unshared by any other author He was skilled in astronomy, as well as in rhetoric and Sufiism, and had also some skill as a composer of music Badāonī laments the fact that notwithstanding all his advantages Kāhī spent his life in infidelity and impiety The *Atash-Kada* (p 190, Bombay Edition) says, that he sprang from the Gulistāna Saiyyids, one of his ancestors came out of the city to pay his respects to Timūr and joined his army, whose fortunes he followed until the birth of the Saiyyid aforesaid in Turkistān. He was brought up in Kābul whence he acquired his name He went to Hindustān in the time of the Emperor Humāyūn, where he held a position of trust and honour Nō date is there given for his death, which occurred in 988 H. *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I, 566 *n*. 1; also Beale, *O B.D*, p. 144.

[4] MS. (B) reads دبسی *Dabsī* for ویسی *Waisī* (Text).

One night as Waisī was holden with sleep,
He visited him and called him towards himself,
And said, "If they ask thee concerning my death
Reply, "The pardoned Shāh remained in Makka."[1]

Mīrzā Kāmrān was as a king, brave and ambitious, liberal and good-natured, sound of religion and clear of faith. He used always to associate with the 'Ulamā and learned doctors. His poems are well-known At one time he held such strong views of probity that he gave orders to exterminate grapes from his kingdom, but afterwards became such a slave to wine that he was not ashamed of the after effects of debauch; eventually he left the world penitent and devout All's well that ends well.[2]

This event took place in the year[3] 964 H.

Mīrzā 'Askarī, after Qarrācha Khān was slain in the last battle before Kābul, fell a prisoner into the hands of Humāyūn's soldiery, and Khwāja Jalālu-d-Dīn[4] Maḥmūd Dīwān conveyed him to Badakhshān and made him over to Mīrzā Suleimān. He was kept in confinement for some time,[5] and then was released, and Mīrzā Suleimān despatched him to Balkh, by which route he purposed journeying to the two sacred cities[6] When he reached a valley which lies between Shām[7] and the sacred city of Makka, without accomplishing his object he hastened from[8] that desert to the true Ka'bah which is the bourn of all mankind. The following is the *tārīkh* of that event:—

'Askarī pādshāh-ı-daryādil.[9]

Verse.

Why dost thou soil thy fingers with the blood of the world?
For honey is oft mingled with deadly poison[10]

1 *Shāh-ı marhūm dar Makka mānd* This line gives the date 964 H

2 الامور بالعوقب. *Al umūru bil 'awāqıb.* Lit. Events are according to their terminations

3 MS (A) omits سال   4 MSS. (A) (B).   5 MS (A) بوده.

6 حرمين شريفين. *Haramaın-ı-Sharifaın* Mecca and Medina.

7 Syria. Nizāmu-d-Dīn Ahmad says "in the country of Rūm," Elliot v 234

8 MS (A) reads از راه

9 i.e 'Askarī the bountiful king. These letters give the date 922 H.

10 In the *Mishkāt* (xxı Part I) we read that honey was prescribed by Muḥammad. "A man came to his majesty and said · 'Verily my brother has a

454. The end of Mirzā Hindāl was on this wise, that after Mirzā Kāmrān had suffered defeat in the final engagement, and had taken refuge with the Afghāns, and Ḥāji Muḥammad Khān[1] Kūkī was executed[2] on account of his numerous misdeeds, one night Mirzā Kāmrān made a night attack upon the camp.[3] By chance that night the dart of death struck Mirzā Hindāl in a vital spot, and he drank the draught of martyrdom. This event took place[4] in the year 958 H. and *Shabkhūn* was found to give the date.[5]

purging.' And his highness said: 'Give him honey to drink' and it was done. Then the man came to his highness and said 'I gave him honey to drink, which has increased the purging,' then his majesty said to him thrice 'Give him honey.' And the man came a fourth time and said: 'it increaseth the purging.' And his highness said 'give him honey.' Then the man said: 'I have and it increaseth the purging.' Then his highness said 'God has said truly, *there is a cure for man in honey,* and your brother's belly lied, by not accepting of the cure.' Then the man gave his brother honey to drink again and he got well."

Honey was held in high estimation as a drug among ancient physicians. The poisonous qualities of honey gathered from certain plants is well known, for instance, we find in the *Makhzanu-l-Adwiya* that honey shed by bees which have lighted in the herb Absantīn (Absinthium) and the like acquires a bitter taste, and causes diseases of the stomach and liver, while another kind of honey causes fainting and cold sweats and loss of consciousness. So also the poisonous honey of Heraclea, supposed to owe its poisonous properties to the aconite plant.

Quite recently well authenticated cases of honey poisoning have been reported in the United States. The honey in one instance was found to be impregnated with gelsemine. It is generally believed that two varieties of aconite, *Kalmia latifolia* some Rhododendrons *Azalea pontica* and certain other plants of the *N. O.* Ericaceæ, have poisonous properties which are communicated to the honey of bees lighting on them. It is said that the *Azalea pontica* was the plant which yielded the poisonous honey noticed by Xenophon in his account of the retreat of the Ten Thousand. The active poison *andromedotoxin* has been found in many Ericaceæ. The symptoms of honey poisoning are briefly described as vomiting, purging, acute gastric and abdominal pain and cramps, with surface coldness and pallor, and the general signs of collapse. See *Ind. Med. Gaz*, January, 1897, p 27. See also *Med and Surg Rep.* September, 1896.

[1] MS. (A) omits خان. [2] MSS (A) (B) omit پادشاهی after سیاست.

[3] Read شبخون بر اردوی آورد [4] MS (A) روی نمود.

[5] شبخون *Shabkhun.* Night assault. The letters of this word give the date 958 H. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* gives another *tārīkh*. See Elliot, v 234, which however gives 959 H.

Verse.

When Fate made such a night attack[1] with the forces of the world
That the zenith became red like the twilight from bloodshed,
Hindāl the world-conqueror left the world,
And abandoned the world to Shāh Humāyūn ;
The young plant-like stature of that shapely palm-tree
Was like a lamp to the sleeping-apartment of the sky.
Wisdom sought for a *tārīkh* of his death,[2] I said,
Alas ! a lamp has been extinguished by reason of a *night attack*.

Mirzā Amānī also wrote[3] the following .—

Shāh Hindāl the cypress of the rose-garden of beauty,
When he left this garden for that of Paradise,[4]
The wailing ring-dove uttered this *tārīkh*,
" A cypress has gone from the garden of glory."[5]

And Maulānā Hasan 'Alī Kharās[6] wrote :

Verse.

Hindāl Muḥammad Shāh of auspicious title
Suddenly was martyred by Fate in the heart of the night, 455.
Since a night assault (*shabkhūn*) caused his martyrdom,
Seek the *tārīkh* of his martyrdom in *shabkhūn*.

Humāyūn bestowed the horses and retinue of Mirzā Hindāl upon the young Prince, the asylum of the world, and confirmed to them Ghaznin with its dependencies as *Iqṭā'* grants[7]

[1] MSS (A) (B) read شبا خوني [2] MSS (A) (B) omit و.

[3] MS. (A) reads ماني Māni for اماني Amānī (Text). MSS. (A) (B) read گفته for يافته (Text)

[4] Read تجات for صحنت. MSS. (A) (B).

[5] سروي از بوستان دولت رفت *Sarve az būstān i-daulat raft.*

To arrive at this *tārīkh* we take the value of the words *Būstān-i-daulat* which is 959, and then take from this the value of the *sarve* (a cypress) used here for the letter Alif, which is straight and erect like the cypress, and has the value, 1, thus we obtain 958 H.

[6] MS. (A) reads كفش. [7] See *Āīn i-Akbarī* (Jarrett) II. 415.

The Afghāns could no longer protect Mirzā Kāmrān, and it so happened that Mirzā went to Islem[1] Shāh; in the meanwhile the hidden purposes of Heaven were made manifest, so that after hearing the tidings of the death of Islem Shāh, and of the occurrence of extreme confusion and turmoil between the Afghāns of Hindustān and the tribal chiefs, Humāyūn definitely determined upon the attempt of the conquest of Hindustān.[2] In the meantime the lovers of contumacy, that is to say, the envious and riotous, so distorted the appearance of the sincere loyalty of Bairām Khān, in the clear mirror of the mind of Humāyūn, that it was inverted and he was represented by them as hostile. Accordingly an attack was ordered in the direction of Qandahār. Bairām Khān came out in person to receive[3] Humāyūn and with all ceremony offered due service. Thereupon the disloyalty of his traducers became apparent. On this occasion Humāyūn was furnished, by the good offices of Bairām Khān, with the opportunity of meeting that Scion of the Walīs, the offspring of the Saints, the seal of the Shaikhs of the Naqshbandī[4] sect, Maulānā Zainu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Kamāngar.

The following is a fuller account:—

The aforesaid Maulavī was from Bahdā,[5] which is a village of the dependencies of Khurāsān,[6] and had attained to the companionship of many of the Shaikhs, *may God sanctify their spirits*, especially Maulavī Makhdūmī 'Ārif Jāmī, and Maulavī 'Abdu-l-Ghafūr
456. Lārī, *may God He is exalted[7] sanctify their spirits*, who supported themselves by giving instruction and making illustrations, and Bairām Khān having opened tutorial relations with him, used to go to take lessons from him, and now and then when he was reading Yusuf and Zulaikha and other books, they used to say,

[1] MS. (A) reads سلیم شاه *Salīm Shāh*. [2] MS. (A) هندوستان.

[3] MS. (A) باستقبال بر آمده.

[4] The Naqshbandī Shaikhs were the followers of the renowned saint Khwāja Bahāu-d-Dīn Naqshband of Bokhārā. *See* Āīn-i-Akbarī (B) I, 423 *n.* 2 where the meaning of *Naqshband* is said to be the occupation of this man and his parents, who used to weave *Kamkhābs* adorned with figures (*naqsh*) *See* also for a long account of the Naqshbandī School. Āīn-i-Akbarī (J.) III, 358, *et seqq.*

Kamāngar means a bowmaker.

[5] Footnote variant بهدایین *Buhdāyan*

[6] MS (A) reads قندهار *Qandahār*. [7] MS (B) omits تعالی.

"Oh, Bairām what is your wish! You yourself are as Yusuf and Zulaikha [1] in the world." And Humāyūn having ordered a banquet in honour of the sacred illuminated spirit of the asylum of the seal of prophecy, *may the blessing and peace of God be upon him*, invited the *Ākhūnd*,[2] and with his own hands took the ewer, while Bairām Khān took the basin, intending to pour the water over his hands; seeing this the Ākhūnd indicated Mīr Ḥabību-llāh, the grandson of Mīr Saiyyid Jamālu-d-Dīn the traditionist, and said,[3] "Do you not know who that person is?" Humāyūn thereupon perforce carried the ewer to the Mīr, who, with the utmost confusion, poured half of the entire contents of the ewer over his hands, after which the Ākhūnd without scruple washed his hands, to their heart's content. At this time Humāyūn enquired,[4] "How much water is enjoined by the *Sunnat* to be poured over the hands?" They replied, "so much as is necessary to clean the hands;" then first Bairām Khān poured water over the hands of the remainder of the assembly, and was followed in this service by Husain Khān the relation of the Mahdī, son of Qāsim Khān. At last the food was eaten, and Humāyūn found very great delight in their society, and was much benefited thereby. Afterwards he sent a piece of coined gold by the hand of Bairām Khān, saying, "This is a present."[5] Inasmuch as it was his custom not to take a present from anyone, after great deliberation he accepted it, with excessive reluctance and disgust, and in return for it sent into the presence of the king several bows of his own fashioning, with something over and above (the value of the gold) saying, "Presents [6] must be given on both sides."

The story goes that one day Bairām Khān caused a garment to be made of handsome Kashmīr *shāls*,[7] and brought it to him. 457.
He took it in his hand and praised it [8] saying, "What a valuable thing this is!" Bairām Khān said, "As it is a suitable garment for a darvesh, I have brought it as an offering for you." He thereupon made a sign [9] with two of his fingers, as much as to say I have two of them, come give this one to some one more

1 MSS (A) (B) omit دیگر

2 آخوند a tutor, teacher, preacher.

3 MS (A) reads نه میدانید

4 MS. (A) reads پرسید.

5 MS. (A) reads که این نذر است.

6 MS. (A) omits هدیة.

7 Shawls.

8 Text کرده MS (A) فرموده. MS (B) گفته.

9 MS. (A) omits اشارت.

deserving of it than I. Many[1] miraculous acts are related of him. Some few of these Shaikh Mu'inu-d-Dīn, the grandson of Maulānā Mu'īn Wāiẓ, who by the order of the Khalīfah of the time was for some time Qāẓī of Lāhor, wrote in a separate treatise: among them this is written, that when archery practice was going on, he used in opposition to his usual habits to come every day[2] to the butts, and give instruction in archery. The youths used to urge and incite Bairām Khān to practise[3] archery, saying that it would surely be useful to him some day. As a fact, the very first[4] defeat of the Afghāns occurred in the fight at Māchīwāra,[5] when the victory was entirely gained by the archers and in all probability that eagerness and instigation had this very end in view.

In that collection of stories also is the following, that when Bairām Khān, after making over Qandahār to Bahādur Khān the brother of 'Alī Qulī Khān Sīstānī, came to Kābul, he appointed on his own part a tyrannical Turkomān, so that the people groaned under his oppressive hand, and made many complaints to the Ākhūnd, till he became ill as they desired, and they enjoyed a few days' respite from his oppression, and used to bring tidings of him every day to the assembly of the Ākhūnd. At last one day, as one of them was[6] saying "He has risen from his bed," the Ākhūnd also, looking him in the face, said angrily, "Perhaps he may rise on the morrow of the resurrection." Three or four days afterwards he again fell ill, and removed the disgrace of his tyranny from the world. It is a saying of their's that the Turk when sleeping is an angel, but when he sleeps the sleep
458. of death he is superior to the archangels.[7]

1 MS. (A) reads خیلی مقبول است.

2 MS. (B) reads هر وقت و هر روز. 3 Read ورزش for روش MSS. (A) (B).

4 MSS. (A) (B) read ماچهي وارة كه شكست.

5 *Māchīwāra.* On the banks of the Sutlej in the Ludhiānā District of the Panjāb. *See* Tieff I, 112. Āīn-i-Akbarī (J) II, 310; III, 69.

At page 315 of Blochmann's Āīn-i-Akbarī (I), we read "The conquest of India may justly be ascribed to Bairām. He gained the battle of Māchhīwārah and received Sambhal as jāgīr."

6 MS. (A) omits می. The hint given by the Ākhūnd was in true Oriental fashion.

7 MS. (B) reads بهتر از فرشتة خواهد بود. MS. (A) reads مهين for مهيمن and omits بهتر.

Verse.

I saw a tyrant sleeping at mid-day
I said, this is a calamity; It is best that sleep should take him
And that man who is better when sleeping than when waking
For such an evil liver death were preferable.

Humāyūn, at the time of his return, had some intention of taking Qandahār from Bairām Khān and giving it to Mun'im Khān. Mun'im Khān, however, represented that now that the conquest of Hindustān was on the tapis a change of governors would be a source of dissension in the army, and it would be better to wait till after conquering Hindustān, and then to act as circumstances might demand Accordingly Qandahār was confirmed [1] to Bairām Khān, and Zamīndāwar to Bahādur Khān. Then coming to Kābul he prepared his army with transport and commissariat, and in Zū Ḥijjah 961 H. set out from Kābul to march against Hindustān [2] And the following *qiṭa'h* was written which gives the date in two ways.

Qiṭa'h.

Khusrū Ghāzī Naṣiru-d-Dīn Humāyūn Shāh
Who without question excelled all former kings,
Advanced from Kābul for the conquest of Hind;
The date of his advance is *nuh ṣad wa shast wa yake.*[3]

At the halting-place of Parshāwar [4] Bairām Khān arrived from Qandahār [5] and presented himself before the king. By continuous marches they crossed the river Indus [6] and Bairām Khān and Khiẓr Khwāja Khān, with Tardī Beg Khān and

[1] MS. (A) مقرر ماند.

[2] MSS. (A) (B) عازم هند گشتند.

[3] نهصد و شست و یکی. Nine hundred and sixty-one The value of the letters taken separately also gives 961. This is the explanation of the statement in the text that this *qiṭa'h* gives the date in two ways. Footnote to the text says يعنى صوري و معنوي that it is both in form and in literal value

[4] The text reads پرشادر *Parshādar*, in error. MSS. (A) (B) read پرشاور *Parshāwar*.

[5] MS. (A) omits بر.

[6] MS. (B) omits سند

Iskandar[1] Sulṭān Osbak forming the advance party, went forward[2] and Tātār Khān Kāsi, governor of the fortress of Rohtās, evacuated the fort[3] and fled. Adam Ghakkar did not present himself on this occasion.[4]

When they arrived at Lāhor, the Afghāns of that place also not being able to withstand him dispersed, and the commanders of the vanguard[5] started off towards [Lāhor and Thānesar][6] Jalandhar[7] and Sirhind. That country was taken possession of without any trouble; Shahbāz Khān and Naṣir Khān Afghān however fought a battle near Dīpālpūr with Shāh[8] Abū-l-Ma'ālī and 'Alī Qulī Shaibānī, who was eventually *Khān-i-zamān*,[9] and was defeated. So great was the terror inspired by the Mughuls that thousands[10] upon thousands of Afghāns would flee at the sight of ten of the huge-turbaned horsemen (even although they were Lāhorīs), and never looked behind them. Before Humāyūn's army crossed the river Indus, Sikandar Afghān Sūr gained the upper-hand of Ibrahīm Sūr, and having conquered him[11] formed the intention of leaving Itāwa and marching to attack 'Adlī. Suddenly, however, tidings arrived that Humāyūn had crossed

1 MS (B) adds خان

2 MS (A) reads پیش مي آمدند MS (B) reads پیس پیش مي آمدند.

3 Read قلعه omitting the *hamza*.

4 The *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* says "Ādam Ghakar although he owed service, did not join the army." Elliot, v. 237

5 امرای منقلای *Umarā-i Manqalāī.* MS (A) reads *Umarā-i mutafarriq* The text is correct. منقلای *manqalāī* منغلای *manghalāī* or مانگلای *māngalāī* is a Turkī word signifying forehead (*front*) or advance-guard of an army. *See* P. de C. s. v so also Faizullāh Khān who gives only the meaning پیشانی *pīshānī* forehead

6 These words in brackets should be omitted apparently They are absent from MS (A) and also from the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* which mentions Jalandhar and Sirhind Besides the commanders were already in Lāhor

7 MS. (B) omits جلندهر *Jalandhar*

8 MS. (A) reads شاهپور شاه ابولمعالي in error

9 'Alī Qulī Khān was the son of Haidar Sultān Osbak-i-Shaibānī, who had been made an Amīr in the Jām war with the Qizilbāsh

It was in the early days of Akbar's reign that he obtained the title of *Khān-i-Zamān* *See* Badāonī, Vol II, p. 12 Lowe's Translation, p. 5. He had defeated Hīmūn near Pānīpat. See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, I, (B), p 319.

10 MS. (A) reads هزار هزار.

11 غالب شده MS. (A).

the Indus, and the Afghāns, wherever they were, set about planning how to save their wives and children; however one did not help the other, each one occupied himself with his own necessities, and they knew well that it was only Islem Shāh who could successfully contend against the Mughuls, no other person had the power. Notwithstanding this however, Sikandar, in the neighbourhood of Jalandhar, first[1] appointed[2] Tātār Khān Kāsi with Ḥabīb Khān and Naṣīb Khān Taghūchī with thirty thousand cavalry, to oppose the troops under Humāyūn which had been collected in that district, and he himself came on in their rear.

The Chaghātai Amirs[3] crossed the river[4] Sutlej, and the Afghāns followed them; at sundown the two lines met and a fierce battle ensued[5] The Mughuls set their hands to their bows with such effect that every arrow which they freed from the bowstring bore the message of death to the ears of one or other of the enemy, and the Afghāns, whose weapons of offence ran short,[6] took refuge in[7] a ruined village; and with the object of gaining a better view of the Mughul troops[8] they set fire to the roofs[9] The result, however, was the very reverse[10] of what they desired, and their stratagem had this result, that the Afghāns remained in the light, while the Mughuls were in the darkness and riddled the Afghāns with arrows. A cry went up from among them, and shouts of Flee! Flee![11] rose on all sides, and the victory was gained with such ease that but few Mughuls were

1 MS (B) omits اول. 2 MS (A) نامزد کردو

3 MS (A) امیر چغتای So also *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* Text reads امرای حصار.

4 MS (B) omits آب. 5 MS. (A) واقع شد.

6 کہ کوتاہ صلاح بودند. *Ki kotāh silāh būdand.* A footnote variant reads صلاح *salāh* which would mean "who were ill-advised" this is the reading of MS. (B) but the other is preferable.

7 Text در MS. (A) و دیهی.

8 Read کہ نظر MSS. (A) (B) for در نظر.

9 The true reading is a little uncertain here The text reads چنبرها *chambarhā* which may be taken in the meaning of a roof; MS. (A) reads جبر *jīr* (?) while MS (B) reads چنبرہا (?) *chanbarhā*.

The account given in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* (Elliot, v 237–238) differs, and makes it appear as though the Mughūl troops used fire-arms or fire-arrows. Our author's account appears more reasonable.

10 Omit روی. MSS. (A) (B). 11 MS. (B) omits الفرار

slain, and horses, elephants, and spoil beyond all computation fell into the hands of Humāyūn's troops. The news of this victory reached [1] Humāyūn in Lāhor; thus the whole of the Panjāb and Sirhind and Hissār Fīrūza was entirely [2] subjugated. Thence he marched by forced marches straight for the environs of Dihlī, and Sikandar Sūr with eighty thousand cavalry, and elephants of note, and a strong force of artillery, collected round him the Afghāns from every direction, and came to Sirhind, digging a trench round his camp [3] after the custom [4] of Shīr Shāh. This he fortified, and took up his position; the Amīrs of Humāyūn's army holding a council of war, fortified Sirhind, and as far as they could, shewed they were prepared to defend it, and sending despatches to Lāhor begged Humāyūn to come in person, and then awaited his arrival. Humāyūn with all speed [5] marched and came to Sirhind,[6] and every day fierce contests [7] took place between the more venturesome spirits on both sides. Sometime passed in this way, till the day when the command of the advance-guard of the army fell to the turn of the young Prince of the
461. world; [8] seizing his opportunity he drew up his line of battle. On one [9] side was the Prince, the Asylum of the world, and on the other side Bairām Khān, Sikandar Khān, 'Abdu-llāh Khān Osbak, Shāh Abūl-ma'ālī, 'Alī Qūlī Khān and Bahādur Khān made manly onslaughts. The Afghāns also, as far as they were able,[10] behaved with due bravery and valour,[11] but could not contend [12] against an adverse fate, and after a conflict beyond his strength Sikandar turned and fled [13] The victorious hosts pursued the enemy for a long distance, reaping a rich harvest of slaughtered Afghāns; wealth and booty beyond all bounds, together with horses and countless elephants fell into their hands: then they turned back and erected with the heads of their enemies a column

1 Supply رسید after بپاد شاه MSS. (A) (B). 2 MS. (A) یک قلعه

3 MS. (B) reads لشکر for معسکر. 4 MS. (B) reads نطوا for بدستور.

5 MSS. (A) (B) omit تمام.

6 The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* states that Humāyūn sent Akbar.

7 MSS. (A) (B) read مقابله for مقاتله Text.

8 MSS. (A) (B) read جهانیان. 9 MS. (A) omits یک.

10 MS (A) حسب امکان. 11 MS. (B) reads داد مردي و مردانگي دادند

12 MS. (B) reads بسی بر نیامدند 13 MSS. (A) (B) روی بفرار نهاد و

to which Bairām Khān gave the name[1] of Sar Manzil, which (name) is in existence at the present day; Time has many memorials of this kind and still more will follow.[2]

Verse.[3]

On the road on which thou seest those particles of dust,[4]
Thou seest (it may be) the dust of Suleimān[5] brought thither by the wind.[6]

Another says:

Verse.

Every particle of dust which the whirlwind carries away
May be either a Fāridūn or a Kaiqubād.[7]

The words *Shamshīr-i-Humāyūn*[8] were found to give the date of this victory, as they say in this *Rubā'i.*

The wise writer sought for an auspicious omen,
He sought for the writing of speech from his well-balanced nature;
When he came to record the conquest of Hindustān,
He sought the date in the words *Shamshīr-i-Humāyūn.*

Sikandar then proceeded towards the Siwalik hills, while Sikandar Khān Osbak turned towards Dihlī, and the royal camp went by way of Samana to the direction[9] of the capital of Hindustān, and a party of the Afghāns[10] who were in Dihlī, fled hot-foot[11] for their lives, and were scattered on all sides like a flock of sparrows into whose midst[12] a stone has fallen, and every one
was saying to himself, "*He who escapes with his head, verily he* 462.
is fortunate," and the hidden[13] meaning of the words "*the day*

[1] MS. (A) نام نهاد.   [2] MS. (A) adds هم after هنوز

[3] MS (B) reads نظم for مثنوي (Text)

[4] A footnote to the text recites the reading of MS (B) و زرهای گرد.

[5] MS. (A) reads سلیما نانی.   [6] MS (B) reads ماد for باد

[7] Cf. The dust of Alexander turned to clay
May stop a hole to keep the wind away.

[8] شمشیر همایون *Shamshīr-i-Humāyūn.* The sword of Humāyūn These letters give the date 962 H

[9] MS. (B) reads ابجای پای تخت هند.   [10] MSS (A) (B) omit از.

[11] Read بتگ پا. MSS (A) (B) instead of the reading in the text.

[12] MS. (B) inserts که after معرکه.   [13] Supply سر MS (A).

when man shall flee from his brother and his mother and his father and his spouse and his sons"[1] became evident.

Shāh Abū-l-Ma'ālī was detailed[2] to pursue Sikandar, and in the month of Ramaẓān the blessed, in the year 962 H. the city of Dihlī became the seat of the imperial glory and majesty, and most of the regions of Hindustān for the second time enjoyed the honour of the *khutbah* and *sikkah* of Humāyūn. No king before this time had ever been so fortunate as to attain to the glory of imperial power a second time,[3] after having suffered defeat; whereas in this case the power of God whose glory is supreme was plainly showed And in this year Humāyūn apportioned the greater part of his territories[4] among his faithful adherents, and vowed the *pargana* of Muṣṭafaābād, the revenue of which reached the sum of thirty or forty *laks* of *tankas*, as a votive[5] offering to the Spirit the author of victories, the guardian of prophecy *on him and on his family be blessings without end* He also gave Hissār Fīrūza as a reward[6] to the Prince, just as Bābar Pādshāh also had conferred it, in the commencement of his victories, as a reward,[7] upon Muhammad Humāyūn, and the whole of the Panjāb he bestowed upon Shāh Abū-l-Ma'ālī, and nominated him to oppose Iskandar the Afghān, who, not being able to stand against him, shut himself up in the northern hills, and Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī having reached high rank[8] was living in great pomp in Lāhor; on this account the crow of conceit made its nest in his brain, and brought matters to this pass[9] that after the affair of (the king) whose dwelling is in Paradise, the queen shewed signs of contumacy and rebellious

1 Qur'ān lxxx, 34-35. 2 MSS. (A) (B) نامزد گشت

3 The reading of MS (A) is preferable to that in the text MS (A) reads مرتبۂ دیگر بفر سلطنت برسد. A footnote variant reads بمقر سلطنت رسد.

4 MSS (A) (B) ولایات را.

5 Text صدقة MS. (A) ندر

6 Faizullah Khān gives this word as چلدو *Childū* in the sense of انعام *In'ām* In the Farhang-i-Anandrāj the word is given as *jildū* or *juldū* in the same sense Pavet de Courteilles does not give the word.

7 MS (L) omits بانعام محمد.

8 MS (B) reads مرتبۂ تمام and on its بشوکت تمام

9 Text بانجا رسید MS (B) reads بانجام رسید.

intentions,[1] as will shortly be described, if God He is exalted[2] so will it. And since Abū-l-Ma'āli had treated badly the Amīrs who had been sent to support him, and had (occasionally)[3] interfered in their *Aqtā's*, and not only in these but even in the public 463
treasury and in the government lands, the Amīrs became disheartened, and Sikandar daily waxed stronger, Bairām Khān was appointed[4] to the office of tutor (*Atālīq*) to the young prince, and was sent to oppose Iskandar Shāh Abū-l-Ma'āli was appointed to Hiṣṣār Fīrūza, but had not yet started when Qabā Khān Gang was appointed to Āgrā, 'Alī Qulī Khān to Mīraṭh and Sambal, and Qambar Dīwāna to Badāon, and Haidar Muḥammad Khān Ākhta Begī[5] to Baiāna Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān kept Ghāzi Khān Sūr,[6] the father of Ibrahīm Sūr, for sometime besieged in the fortress of Baiāna[7] And inasmuch as the good fortune of the Afghāns was, like their good sense, on the decline, although before the siege and after it also, thoughtful and experienced men urged him to march on Rantanbhor and thence to Gujrāt, he would not listen to them, and fell like a fish into the net.

Verse[8]

God carries the vessel whithersoever He will
Though the ship master rends his garments on his body.

The *zamīndārs* of the fortress of Baiāna sued for quarter, and had an interview with Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān, binding themselves by oaths[9] to certain treaty conditions, and bringing Ghāzī Khān with his family and relations out of the fort, bestowed him in a safe place in the camp,[10] and[11] the following day having made a careful examination of the wealth and treasures,[12] put all the

[1] اطوار خلاف و تخیلات فاسد از و بمنصهٔ ظهور شتافت The text reads wrongly خلافت MS. (B) reads خلاف

[2] تعالی MS (A) [3] MS (B) گاه

[4] MS (B) reads مقرر فرمودند و بدفع اسکندر تعیین نمودند

[5] MS (B) omits آخته بیگی Haidar Muhammad Khān Begī was an old servant of Humāyūn who had given the Emperor his horse when Humāyūn's horse had been shot in the defeat near Balkh See Āīn-i Akbarī, (B) I, 384

[6] MSS (A) (B) [7] MS (A) omits قلعهٔ and reads محصر for محصور

[8] MS (A) reverses the order of these two lines

[9] MS. (B) reads پیمان for بایمان [10] MSS (A) (B) read معدن کرد.

[11] The text has a superfluous و here [12] MS (A) اموال ودفاین

inhabitants to death from the full-grown man to the babe at the breast,[1] sending[2] the heads to the Emperor, who, however, was displeased with this;[3] accordingly[4] he despatched Mīr Shihābu-d-Dīn[5] Nishāpūrī *Bakhshī*, who received the title of Shihābu-d-Dīn
464. Aḥmad Khān, to Baiānā to verify the wealth of Ghāzī Khān. Ḥaidar Muḥammad[6] concealed the valuable jewels and shewed only ordinary[7] things. Qambar Dīwāna had collected a large following in the vicinity of Sambal and was saying 'What has Qambar to do with Sanbal, while 'Alī Qulī Khān has a lien on the revenue of Sanbal? It is as though the land belonged to one man and the trees to another.'[8]

And before that 'Alī Qulī Khān could go to Sanbal Qambar Dīwāna went to Badāon, and from thence passing by Kānt o Gola[9] he fought with Rukn Khān Afghān, and gained the day, occupying the country up to the vicinity of the township of Malāūn?,[10] but was subsequently defeated by the Afghāns, and having given up a large number to death in that fort[11] arrived at Badāon, where he exercised great cruelty and oppression; and although 'Alī Qulī Khān sent to summon him,[12] he refused to yield to him and said, "My relations with the Pādshāh are more intimate than yours,[13] this head of mine is twin brother of the imperial crown" 'Alī Qulī Khān upon his arrival besieged Badāon, and that madman

1 MS. (B) reads همکي را تا اطفال شیر خوارة. This reading is given in a footnote to the text.

2 MS. (B) فرستادند

3 MS. (B) reads این معنی پسند نیامد

4 MS (A) omits بناء reading و

5 MS (B) reads میر شهاب *Mīr Shihāb*

6 MSS. (A) (B).

7 اشیای سهل را نمود *Ashya-i-sahl rā namūd* MS. (A) omits را

8 Read here سنبل و قنبر چه MSS. (A) (B) The reading in the text has no meaning

9 Shāhjahānpūr MS (B) omits كانت

10 The text reads ملانوة *Malānwah* (?) MS. (A) reads لاوة (?) *Malānah* MS. (B) reads ملاوة *Malāuah* I am quite uncertain as to the correctness of the suggestion in the translation Malāūn (*See* Hunter *Imp Gaz* ix 237) is a hill fort in the Panjāb lat 31° 12′ N. long 76° 52′ E. Firishta makes no mention of this

11 MS (A) reads جا MS (B) omits كس.

12 MS (B) omits نزد خود MS (A) reads طلبيدة.

13 MS (B) reads زیادہ تر آست

(Diwāna)[1] who knew no moderation, was at that very time preparing to tyrannise over the people even more than before, taking by force the daughter of one and the property of another; and in consequence of his want of trust[2] in the people of the town, used himself to go the rounds by night[3] from bastion to bastion, and see to the proper state of the defences. In spite of this his imagination used to run riot,[4] and his ideas, in consequence of his infatuation, were excited to such a degree, that he used to go for half the night into an empty[5] room and lay his ear upon the ground, and going on[6] from there a few steps would spy about, and then return to his original post, suddenly he called the pioneers and said, "A noise has reached my[7] ears, dig up[8] the ground in this spot." When they excavated they discovered a mine[9] which 'Alī Qulī Khān had laid from outside the fortress 465. The people who saw those[10] mines said that from the side[11] of the fort in whatever direction they struck[12] into the mine they found the foundation of the wall of the fort reached the water, with iron rods, and pillars and baulks of *sāl*[13] wood arranged under its foundations, bound together[14] for the purpose of strengthening them, with the sole exception of this place which had been excavated.

In fact, had not Qambar been vigilant, the men under 'Alī Qulī Khān would have blown down the wall by sheer force and have effected an entrance by way of that breach. 'Alī Qulī Khān was

1 The word ديوانه. *Diwāna* means a madman.

2 MS (B) reads اعتمادي. The text reads اعتميدي an incorrect form by *imāla*.

3 MSS (A) (B) read بشبها after خود omitting شبها before مبكشت

4 This appears to be the meaning, though the word فراست is used in a somewhat strained and unusual sense. A footnote variant to the text says that the textual reading is found in one MS and in two others مستوجب.
Both MSS (A) and (B) are the same as the text which seems correct.

5 A footnote variant reads بقال for خالي The text is correct.

6 MS (A) omits پيشتر.

7 MS (B) omits من.

8 MS (B) reads بكاوند

9 نقب Text MS (A) reads نعت.

10 MS (B) omits آن

11 MS. (A) reads طرف for اطراف

12 Text شروع در نقب نمودند MS (A) reads كردند for نمودند.

13 چوبهاى سال *Chubha i sal*

14 Read دوز MS. (A)

astonished at this degree of vigilance,[1] and the people of the city by common consent despatched a message to 'Alī Qulī Khān saying, "On such and such a night let the besiegers make an attack[2] up such and such a bastion, so that we may bring them into the fort by the help of nooses and scaling-ladders." Accordingly this they did, and having admitted the soldiery of 'Alī Qulī Khān, Shaikh Ḥabīb Badāonī, who was one of the most notable men[3] of the place, took his place at their head, and leading them to the bastion of the Princes,[4] who were the relations of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī of Fatḥpūr, set fire to it. On the morrow when the sun rose, the sombre-fated Qambar, wearing over his head a black blanket which was an emblem of his wretched fate,[5] came out of the city. They seized him as one would a jackal and brought him in, and although 'Alī Qulī Khān spoke gently to him,[6] saying "Bow thy head,[7] that I may spare thy life," that madman, fed on dog's brains gave him an abusive answer, so that he was sent to join the dogs of hell. His tomb is well-known in Badāon He used to spread plentiful feasts and say (to his guests) "Eat! for wealth is the wealth of God, and life is the life of God, and Qambar Dīwāna is the cook of God"

When the despatch from 'Alī Qulī Khān reached the Court together with the head of Qambar, the king, whose refuge is the mercy of God, was extremely annoyed Just about this time, on the seventh of the month of Rabī'u-l-Awwal, in the year 963 H., when[8] Humāyūn had ascended to the roof of the library which he had built in the fortress of Dīnpanāh in Dihlī, as he was coming
466. down, the *mu'azzin*[9] uttered the call to prayer, and he knelt out of

1 MS (B) omits او.

2 MS. (A) reads حیله for حمله.

3 Text از مشاهیر MS. (A) reads از اعیان.

4 MS (A) reads شیخزاده

5 MS (A) باو بملایمت گفت.

6 Text reads که از گلیم نعمت وی نشانه بود, but it seems as though we should read کلیم in the sense of wounded, stricken MS (B) omits بود

7 Text فرود آر MS. (A) reads فرود آورد. 8 Supply که MSS. (A) (B).

9 موذن *Mu'azzin*. The crier whose duty it is to utter the *azān* or summons to prayer The Azān was instituted at first when the Moslims came from Makka to Madīnah, some proposed the lighting of a fire, others the blowing of a trumpet, but the former was objected to as being a Jewish custom, and

respect for the *Azān*; and as he rose his staff glanced aside and his foot slipped, and he rolled down several steps[1] to the ground. When he recovered a little,[2] Nazar Shaikh Jūlī[3] was sent to the Panjāb[4] to summon the Prince and to tell him exactly what had happened, and on the fifteenth[5] of the same month (Humāyūn)[6] bade farewell to this inconstant world and took his way to the abode of eternity;[7] and this *tārīkh* was written to commemorate the event

> Since by the mercy of God he passed to his rest within the garden of Rizwān
> *Bihisht āmad maqām-i-pāk-i-ū* gives the date[8]

and Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī wrote as follows:—

> Humāyūn, Pādshāh of the kingdom of reality,
> No one remembers such an Emperor as he,
> Suddenly he fell from the roof of his palace,
> And from that fall his precious life was lost
> Kāhī made a calculation for the *tārīkh* of that event,
> *Humāyūn Pādshāh az bām uftād*[9]

the latter as being the custom of the Christians Then Billāl was ordered to repeat *Allāhu Akbar* twice in a loud voice as a signal for prayer

The forefingers were ordered to be put into the ears while repeating the Azān to strengthen the voice, probably this was due to the subjective sensation of increase of sound of the voice when the external meatus is closed. The Azān has special virtues attached to it, for those who uttered it Thus it is said "The callers to prayer may expect paradise on the day of the resurrection," and again "Whoever acts as Mu'azzin seven years to please God, will be redeemed from hell-fire" See also Hughes' *Dict of Islam* s.v., see Mishkāt iv. Chapter 5, 6

[1] MS. (B) omit پایه. [2] Firishta says that he was taken up unconscious

[3] Footnote variant جمعالي *Juma'ālī* [4] MS (A) بجانب پنجاب.

[5] Firishta says the eleventh (Bo Text 459)

[6] MSS. (A) (B) omit پادشاه غفران پناه

[7] MSS (A) (B) داربقا.

[8] بهشت آمد مقام پاک او These words give the date 963 H. The meaning is, Paradise became his pure resting-place

[9] همایون پادشاه از بام افتاد. The value of these letters is 963. The meaning is, Humāyūn Pādshāh fell from the roof

The following was also found to give the date:[1]

> Be not ignorant of the year of his death—See!
> *Humāyūn kujā raft wa iqbāl-i-ū*[2]

The following *tārīkh* was also found:

> *Ai! Ah! Pādshāh-i-man az bām uftād.*[3]

Verse

> That capital city of the kingdom which thou sawest is laid waste,
> And that Nile of whose bounty thou heardest has become a mirage,
> The sky gave the head of Muḥammad Yaḥya to ruin,
467\. And calamity attended Sinjar the lord of slaves.
> The fourth heaven became a house of mourning
> The spirit of sanctity came to condole with the Sun.

His age was fifty-one years, and the duration of his reign[4] was twenty-five years and a fraction He was a man of kingly proportions, adorned with all excellencies and perfections, both of appearance and reality, unequalled in the sciences of astrology and astronomy and all abstruse sciences.[5] He was the preceptor of the followers of excellence and perfection, the refuge of the seekers after piety and rectitude. Fond of poetry and[6] of poets, he used himself to compose good verses, he never remained for an instant without the *wuẓū'*,[7] nor did he ever

[1] MS (A) reads here ايضا.

[2] همايون كجا رفت و اقبال او. The value of these letters is 963. The meaning is "What has become of Humāyun and his good fortune."

[3] MSS. (A) (B) insert this before the preceding *tārīkh* Its value is also 963 H. and its meaning is 'Alas! Alas! my king fell from the roof.'

We must read اوفتاد as in Text and MS. (A). MS (B) has افتاد

[4] MSS (A) (B) سلطنتش.

[5] MS (B) reads و ديگر فنون عربيه.

[6] MS. (A) omits و

[7] وضوٓ *Wuẓū'*. Ceremonial washings before prayer. There is a saying attributed to Muhammad "Wuẓu' is half the prayers" and another "When a Moslim uses Wuẓu' it washes from his face those faults which he may have cast his eyes upon, and when he washes his hands it removes the faults they may have committed, and when he washes his feet it dispels the faults

take [1] the name of God nor of the prophet, *may the peace and blessing of God be upon him,* without *Ṭihārat*; [2] and if it chanced [3] that the necessity arose for mentioning a name [4] compounded of this word *'Abd,* or one of the *Asmāu-l-ḥasna* [5] such as 'Abdu-llāh or the others, in such a case he would confine himself to the word 'Abd (servant), for example he would call 'Abdu-l-Haiyy, 'Abdul simply. In this same way in writing letters in place of the word "*huwa*" [6] when the necessity arose he used to write two Alifs side by side

towards which they may have carried him; so that he will rise up in purity from the place of ablution." Again "The key of paradise is prayer and the key of prayer is ablution." The prophet also said "Verily my sects will come on the day of resurrection with bright hands and feet because of Wuzū'.

For a full account of Wuẓū' and the acts requiring its performance, see *Mishkātu l-Maṣābīh* II. 34, also see Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, art *Wuzū'*.

1 MS (A) بحسب اتفاق.

2 طهارة *ṭihārat.* This term includes all the various methods of purification enjoined by Muhammadan law

See Hughes' *Dict. of Islām*, art *Purifications*

3 MS. (A) مرزبان برانی

4 The text here gives some verses which are not found in MS. (A) They are given here as they interrupt the continuity of the text

• قطعة •

اعتقادي درست دار چنانک - اعتمادت بدان نگردد سست

بنده را بی شک از عذاب خدای - برهاند جز اعتقاد درست

Preserve a lively faith so that thy reliance thereon may not falter,
Nothing of a surety delivers the servant from the wrath of God save a lively faith

MS (B) reads

نامی اعتمادي دوست دار چنانکه - اعتمادت بذات نگردد سست هرگاه

5 *Asmāu-l-ḥasnā* The best of names. See *Mishkāt*, xxii 8. Verily the best of names, in the sight of God, are 'Abdu-llāh (the servant of God) or 'Abdu-r-Rahmān (the servant of the Merciful One)

6 هو *Huwa* The name of the Almighty, written at the commencement of a document by devout Muslims, meaning, *He alone is God* It is the third person of the Arabic personal pronoun. By some commentators the word is supposed to stand for the *Ismul-'aẓam* or most holy name, which according to Muslim divines is known to God alone See Qurān III, 1 *La Allah illa Huwa* There is no God but He

thus (11), whose letters thus arranged[1] have the same value as those of the word " "*Huwa*" [In all matters he observed the same reverential caution which was as it were a part of his nature].[2] He always spent his evenings in company and was never niggardly in entertainment, the revenues of the whole of Hindustān would not have sufficed for his expenditure. His *vakīls*, for fear of (being thought to be greedy for) reward, would never mention
468. the name[3] of gold in his presence, and like his father he was not engrossed in amassing wealth; no improper word or term of abuse ever passed his lips, and if he were ever very wrath with any person he used just to say 'You stupid,' and not a word more.

Whether in the house or in the mosque even by mistake he never placed his left foot down before the right, and if any one placed the left[4] foot in his house he would say, "It is the left foot," and would make him turn back and bring him in again. From his excessive reserve he never opened his lips in a smile, nor did he ever cast an angry glance at any one. They say that Shaikh Ḥamīd, the commentator of Sanbal, on the occasion of the conquest of Hindustān, for the second time went to Kābul to receive him, and in spite of the extreme confidence which Humāyūn had in him, one day he fell into a passion and said "My king, I see the whole of your army are Rāfiẓī[5] (heretics)" Humāyūn replied, "Shaikh why do you say such a thing, and what have you to say about it?" He answered "Everywhere the names of your soldiers are of this kind[6] I find they are all Yār 'Alī (Friend of 'Alī), or Kafsh 'Alī (Shoe of 'Alī), or Ḥaidar 'Alī (Lion of 'Alī), and I have not found a single man bearing the name of any other Companion." Humāyūn was indignant at this, and dashing his drawing pencil[7] upon the ground in anger, said "The

[1] The value of ه being 5 and of و being 6, the word هو is equivalent to eleven; Two Alifs placed side by side (11) also stand for eleven

[2] MS (B) omits the sentence in square brackets.

[3] MS. (A) omits نام and reads بياوردي. [4] MS (B) omits چپ

[5] رافضي *Rāfizī* This term was originally applied to the Shī'ahs who joined Zaid ibn 'Alī but forsook him upon his refusing to curse Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the first two Sunnī Khalīfahs but it came afterwards to denote any sect of Shī'ahs MS (B) alone reads رفضي The Text and MS (A) have راقضي.

[6] MSS (A) (B) read اين مرتبه omitting در.

[7] قلم تصوير *Qalam i-taswīr* Text and MS. (A) MS (B) has تحرير *tahrīr* writing, instead of *taswīr* (drawing), so also a footnote variant

name of my grandfather himself was 'Umar Shaikh[1] and I know no more than this," then he rose and went into the *ḥaram* and returning, with great gentleness and kindliness informed the Shaikh of the purity of his faith[2]

Verse.

Preserve a lively faith so that thy reliance thereon may not falter,
Nothing of a surety delivers the servant from the wrath of God save a lively faith.

And in order to recount the many virtues of that monarch who has obtained pardon and remission, *may his resting-place be happy*, a separate record would be necessary. Countless[3] poets, the wonder of the age, sprung from under the skirt of his auspicious reign[4] Among these, in Badakhshān was Maulānā Junūni[5] 469.
Badakhshi the enigmatist, who composed a *qaṣīdah* made up of thirty-eight couplets in honour of that[6] monarch, whose refuge is the pardon of God, during the time that he was a Mirzā, and certain *tours de force* which had escaped the net of the *qaṣīdah* which Mīr Saiyyid Zū-l-fiqār Shirwānī composed in honour of Khwāja Rashīd *Vazīr*, and the *qaṣīdah* of Salmān Sāwaji which he wrote in honour of Khwāja Ghias *Vazir*, this poet[7] seized, for example the *mu'ammā*,[8] and *Iẓhār-i-muẓmar*,[9] and the *tārīkh*,[10] and other (tricks) of this kind, and in very truth that work of art is a veritable *kārnāma* (record of deeds), a miracle in the world of speech. The following are the opening couplet and another, taken from it.

1 'Umar Shaikh Mirzā, second son of Tīmūr, was the father of Bābar See *Ain-i-Akbari* (B) I 293.

2 MS (A) reads بمالبمت و رفق شیخ را بر حسن عقیدهٔ حویش اطلاع دادند.
So also MS. (B) except that را is omitted

3 MSS. (A) (B) read بیشمار. 4 MS (A) از دامن دولت او.

5 Text reads جنوبی *Junūbi*, but MS (A) reads جنونی *Junūni*.

6 MS. (B) omits آن. 7 MS. (B) omits او.

8 معما *Mu'ammā*, Enigma. A saying of which the meaning is hidden *See* Garcin de Tassy, *Rhetorique et Prosodie*, p. 165.

9 *See* Garcin de Tassy, *op cit.*, p. 191

10 تاریخ *tārīkh*, chronogram. Several examples have been given, *see* page 601, *n* 8.

Verse.[1]

Shahanshāhā *rukh-i-tū lāla o nasrīn* lab-i-tū jān
Hami bīnam *lab-i-tū ghuncha-i-rangīn* shuda khandān
Nami gūyam *khatt-i-tū sabza o raihān* khad i-tū gul
Shavad zāhir *qadd-i-tū fitna-i-daurān* dam-i-jaulān.

And by taking all the verses of this *qasīda* after the manner of an acrostic,[2] the following opening couplet is formed :—[3]

Shahanshāh-i-dīn pādishāh-i-zamān
Zi bakht-i-Humāyūn shuda kāmrān.

While again, if the *hashw*[4] of the two first couplets are written in red ink, the following opening couplet results, which may be read in three different metres.[5]

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1 MS. (A) قصیدة *qasīda*

The following is the translation of these lines which are given in the original in the text, as the whole sense of the passage following turns upon the form and not upon the meaning of the couplets

King of kings, thy cheek is the tulip and jasmine thy lip is the life.
As I look, thy lip like the bud in its redness, expands in a smile
I say not, thy bloom is the verdure and perfume thy cheek is the rose
Life itself, from thy figure entrancing, appears in thy gait

2 توشیح *Taushīh.* The initial letters of each verse when taken together from the couplet given. Thus in the four lines given the initial letters are ش *sh* ه *h* ن *n* ش *sh* forming Shahansh See Garcin de Tassy, *op cit*, p 164.

3 The couplet when translated, reads

Emperor of the faith, Pādishāh of the age,
From thy good fortune thou hast become prosperous.

The play on the words Humāyūn and Kāmrān will be observed

4 The first foot of the first *misrā'* (hemistich) is called *sadr*, while the last foot of the same hemistich is called *'urūz*; similarly the first foot of the second hemistich is called *ibtidā*, while the last foot of this hemistich is called *zarb*. All the feet intervening between the *sadr* and the *'urūz*, or between the *ibtidā* and *zarb*, are called *hashw* which means literally the stuffing of a pillow (*Āgīn-i-bālish*) In the above the *hashw* of the verses is printed in red ink. The scansion is as follows —

Shahanshāha	rukh-i-tū lā	la-o-nasrīn	labitū jān
Mafā'ī lun	Mafā'ī lun	Mafā'ī lun	Mafā'ī lun

The metre is thus *Hazaj-i-Musamman.*

5 The three metres in which these lines may be read are—

(1) Hazaj-i-musamman See note 4 above.

Rukh-i-tū lāla o nasrin khatt-i-tū sabza o raiḥān
Lab-i-tū ghuncha-i-rangin qadd-i-tū fitna-i-daurān [1]

And if they be read in reversed order a couplet is formed which may also be referred to three several metres,[2] and with a change of *qāfiyah* [3] and *radīf* [4] in the following manner .[5]— 470.

Khatt-i-tū sabza o raiḥān, rukh-i-tū lāla o nasrin
Qadd-i-tū fitna-i-daurān,[6] lab-i-tū ghuncha-i-rangin.

And from that which remains in black letters, a distinct opening couplet remained [7] Other *tours de force* also existed in this opening couplet, which are explained in the marginal notes to the work.

(ii) Ramal-i-musamman makhbūn, and the scansion is

رخ تولا　　له و نسرس　　خط تو سب　　زه و ريحان
فعلاتن　　فعلاتن　　فعلاتن　　فعلاتن

(iii) Mujtas-i musamman makhbun and the scansion is

رخي تلا　　له و نسرين　　خطي تسب　　زه و ريحان
مفاعلن　　فعلاتن　　مفاعلن　　فعلاتن

See Elements of Arabic and Persian Prosody (Ranking) pp. 49, 67, 90.

1 MS (B) reads ستان in place of دوران so also footnote variant

2 The three metres are those given in *note* 5, on the preceding page.

3 قافية *Qāfiyah* This signifies the rhyme, of which the essential letter is called the روى *rawī*, which may have also other letters preceding it and four following

4 رديف *Radīf* is the name given to a quiescent *alif* following a *fatha*, a wāo quiescent following a *zamma* or a *ye* quiescent following a *kasra*, in other words it is one of the letters ا, و, ى placed as a letter of prolongation before the *rawi*. It is more accurately called ردف *Ridf*

Thus in the lines now cited the *Radif* is the letter *ye* in the words *rangin*, and *nas'rin*, whereas in the former verses the *radīf* was *alif*, as in the words *raihān* and *dauran* MS (A) omits و رديف *See* also Garcin de Tassy, *op. cit*, p. 370

5 MS. (B) omits باين طريق

6 MSS. (A) (B) read بوستان *būstān*.

7 For example, we can read

Shahanshāhā lab-i-tū jān	King of kings thy lip is life
Hamī bīnam shuda khandān,	As I look it wreathes in smiles ;
Namī gūyam khad-i tū gul	I say not thy cheek's a rose
Shavad zāhir dam-i jaulan	Blooming as thou passest by

And from the four[1] couplets of a *qaṣīdah*[2] some of the words of which are written in red ink, the following *qiṭa'h*[3] containing the conquest of Badakhshān may be obtained, and the *qiṭa'h* also has a hidden meaning, the explanation of which is obtained from certain verses extracted from these two *qaṣīdahs*.[4]

Qiṭa'h.

Tū-ī Shāh-i-Shāhān-i-daurān ki shud
Hamīsha tuīā kār fatḥ o ẓafar.
Guifti Badakhshān o tārīkh shud
Muhammad Humāyūn Shah-i-bahi o bar [5]

Rubā'ī [6]

Until the weak body of the beggar became the dust of his threshold,
His heart on account of his sorrow and vexation, fell desolate
The life of this helpless one left him because of desire for the beloved.
His love exceeded all bounds, if haply at that time that king might summon him

[1] MS (A) reads چهار   [2] MS (A) قصیدهٔ

[3] The قطعة *qiṭa'h* Must contain not less than two couplets nor more than a hundred and seventy The first two hemistiches need not rhyme, but the second hemistich of every verse must rhyme with the final hemistich of the opening verse

The قصیدة *qaṣīdah* In this form of poem the two opening hemistiches must rhyme It must consist in Persian of not less than twenty five couplets and not more than a hundred and seventy. *See* also Garcin de Tassy, *Rhetorique et Prosodie* for an explanation of these and other terms, and Gladwin, *Dissertations*

[4] The reading in the text and in both MSS (A) (B) is unintelligible, we must evidently read ایں دو for آیند The footnote to the text merely states that the reading in the text is found in all three MSS, but makes no attempt to explain the true reading.

[5] محمد همایون شهٔ بحرو بر These words give the date 927.

The translation of these verses is

Thou art king of the kings of the age,
Whose continual object is conquest and victory
Then did'st seize Badakhshan and its *tārīkh* was
Muhammad Humāyūn king of sea and land,

[6] MS. (A) adds مظهر *muzhar*.

Gūshwāra.[1]

Tell the good tidings of the victory of the king of my faith.

And if my life should obtain a few days grace from that exacting creditor[2] Death, this *qaṣīdah*, together with all the *qaṣīdahs* and such useful information as I have written down in a separate note-book in the course of my travels, shall, should opportunity offer, be included among the contents of the second volume of the *Najātu-r-Rashīd*[3] which I am anxiously longing to complete, 471. should God, who facilitates our undertakings, so will it.

Another poet[4] is Wafā'ī, by which *takhalluṣ* Shaikh Zainu-d-Dīn Khāfī[5] is commonly known, who was *Ṣadr-i-mustaqill* (Judge-plenipotentiary)[6] during the reign of Bābar Pādishāh. There

1 گوشوارة *Gūshwāra.* Lit, earring. The first line of a *ghazal* or *qaṣida*, following immediately upon another.

Read گو خبر فتح شهٔ دین ما. MS. (A) سهٔ دین نامهٔ and کوجد فتح. A footnote variant reads

2 The following is the correct reading. Immediately after the *gūshwāra*

و اگر عمر روزي چند از غریم متقاضي اجل مهلت یافت این قصیده مع سایر قصاید و فواید که درمدت ایام سیاحی در بیاضی علیحده نوشته شده آن فواید فراید را الخ - MS (A).

3 نجات الرشید. *Najātu-r-Rashīd* There is a MS of this work of Badāonī, belonging to the College of Fort William, in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. $\frac{E}{204}$. (*See* J A. S B. xxxviii. p 136). The title of the work gives the *tārīkh* of its composition on the second and last pages. The "second daftar" here mentioned by our author does not appear ever to have been written, though from his statement it would seem he had commenced the work.

4 MS. (A) reads دیگر وفائی که.

5 One Zainu-d-Dīn Khāfī, was a famous saint. His life is given in the *Nafaḥātu-l-Uns*, Calcutta edition, p 569; but the one meant in this passage is the Shaikh Zain who read the *khuṭbah* in Dihlī in Babar's name after the battle of Pānipat, *see* Firishta, Bo. Text, p. 381 and Erskine, Memoirs of Baber, p 306

Khāfī or Khawāfī means 'coming from Khawāf' which is a district and town in Khurāsān Our maps have Khaff or Khāf due west of Herāt See *'Āīn-i-Akbarī* (B) I p 445 and *footnote*, also p. 592 and *footnote*

6 صدر مستقل. *Ṣadr i-mustaqill.* The Ṣadr was an officer of justice whose power appears to have been almost unlimited, his edict was necessary to legalise the accession of a new king

is a mosque in Agra to his memory,[1] and a school situated on the other side of the river Jamna. He was the possessor of excellencies both bodily and mental, and in the construction of enigmas and chronograms, and in extempore versification, and in all the minutiæ of poetry and prose, and in rhetoric, he was unapproachable in his own age.

They say that in the very first assembly in which he made homage to Bābar Pādshāh, he asked, what is your age? Without premeditation he answered, *Qabl azīn ba panj sāl* chil *sāla būdam, wa hālān* chihal *sāla am, wa ba'd az dū sāl-i-dīgar* chihal *tamām mī shavad*[2]

It should moreover be known that (Bābar Pādshāh) also asked (a riddle) of the author of this *Muntakhab* saying: *Pīsh azīn ba yak sāl* panjah *sāla būdam, wa hālān* panjāh *sāla am, wa ba'd azīn ba dah sāl* panjāh *sāla mī shavam*[3]

It is well known that one day Shaikh Zain went to visit the brilliant resting-place of Sulṭānu-l-Mashāikh Nizāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā *may God sanctify him*, and having heard that story of the Shaikh about "*Al Hidāyā mushtarak wa tanhā khushtarak*"[4] repeated this *qiṭ'ah* on the spot

His duties were to enquire into the circumstances of persons before grants were made to them. Under his orders were the *Qāzi* and the *Mīr 'Adl*. See *Āīn-i-Akbari*, (B) I 268–270.

[1] MSS (A) (B) read اورا مسجدیست instead of وصاحب مسجدیست (Text)

[2] That is to say "Five years ago I was *chil* (چل) years of age and now I am *chihal* (چهل) years of age, and two years hence my *chihal* (forty) years will be complete

چل (*chil*) stands for 33 thus ج = 3 ل = 30

چهل (*chihal*) stands for 38 thus ج = 3 ه = 5 ل = 30

while چهل *chihal* is the Persian for forty.

MS (B) completely loses the point by reading چل *chil* throughout"

[3] That is, A year ago I was fifty (*panjah*) years of age, now I am fifty one (panjah with the addition of Alif) years of age, ten years hence I shall be (پنجه) *panjah* years of age

پنجه (*Panjah*) stands for 60 thus

ب = 2 ن = 50 ج = 3 ه = 5

Apparently we should read پنجاه (*Panjah*) which would give 61.

[4] This refers to a visit paid by Amir Khusrū of Dihli to Nizāmu-d Dīn Auliyā, when he saw another visitor who had brought a present for Nizāmu-d

Qiṭ'ah.

Oh our Shaikh! may there come to thee from God gifts without ceasing,
What am I that I should say "*Al Hidāyā mushtarak*"
Thou sayest "*Tanhā khushtarak*" as thou didst say before
Make it "*Mushtarak*" if thou dost not say
"*Tanhā khushtarak.*"

Verse.

Grief has seized me by the sleeve, why should I hide my head in my sleeve?
Desire has grasped my skirt, why should I withdraw my foot within my skirt? 472.
Ah! my sleeve in desire for thee and my skirt also are torn to rags,
Why should I hide my head in my sleeve and withdraw my foot within my skirt without thee? [1]

He wrote a *tārīkh* dealing with the circumstances [2] of the conquest of Hindūstān, and explaining its wonders, in which he did full justice to the claims of erudition

His death occurred near Chinhār in the year 940 H and he was buried within the precincts of a college which he himself had founded.

Another (poet) was Maulānā Nādirī-i-Samarqandi, who was one of the wonders of the age, of excellent qualities, and a compendium of perfection.[3] He had a strong attachment for a beautiful youth named Niẓām, and the following well-known solution of an enigmatical meaning, was composed for him ·

Verse.

I the broken-hearted tell the praises of Niẓām the famous,

Dīn Auliyā. Amir Khusrū exclaimed "*Al hidaya mushtarak*" "The gifts are in common;" whereupon Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā replied.

"*Al hidāya mushtarak lākin tanhā khushtarak*"

"The gifts are truly in common, but I should be better pleased to enjoy them alone."

1 MS (A) transposes the last two lines.

2 MS. (A) omits احوال.

3 MS. (A) reads وفاضل جامع بود. See *Āin-i-Akbarī*, (B) I. 605 *n*.

For my heart, when absent from him, lies disordered [1] and enfeebled.

Rubā'ī.

I am grieved, and in my heart on thy account I hold a hundred sorrows,
Without the rubies of thy lips, I am matched against pain hour by hour;
I am in despair for this life, I the poor, the dejected,
I hope that the road of annihilation may become my refuge.

Gūshwāra.

I sing the praise of the locks of my beloved.

And the following verses are part of the fruit of his fertile genius.

Ghazal [2]

How wondrous graceful is my loved one's form,
I yield myself a slave to that figure and carriage;
My loved one would not look towards me with compassion,
Perhaps she displayed an inclination towards strangers.
Nādirī ! go towards the wineshop
And pledge thy head and turban for wine.

Verse

473. Though I remained my whole life-long there at the head of thy street,
I swear by my life, that I never enjoyed a moment's peace;
Wherever I bowed my head with the intention of obeisance
Thou wert there the Ka'bah [3] towards which I turned.
A whole world was admitted to intimacy, and yet I remained forlorn,

1 نظامی *Niẓāme*, lit. a governor, one who orders and directs. The play upon the word cannot be preserved.

2 غزل *Ghazal*. The ghazal or ode must consist of at least five couplets but must not exceed fifteen. Its first two hemistiches must rhyme.

3 سجده *Sajdah*, commonly pronounced *Sijdah*, means a prostration in which the forehead touches the ground: as a religious observance the prostration, is on seven members: on the forehead, the two hands, the two knees, and the toes of both the feet; women must touch the ground with the elbows, men on the contrary must keep the elbows up. The palms of the hands

All were accepted there but I was rejected;
Why do you ask Nādirī, what is thy condition in that road,
At one time I am unhappy, at another I was happy[1] there.

He also wrote this *Qaṣīdah* in honour of the deceased Emperor.

Qaṣīdah.

Thanks be to God that with a settled mind
Intimate[2] friends sat together in pleasure;
The rose-garden is the pleasure-resort of people, for there in the presence of the rose, the nightingale sorrowful at the absence of his beloved became rejoiced by its presence.
It may be that the beloved one of the garden had been stripped naked by Autumn,
So that she has woven a patchwork garment of the hundred petals of the rose.
The rose and the jasmine, the spikenard and the basil are in one place,[3]
See! the Emperor of Spring has come with his retinue and troops.
The birds are singing the praises of the Emperor of heavenly grandeur[4]
On the branches of the trees, like the preachers from their pulpits.
The glorious Khāqān, the Emperor of dignity like Jamshīd, Humāyūn,
Who has a powerful hand and a sturdy heart by the decree of the Almighty
From his intelligence springs the wisdom of the learned,
From his insight arises the perception of the men of acute vision.

must be placed upon the ground, with the fingers in the direction of the Qiblah, which was originally Jerusalem, but was afterwards changed to the Ka'bah. *Mishkātu-l-Maṣābīḥ*, Cap. xv. part i.

See Hughes' *Dict. of Islam*, art. *Ka'bah.*

[1] MS. (A) خوشنودم آنجا.

[2] The text reads معاصر contemporary, but MSS. (A) (B) read معاشر intimate.

[3] MS. (A) reads یک جانب. [4] Text فلک مرتبة. MS. (B) reads مرتبة.

Since prohibited things are unlawful by the statutes of religion,
He hastens to perform the deeds for which there is divine sanction

474. There have gathered together, to secure the victory of the army of Islâm,
The unrivalled warriors of his army, the brave men of his troops,
Beneath his victorious standard, on the field of Fortune,
May the favour of the Everlasting be his protector and ally
Oh thou by the generosity of whose hand all things have their being,[1]
By the sharpness of whose sword all properties both accidental and essential[2] obtain permanence.
In the first day of eternity, the object of creation for the Lord of the world was the evolution of thy form from this revolving sphere,
Should Gabriel a second time be the bearer of revelation,
Pure passages[3] will be revealed in thy glory.
Every subtilty of science which thy ruby lip pronounces
Has become as famous in the world as the uninterrupted tradition.[4]
It is well-known that this is a commentary on the books of mathematical science, this wonderful composition of thine on the discovery of circles.
How can any one deny the vastness of thy knowledge?
None but a stubborn disputant[6] will deny self-evident truths

[1] قوام *qiwām* is the stay or support of any thing, that in virtue of which it subsists.

[2] اعراض و جواهر *A'rāz o jawāhir* By عرض *'Araẓun*, is meant in the conventional language of Muslim theologians, a thing that is not permanent, "an accident," as opposed to جوهر *jauharun*, "an essential," *see* Lane, s. v عرض also *kashshāf*, s. l. v عرض and جوهر

[3] MS. (A) reads preferably آيات طواهر for ايات ظواهر.

[4] These two lines commencing هرنكتهٔ حكمت occur in MS (A) before the line commencing در روز ازل as well as in this place.

[5] مبني. Founded on certainty, equivalent to مسلم.

[6] مكابر *mukābir*. One who contentiously upholds a proposition which he knows to be false.

I cannot estimate thy perfections, for in every art thou hast become perfectly skilled;

When compared with thy philosophic intellect and good fortune, the angelic essence becomes as one of the common material[1] objects.

Thy generosity is of such a nature that at the moment of 475
bestowing

Thou knowest without asking all the hidden desires of the mind.

This enigma upon the name of Kibār[2] is also by him:

Verse.

That face[3] is the Qur'ān, and that down on the cheek is the sign[4] of tyranny and oppression,

The cheek of that heart-ravishing one has no endowment of the mole of fidelity.[5]

[1] Read احساس for اجناس. MS. (A).

[2] MS. (A) reads كبا MS. (B) reads كيا.

[3] The text reads آنرو with a footnote saying that all three MSS. are the same. MS. (B) reads ابرو.

[4] The text reads آيت, MS (B) reads آيتة.

[5] The verse in the original runs thus

Muṣḥaf ast ānrū wa ān khaṭṭ āyat i jaur o jafā st
'Āriẓ i ān dil-sitān bī bahra az khāl i wafā st

The word مصحف *muṣḥaf* here has two meanings, (1) a collection of pages صحف *ṣuḥuf*, written upon, and placed between two boards, hence a copy of the Qur'ān, (2) affected by *taṣḥīf*, which is a technical expression for so altering a word by changing diacritical points and altering the order of its component letters, that it acquires a different signification.

In accordance with this second meaning, in the word آنرو the letter و *wāo* is first dropped leaving آنر *ānr* then ر *r* is changed into ب *b* giving آبر *ābr*, by transposing these letters we get بار *bār*.

The word خط *khaṭṭ* has also two meanings, (1) down on the cheek, (2) a letter or character. Hence we may translate "that letter is the sign of tyranny and oppression" Now كافتن *kāftan*, cutting or cleaving, is such a sign, and may be represented by its root, كاف *kāf*, which is the letter of the alphabet required, and when prefixed to the syllable بار *bār* above found gives the word كبار *kibār*, thus completing the *mu'ammā* or enigma.

The death of the aforesaid Maulānā took place in the year 966 H. and Mir Amāni Kābuli wrote the following *tārīkh*[1] of the event.

Verse.

Alas! the pity of it, that the discerner of subtilties Nādirī has departed,
That rare poet[2] who did full justice to eloquence in the world;
I sought to express the date of his death by way of enigma,
Wisdom answered *one has gone from among the masters of speech*[3]

Another is Shaikh Abul Wāhid[4] Fārighī, who was deeply imbued with the feelings of a *darvesh* and was[5] renowned for his sweet singing; the following is taken from his poems:

Verse.

So great is the habitual oppression of that seeker after tyranny
That a morsel of mercy from him, seems a great beauty.

And in his impassioned style he says:

Verse.

Praise be to God that I am freed from the love of an ill-conditioned sot,
Who used to fall, as did his eyes, from drunkenness in every road,
Who, like the cup, for the sake of a draught, was lip to lip with every man,
Who like the flagon bent himself to every cup in every place.

1 MS. (A) reads در تاریخ.

2 آن نادری که This we may read *Ān Nādiri ki*. That Nādiri who: or, *Ān Nādire ki*

3 رفت یکی از سخن وران *Raft yake az sukhun warān*. If from سخن وران *sukhun warān* the value of which is 967, we remove یکی that is *one*, we have left 966.

4 Footnote to text says that the *Nafā'isu-l-Maāsir* reads Abūl Wājid MS. (B) reads ابوالوجد Abūl Wajd

5 MSS (A) (B) omit بوده after مشرب and insert it after مشهور.

The following is also by him. 476

Verse.

At that time when my heart was blest with thy companionship,
It did not seem that such a blessing could be expressed;
In short, the whole of my life's reckoning had passed in separation from thee,
Who can count the joy of meeting! what a store of happiness it was!
Strangers last night were near you, while Fārighī at an immense distance was burning like rue [1] upon the fire of disappointment.

This is also his:

Verse.

Oh my intimate companions do not break the bond of union
In dispersion is distraction, do not break it and depart.

And again he writes:

Verse

When thou drawest out thine arrow from my breast leave its point there,
Grant me my heart to yield my life in thy service manfully

His death occurred in the year 940 H., and he was buried in the monastery [2] of Shaikh Zainu-d-Dīn [3] at Agra, and in consequence of the extremity of their unanimity and concord both left the world in the same year. It is said that at the time when these two eminent men went to Hindūstān, owing to their excessive profligacy they possessed nothing but an old *postīn* [4] between them Shaikh Zainu-d-Dīn [5] said to Shaikh Abūl-Wajd,[6] "I will take this to the bāzār of Kābul upon the condition that you won't come and indulge in any pleasantries" He agreed, and a purchaser having run it up to a most extravagant figure

1 سپند *Sipand.* Rue is said in the *Ghiasu-l-lughāt* to be burned to avert the evil eye Rue was called "herb of grace" from its supposed efficacy in exorcism.

2 Omit پیش MSS (A) (B) 3 MS (A) 4 A sheepskin coat.

5 MS. (A) 6 MS. (B) MS (A) reads ابوالوجد

was ready to give five *shahrukhis*[1] but Shaikh Zain kept demanding more. At last Shaikh Abūl-Wajd came up in a disinterested way and was acting as broker, after a deal of haggling he said,
477. Ah! you cheat! why this door mat[2] itself contains[3] five *Shahrukhis* worth of fleas and lice"! so the bargain was at an end, and Shaikh Zain was annoyed and said, "What sort of time was this for the stupid jokes you are so fond of? We wanted the price of a loaf, and this is the way you're going to pay for[4] it"! Shaikh Abūl-Wajd fell into a fit of laughter.

Another is Jāhī Yatmān,[5] who was from Bukhārā, and having acquired a reputation on this account in Kābul, offered his services at the time when the late Emperor proceeded towards Hindustān[6] obtained great favours from Humāyūn, and rose to a confidential position, and at the time when Shāh Muḥammad Khān Sālū[7] was left in Kābul as revenue commissioner,[8] he treated[9] the Mulla just like the rest of the people, and caused him serious annoyance. The Mulla accordingly composed an elegant *tarkīb*

[1] The *Shahrukhī* was a coin equivalent to 16 *dams*, or 2½ to a rupee. They were so called because they were first coined by Shāh Rukh the Mughul Sulṭān of Persia, A H 807–850 Thomas, *Pathan kings*, p 381. The purchaser was thus willing to give about two rupees for the *postin*. The *postin* is a jacket made of dressed sheepskin dyed a yellow colour and more or less handsomely embroidered in yellow silk It is worn like Brian O'Linn's breeches "with the fleshy side out and the woolly side in" They cost about thirty or forty rupees, according to their embroidery

[2] Text reads بتيل *Batīl* In the text this word is followed by a (?) MS (A) has what may be پتل *patal*, in which case the meaning would be "a mat," and this in consideration of the matted condition of a filthy *postīn* seems the true reading

[3] MS. (B) omits باشد.

[4] MSS. (A) (B) اداي شما اين است.

[5] MS (A) reads وديگرى حامي تمبان *wa digare Ḥāmī Tambān*. MS. (B) reads جاهي يتميان *Jāhī-i-yatminān*. A footnote to the text gives يتميان and says that *Nafā'isu l-Maāsir* writes "Jāhī Yatmiyān was from Bukhārā, his father Yatmiyān was a native of that place, for which reason he was commonly known by this name."

[6] MS (A) reads سند *Sind*.

[7] MSS. (A) (B) read سالو *Sālū*. The text reads شاهپور Shāhpūr, but in a footnote gives سالو.

[8] بجهت سزاولي *ba-jihat-i-sazāwalī*.

[9] MS. (B) reads تصوريافته for تصور نموده.

band lampooning Sālū,[1] and inasmuch as the Emperor had the daughter of Shāh Muḥammad Sālū[2] in his service, he made an exception[3] in his favour alone, and erased the names of all the members of his family, male and female, consigning them to ignominy. Inasmuch as Humāyūn was also incensed against that ass[4] who had been the source of all this mischief, he had that lampoon read[5] in Sālū's presence by the Mulla in full assembly, and evinced the greatest delight and merriment, and made him give a large sum as a reward. By degrees that lampoon became more and more disgracefully scurrilous, accordingly I have restricted myself to citing one extract from it in this place, which is as follows:—

"I am the poet of Shāh Humāyūn and the dust of his threshold, 478.
The retinue of my poetic worth casts the moon's brightness into shade.
My poem is the Emperor, and my noble verses are his cavalry and soldiery,
I experienced oppression from a fool,[6] without any fault or crime of mine.
If a fragment of paper has become blackened by my ravings,
If my meditations turn towards[7] satirizing him,
The object is that that these idiotic asses
May have a regard for the honour and dignity of this class.
Alas, for that man who contends with the tribe of poets,
Whoever contends with me contends against calamity."

The Emperor interfered at this verse saying, "Why do you not word it thus:

"Whoever contends with me contends with God"

The following verses are also by him:—

1 MSS. (A) (B).

2 MSS. (A) (B).

3 MSS (A) (B) مستثنی ساخته

4 The Text reads خر *Khar* but M.S. (A) reads خسر *Khusur*, father-in-law.

5 MSS. (A) (B) استماع فرموده.

6 MSS (A) (B) read بیخردی *be-khirade* The text reads قحبه زنی *qaḥba-zane.* Whoremaster.

7 Text ابرا وری with a footnote زده for ابرا.

Verse.

As long as we have existed we have been lovers and have incurred ignominy,
Yet we have been constant to the true proportions of lovers.

This is also his:—

Verse.

Ye, beauteous ones, are all devoid of love and faithfulness,
Ye treat your captives with tyranny and oppression,
Ye promised to be faithful, but have vowed falsely,
Say truly, why are ye all thus false?
Not in this city alone are we disgraced on your account.
479. Everywhere ye are the cause of our disgrace,
How often will ye ask what is your object in the world?
I say truly that ye are, ye are, ye are
Jāhī cannot save his life from your hands
For ye are a calamity of the calamities sent by God.

The following is also by him

Verse.

Last night the moon of the 'Īd appeared in the form of a *misqal* [1]
Because from the vapours of fasting the mirror of the heart was clouded.
Was this the new moon? or by reason of the leanness of their bodies,
Did the bone of the rib of the thirsty-lipped fast-enduring ones appear?
Or was it that they had fashioned a saddle [2] for the camel of Lailī?
Or was it the bowed body of Majnūn who had become pale and wan through grief?
The very heaven wishes to enrol itself among thy servants,

[1] مصقل *miṣqal* or مصقلة *miṣqalat*, called also خرزة *ḵarasat*, is a shell used for polishing swords, mirrors, &c., *Tāju-l-'Arūs.*

MS (B) reads مصقل *muṣaqqal* which suits neither metre nor sense.

[2] MSS (A) (B) read خطيب for حطب. A footnote variant to the text is خصب.

And for that reason has bent the bow in order to string it.[1]
Moreover thy messenger has bound on his bells,[2] and has placed the feather of distinction on his head,
He is going from Rūm to bear tidings from Zanzibār.

It must be borne in mind that this verse[3] *Khwesh rā dar silk-i-khuddāmi tū mīkhwāhad falak.* (The very heaven wishes to enrol itself among your servants) he has taken from a couplet of the *qaṣīdah* of Niẓām Astarābādī, which runs thus,—

Shab nujūm az majma'-i-mardum nishān āwarda and
Waz mah i nau tāza ḥarfe darmiyān āwarda and
At night the stars have appeared like an assembly of men
And have brought into their midst a new idea in the shape of the new moon;
The Shāh of Zangbār has taken his seat upon the throne of Empire 480.
And the stars have brought the bow as an offering to him.

Rubā'ī.

The down which encircles thy cheek is the cause of my distraction,
Thy looks are the cause of my helplessness and distress,
That dusky ringlet is bent upon my undoing,
All these charms are the cause of my distraction.

The following is also his

Come, for the sky has prepared for your pastime[4]
The sun as the golden gourd, and the crescent-moon as the hook[5]

[1] بهرزه گذار (Text). MS. (A) reads بهر بر گذار. MS. (B) reads بهر بر گذار.

[2] بستهٔ زنگ *Basta zang.* The dāk-runners in the East carry a cluster of globular bells called *Zang* or *rang*, tied to one end of the staff carried over their shoulders, to the other end of which the mail-bag is attached, as a signal to clear the way. *Zang-bastan* has the secondary meaning of acquiring importance. MSS (A) (B) read رنگ for زنگ.

[3] MS. (A) reads این بیت را که.

[4] قبق بازی *qabaq bāzī.* *Qabaq* signifies in Tūrkī *a gourd*, in ancient times the Turkomāns used to hang up a wooden gourd as a mark for archery, but in later times a bowl was substituted for the gourd.

[5] کججک *kajak* The name given to the hook upon which the bowl is suspended in the game of *qabaq andāzī.* (*Ghiyāṣu-l-lughāt.*)

Bairām Khān has a well-known *qaṣīdah* with this same rhyme, but in a different metre, of which the following is the opening couplet:—

Verse.

> Thy shaft has carried away the loop of the *qabaq*[1] from its hook,
> Thy meteor, by the help of the crescent-moon has erased the form of the Pleiades.

These two opening couplets are derived from the opening couplet of a *qaṣīdah* by the celebrated Niẓāri Tūnī. The death of Mullā Jāhī took place in the year 956 H. and was due to some poison which a servant introduced into his cup.

Another poet is Ḥaidar Tūnīā'ī, a man of parts and unequalled in the technicalities of harmony, he had a competent faculty for both poetry and music. He spent the greater part of his life in Hindustān. The lampoon upon the *Maliku-l-munajjimīn*[2] of the
481. time of Humāyūn Pādshāh, which he wrote at Panjgāh, is one of the marvels of the age, and a rarity for all time.

The following opening couplet which he wrote for his threnody on the death of the saintly martyred Imām,[3] accepted of God, murdered by man, offspring of the Prophet, by descent from the pure[4] Fāṭimah, *upon them be peace*,[5] is read during the *'Āshūrā* in the assemblies for the commemoration of the death of Husain.[6]

[1] The text reads کبک *kabak* and a footnote states that all three MSS. have the word written with kāf-i-kalimān (ک). MS (A) however has قبق *qabaq*. The crescent moon is compared to an erasing-knife (مسحکة)

[2] Prince of Astrologers.

[3] Husain, the second son of 'Ali by his wife Fāṭimah, daughter of Muḥammad, was slain at Karbalā, A H. 61. *See* Hughes' *Dict. of Islām.*

[4] البتول *Al-Batūl.* The word *batūl* literally means an offset of a palm-tree, cut from the parent tree and independent of it. With the article ال *al*, in its application to Fāṭimah, it denotes her distinction from other women on the ground of chastity, excellence and religion *See* Lane *s. v*

[5] عليهم السلام *'alaihimas-salām.* MS. (A) The text reads عليه السلام, with a footnote variant رضى الله عنه, and stating that the expression in the text is not found either in the dual or plural in any MS. Clearly the editor had not MS. (A) before him.

[6] معارک *m'aārik* lit., battle fields.

Verse.

The month of Muḥarram has come and our eyes are constrained to weep,
We let fall tears of blood at the thought of Ḥusain's parched lips.[1]

Rubā'ī.

Thou art he whom in envy they call the sun and moon,
Thy troops, both horse and foot, they call the moonfaced ones.
Thou art worthy of this, with this grace and beauty of thine,
That all the kings of the age should call thee sovereign lord.

The following is also by him :—

My heart thou hast no friend to compare with sorrow for him,
Thou hast no comfort in life like sympathy for him.

And this :—

Every moment my heart's desire has some fresh allurement,
To bear her coquetry costs my life, what of that? it is her life.
How can I liken the lips of my love to the bud of the rose,
The bud is tightly pursed it is true, but is dumb and silent.

The son of this man Ḥaidar Tūnī was an arrant coward and
spiritless;[2] accordingly in the months[3] of the year 985 H. he had 182
entered the service of Humāyūn; one day he was describing the
circumstances of a journey by boat and its terrors, in such a way
that the effects of fear were evident from his behaviour[4] I asked
saying, May be you regret having gone on the Hajj?[5] and I
repeated as appropriate to the occasion that verse which his rivals
said to the poet Qudsī.[6]

[1] The pathetic story of the death of Husain slain in his attempts to quench his thirst, forms the theme of the annual ceremonies of the Muḥarram. See Hughes' *Dict of Islām*, artt. Muḥarram, and Al-Ḥusain, where a full account of Ḥusain's death is given.

[2] MS. (A) reads پسرش MS. (A) (B) omit وبيدل.

[3] MS (A) omits شهور.

[4] Text اداهاش MS. (A) ادهاش MS (B) دهانش.

[5] حج *Hajj* or greater pilgrimage.

[6] Mir Husain Qūdsi of Karbala, see *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (B) I 602.

Verse.

From the hardships of the desert path, and its thorns,[1]
Of the coming to the *Ka'bah* you are probably repentant.

He replied instantly, "Yea! verily" The king said, why should he repent of having visited the *Ka'bah*, though he may indeed repent of sitting in a ship. At that same moment Mathin[2] Khān, the elegant and accomplished mime, in accordance with a hint from the king, made himself up[3] to represent a mad man bitten by a dog, and began to bark like a dog, and seized Ḥaidar,[4] and dragged him forward with his turban flying one way and his shoes another. He began running in all directions,[5] till at last he rolled on the ground, and set them all laughing immoderately. When he learned the truth he was desperately ashamed. The king attempted to console him, but it ended by his being obliged to leave Hindustān. Another is Shāh Ṭāhir Khwāndī[6] Dakkanī, the younger brother of Shāh Ja'far, the *'Ulamā* of 'Irāq, however ridicule his pretensions to descent from Khwāndī stock, and have prepared a document bearing upon this question, to which both his opponents and supporters subscribed their signatures,[7] as is mentioned in the *Kāmilu-t-tawārīkh* of Ibn Aṣīr Jazarī,[8] and also in the *Lubbu-t-tawārīkh*[9] of Qāẓī Yaḥya Qazwīnī, and other works. He claimed to be intimately connected with Shāh Ṭahmasp, but

1 خارمغیلان *Khār-i-mughailān* See *ante*, p 530 *n*. 1.

2 MSS (A) (B) متهي. *Mathi*

3 MS (B) reads ساختة

4 MS. (A) reads اس حیدررا

5 MS (A) omits هرسو

6 MS. (A) reads Khondi خوندي. Shāh Ṭāhir Junaidi, *See* Beale *Dict Or. Biog*, p. 250 See also Briggs *Firishta*, vol. iii reign of Burhān Niẓām Shāh

7 MSS. (A) (B) خط نهادند The text reads نهاد MS (B) reads خطا.

8 The author of this celebrated history which is also called *Al Kamil fi-t-tārīkh* (the perfect history) or more commonly *Al Kamil*, was Shaikh Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Abi-l-Karan Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu-l-Karīm ibn 'Abdu-l-Wāḥid ash Sharbānī commonly known as Ibnu-l-Aṣīr

He is called Al-Jazarī (the islander) from his birth-place the island of Ibn 'Umar, Jazīrat ibn 'Umar an island of the Tigris above Mosul He was born 555 H. (1160 A D) and died 630 H. (1232 A D.) *See* Elliot and Dowson, II. 244, and Hājī Khalīfah, 9733

9 لب التواريخ *Lubbu-t-Tawārīkh* (Marrow of History) The author of this work was Yaḥya ibn 'Abdu-l-Latīf Qazwīnī (Dimishqī) who died 960 A H (1552 A.D.). *See* Elliot and Dowson IV 293 and Hājī Khalīfah, 11076.

eventually he was led, by the abuse which was heaped upon him
in connection with the aforesaid claim to relationship,[1] and the
excessive annoyance caused him by Mīr Jamālu-d-Dīn Ṣadr
Astarābādī, to proceed to the Dakkan, which is famed as the 483.
refuge for the oppressed, where he met with a favourable recep-
tion from Niẓām Shāh, the ruler of that country, and was re-
warded with considerable advancement, and attaining the highest
dignities[2] reached the rank of *Jumlatu-l-Mulk* (Chief finance-
minister of the State). The Shī'ah tenets spread widely, in fact
we may say they were really inaugurated in those regions through
the instrumentality of Shāh Ṭāhir.[3] Niẓām Shāh Baḥrī, who was
afflicted with an incurable[4] malady of long standing, was cured
by the virtue[5] of a charm pronounced over him by Shāh Ja'far,
and that occurrence, which was in reality was of the nature of
Istidrāj, he attributed to the miraculous powers (*karāmāt*) of
Shāh Ja'far,[6] and acting upon his instigation abandoned the religious

1 MS. (A) reads نسب 2 MSS (A) (B) و مشیر و مشار الیه گردیده

3 Shāh Ṭāhir, by prophesying the recovery of his son 'Abdu-l-Qādir, who was dangerously ill, induced Niẓām Shāh to reject the names of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Usmān, who are the three first Khalīfahs of the Sunnis, from the Khutbah, and to substitute those of the Imāms, thus proclaiming himself a Shī'ah. See Firishta, Bo. text, II 220 *et seqq* Briggs, (III 228) merely mentions the fact but does not give the story.

4 Read لا علاج له. MS. (A).

5 بطفیل فسون خوانی. *Baṭufail-i-fusūn khwānī* This is a very strange expression, and although it occurs in the text and MSS. (A) (B), I would suggest we should read بفضل *ba-faẓl* The use of spells and charms for the cure of disease was permitted to Muslims provided there was in them no suspicion of شرک *shirk*, that is, of associating anything with God. We read in the *Mishkāt* that spells were permitted to be used "to counteract the ill-effects of a malignant eye, and on those bit by snakes or scorpions, and for sores in the side" They were also directed to be used for jaundice which was held to be an effect of the evil-eye. See *Mishkātu-l-Maṣābīh*, XXI. Part II. MS. (B) reads صحتی می دارد

6 استدراج. *Istidrāj* In the *Kashshāf* this is defined as follows: "A preternatural occurrence brought about by the agency of an unbeliever or an impious man, and in conformity with his desires" Another definition is also given from the *Shamā'ilu-l Muḥammadiyah*. "*Istidrāj* is a preternatural occur-

tenets of *Sunnat*[1] and *Jamā'at*,[2] which he held as one of the *Mahdawiyah*,[3] and became a fanatical heretic.[4] What cruel and vexatious treatment as accursed and excommunicate did not these two ill-starred ones[5] inflict upon the '*Ulamā* and Shaikhs of that land! So that at last their disgraceful conduct led to the expulsion of the true Muslims, and heresy[6] from that day again became firmly rooted in that country.

Shāh Ṭāhir was in natural descriptive poetry comparable to Niẓām Astarābādī in astronomical poetry. The following is from one of his *qaṣīdahs* written in eulogy of Humāyūn Pādshāh. In it he has imitated Anwarī.

Verse.

When the golden litter of the sun enters the resting-place of Ḥamal,[7]
The tulip lights its lamp, and the narcissus its torch;

rence brought about by the agency of infidels or evil-doers." It is generally understood that a miracle brought about by one who claims to be a prophet, if it be in accordance with his desires is called *mu'jiza*, while if it be contrary to his intention it is called *Ihānat*. Again that which is brought about by any other than a prophet, if he be faithful, pious, and perfect in the knowledge of God, is called *karāmat*; that performed by the ordinary believer is called *ma'ūnat*, but that which is performed by infidels is to be called *istidrāj*. *Kashshaf* I. 462.

1 The word سنة *Sunnat* means literally 'a path' and the Sunnis are known as اهل سنة *Ahl-i-Sunnat* "the people of the path." The Sunnis have claimed for themselves this title in virtue of their acknowledging the first four Khalifahs to have been the rightful successors of Muḥammad, and receiving the "six books" of tradition.

2 جماعة *jamā'at*, Assembly. It is here used in its technical sense of سنة موكدة *sunnatun mu'akkadatun* an authenticated traditional practice. The Sunnis are commonly called *Ahl-i-sunnah wa jamā'ah*.

3 For an account of the Mahdawi sect, see *Āin-i-Akbari* (B.) I., pp. iii. iv.

4 مترفض غالي *mutarafiẓ-i-ghālī*. The meaning appears to be "became more of a Shī'ah than the Shī'ahs themselves." The form of the word *mutarafiẓ* requires some such translation.

5 مشئوم *mash'ūm* MSS. (A) (B) read ميشوم.

6 رفض *Rafẓ* lit forsaking. The Sunni Muslims call all Shī'ahs *Rāfiẓī* or heretics.

7 حمل *Hamal*, Aries. The sun enters Aries in Spring.

Now the mountain is freed from the headache caused by Bahman and Dai,[1]
And the spring cloud washes from its forehead the sandal.[2]

The following *Qaṣīdah* in praise of the Prophet[3] is also his, although the *guris-gah*,[4] nay even the commencement of the
Qaṣīdah in its entirety, is not suitable to the dignity of the holy 484.
Commander (of the Faithful) *on him be peace*.[5]

Qaṣīdah.

Once more the time has come when in accordance with the summons of the sky
The rose spreads its crimson blanket on the couch of the garden;
The clouds of Naisān, with the keen blood-hued dagger of the lightning
Erases the word "ice"[6] from the pages of the earth's surface.
The close-eyed darlings the buds, like an army of Ozbaks,[7]
Make a night-attack at early dawn upon the army of Dai,
Behold the forms of bud and of rose with the sky for a branch!
The conical shadow of the earth is the bud, the sun in heaven is the rose.

1 بهمن و دي *Bahman-o-Dai*. Dai is the tenth and Bahman the eleventh month of the Persian year: they answer to December and January. *See* Al-Birūnī Chronology, p. 52

2 صندل *Sandal*. Santalum album, N. O *Santalaceæ*.
The wood ground into powder is much used in India made into a paste with water as an application to the forehead in headaches. The *Makhzan-i-Adwiya* recommends the addition of a little camphor and rose-water *See* Ibn Baitar II, 138 See *ante*, p. 484 *n*. 1, also Drury, *Useful Plants of India*, p. 383.

3 منقبت *Manqabat*. This word is used to connote eulogy of either the Prophet or holy men (Walis).

4 گریزگاه *Guris-gāh*. Point of departure. This name is given to that portion of a *qaṣīdah* in which the poet leaves his original theme to descant upon the qualities of the person eulogised.

5 MS. (A) omits حضرت - also عليه السلام - and تعالى -

6 Text حرف برف *ḥarf-i-barf* MS (B) reads حرف حرف *ḥarf-i-ḥarf*.

7 The Turks are called *tang-chashm* close-eyed, and the red petals tightly folded in the bud are likened to the "تاج" or red caps of the Qizilbāsh.

And for this reason that the assembly of the rose may not be without a minstrel,
The nightingale has become the lute-player, the rose-branch with its buds are the lute;
The garment of the rock would have become wet from the moisture distilled from the clouds
Had not the mountain covered its back with the woollen cloak[1] of verdure
Had not the lightning smitten its goad upon the head of the elephant-like cloud
It would have laid in ruins the stately edifice of the sky.
The garden became the table of 'Īsā, and the dew lying on it[2]
Looked like salt sprinkled here and there upon that table,
In order that the people may not receive base gold from the hand of the jasmine,
The tulip cambist carries hidden under his arm the touchstone.
Every perfect thing which is not secure from the defects of decay,
Seems in the sight of the wise and noble but a small thing.
The beloved of the garden is of perfect beauty but it had been well
If this beauty and comeliness had not been separated from it.
Alas! for that moment when at the instigation of desire the army of Dai
Became emboldened[3] to lay waste the garden of roses.
The time is near at hand when the staff-bearer of the days of Autumn
Will knock with his staff at the gate of the rose-garden.
The crow will then hold in derision the impassioned[4] nightingale,
And the withered petals will lie blackened beneath the hundred petalled rose (the sun).

[1] Text reads کبپک MSS (A) (B) read کپنک *kapanak*, a felt garment which poor persons wear on their backs in winter. *Ghiāsu-l-lughāt.*

[2] Read و لروی شبنم MSS. (A) (B).

[3] Text reads شیرک but we should read سترک MS. (A).

[4] MS. (A) reads شورۂ for شوریدۂ.

The wind has cast the diadem from the head of the garden glory,[1]
While the Siparak[2] sets itself up in antagonism to the cheek of the rose.
With a view to the construction of that courtyard of which Dai[3] has laid the foundation in the garden,
Everywhere there lie scattered about bricks of ice and mortar of snow,
[For aged people who have experienced the tyranny of Autumn
The optician Dai makes spectacles of the crystal ice.
[Soon will it happen that from fear of the staff of the watchman of Dai
The people of the sweet herbs will take to flight one after another].[4]
It is better for the wise man that he determine to make the tour of such a garden
Where the autumn cannot be persuaded to go even by force.
That garden is the rose-garden of the praise of a king of so high dignity
That the very angels descend from heaven to frequent his Court.
Murtaẓā[5] the king, both of form and reality, inasmuch as he is the source of the union of shadow and substance.
That one who, from the impetuosity of his royal falcon's talons, 486.

[1] بوستان افروز *būstān afrūz*. A red flower without odour, called also Tāj-i-Khurūs (Cockscomb) and Gul-i-Yūsuf. (Burhān-i-Qāṭi') *Amaranthus caudatus* Love-lies-bleeding or Celosia cristata (Cockscomb) N. O. *Amaranthaceæ*.

[2] سپرک *Siprak* a herb, which when boiled dyes yellow (Steingass). This line may also be translated, Measles has become opponent to the cheek of the rose.

[3] MS. (A) reads گل for دی

[4] This couplet is in MS. (A), as follows.—

زود باشد که ز بیم کتک شحنهٔ دی
گریزنه رعایای ریاحین یک یک

The text reads پیش از انجم instead of زود باشد

[5] مرتضی *Murtaẓa*. The Chosen. A title of 'Ali

Breaks the wing of the heavenly Eagle[1] as though it were a duck
Such a king is he that, in the train of the attendants at his door,
Birjis[2] bears the name Sa'd, and 'Utārid[3] that of Zīrak.
The table-steward of the sky, for the use of his lordly table,
Has brought the Pleiades[4] in his hand as salt-cellar and salt.
The moon has become the censer of his[5] assembly, and the rays of the moon,[6]
Are the smoke of the aloes-wood which issues from that censer,
From behind the mirror of the heavens, in accordance with the rules of approval,
Whatever he said, Fate repeated the same like a parrot.[7]
[Who else is there whom they can bring into his train,
We recognise his other competitors, each one of them.
He bears no relation to tyranny-loving strangers,
The connoisseur perceives the difference between turquoise[8] and glass beads;

1 نسرین فلک. *Nasrain-i-falak.* The constellations Eagle and Lyra.

2 برجیس. *Birjis.* The planet Jupiter, which is one of the سعدان *Sa'dān*, or two auspicious planets, the other being Venus.

3 عطارد. *'Utārid.* The planet Mercury, which is held to rule over intelligence, hence it has the name زیرک *Zīrak*, intelligent.

The names Sa'd and Zirak are commonly given to servants.

4 ثریا *Surayyā.* The Pleiades; as being the most beneficial of the planets from its influence on the autumnal rains, is called by the Arabs النجم *An-najm.* The constellation, *cf* Job xxxviii 31 The poet apparently draws his simile from the form of the constellation itself, and also from the nebula, which he compares to the salt grains. If this latter is really the case it would be interesting, as the nebula of the Pleiades is claimed to have been comparatively recently discovered, first by photography.

5 MS (A) reads نو for وی.

6 The expression جرم قمر *jirm-i-qamar* is not very clear, and properly would hardly bear the meaning given to it in the translation. The word جرم *jirm* is said to be used in the sense of the separate members of the body (see Lane s v) and on this analogy the word is here translated rays.

7 The text has here a footnote saying that in two MSS. there follows here *In matla'i ū nīz mashhūr ast.* So MS. (B).

8 To look each morning upon the turquoise is said to enhance the brilliancy of the eyes It is also said that the wearer of a Turquoise so set that it

Virtual justice and the decree of courts are mistakes,
For this reason that this question was decided in the case of Faddak[1]
The widow of time, since she was not meet for marriage,
He divorced her openly and irrevocably, then he left her.][2]

The following opening couplet of his[3] is also well-known:— 487.

Verse.

In this grief-populated world joy has departed from my sorrowful heart,[4]
We are quite accustomed to grief to such an extent has joy been forgotten.

Verse.

We have been defamed because of the crime of love, as the devotee is blamed for his hypocrisy;
Both of us are defamed, but what a vast difference there is between us?

The following is also his.—

Verse

Come not out, for you will be the calamity[5] of the age,
We shall be slain and you will be disgraced.

The following *qaṣidah* also[6] is a very happy production of his —

Every man who sets his heart upon worldly desires
In the judgment of men of wisdom is not wise;

touches the skin may fall from any height without injury, as the stone attracts to itself the whole force of the blow. *Mani Māla* I, p. 88 It is also supposed to change colour with the state of the wearer's health. The Turquoise is commonly worn set in an amulet.

1 Faddak was a village which belonged to the prophet Muḥammad. After his death, when his daughter Faṭimah had assumed possession, the Khalifah took it from her by force, saying, "I have heard the prophet say 'we prophets will not leave legacies to our heirs but what is left at our death will be given in charity.'"

2 The verses in brackets are omitted from MS. (A)

3 MS. (A) omits او

4 Text reads دو غم آباد جہان عیش از دل ناشاد رفته MSS (A) (B) read در غم او لذت عشق از دل ناشاد رفت. In grief for her the joy of love has left my sorrowful heart.

5 MSS. (A) (B) read فتنه for شهرة   6 Insert بیر از after قصیده MS (A)

His death occurred in the year 952 H. in the Dakkan and for the *tārīkh* of his decease the words *Tābiʿu ahl-i-l-bait*[1] were devised.

Another is Khwāja Aiyūb[2] ibn Khwāja Abūl-barakāt,[3] who was one of the hereditary grandees of Mawarā-an-nahr. Both father and son, in spite of their excellencies acquired[4] and inherited, have become proverbial for indifference, the one in ʿIrāq and Khurāsān, and the other in Kābul and Hindustān. This *Muntakhab* has no room to relate their circumstances in detail, but they are related in many other places, and are well-known. It is said that Khwāja Abū-l-barakāt[5] read the following *maṭlaʿ*[6] of one of his own poems on the learned men of the age.[7]

Verse

The field of my hope became parched, and a famine of faithfulness followed[8]

488. Either this was from the fire of our heart, or that in the cloud of our eye there remained no rain

By way of fault-finding some one said to him that the *yā* (يا) in the last hemistich was meaningless, and in its place he should have written *tā* (تا) The Khwāja repeated the following *qiṭʿah* extempore by way of excuse:

Qiṭʿah.

Whatever comes before men of discrimination,
They do not draw lines by way of criticism
They take the dots either above or below (as may be required)
Wise men are not bound by simple dots.
They read *yā* (يا) and carefully consider,
They do not read *yā* (يا) but make it *tā* (تا) in error.[9]

1 MSS (A) (B) تابع اهل البيت *Tābiʿu-ahl-i-l-bait.* Follower of the people of the House. See Qurʾān, xxxiii. 33 The text omits the article ال before بيت, which is correct, as the date required is 952

2 Text reads ايوب   3 MS (A) reads ابو البركة *Abū-l-barakah*

4 MS. (B) reads مكسبي for مكتسبي   5 MS (A) again reads ابو البركة

6 MS (A) omits مطلع   7 MSS (A) (B) omit خود here.

8 MS (A) reads خشک شد کشت اميد ما و شد قحط وفا

9 There is great cleverness of construction in the original *qiṭʿah*, in the last line we should read بكنند *bi kunand* for نكنند *na kunand*, and in the last but two بدروي for بدرو MS (A)

He also wrote a *qaṣidah* in imitation of Salmān Sāwaji,[1] of which the following is the opening couplet:—

Verse.

I burn with the fever of love, and my head is racked with the pain of separation,
My soul comes to my lips, but my beloved comes not to me;
[Since the fire of my heart burns in my body like the flame in a lamp
My skirt has been rent and my garment torn upon my head].[2]

And the following two poems are taken from a *qaṣidah* which he wrote to satirise the Qāẓi of Nishāpūr:—

Verses.

A certain theologian wrote contrary to the religious law of the Prophet,[3]
There was nothing of that kind written in the books.
He wrote that honey is unlawful and wine lawful to be used because (said he) the latter is the juice of the vine and the former the spume of the bee.
To the wife who went[4] to complain of her husband to the [illegible]
Qāẓi, saying I get no enjoyment of sense from him,
He replied, If he has become enfeebled and weak,
It is right that he should employ a hireling in his place.

The Khwāja in his poems sometimes uses the *takhallus*[5] of Ayūb and sometimes that of Firāqi; the following *ghazal* is by him:—

Verse.

Lovely rose-branch, whose stature is straight as the cypress,
Thou hast twined a line of emerald around thy lips,

The last lines also mean—

Either they read and consider carefully
Or they do not read lest they should make mistakes.

[1] Salmān Sāwaji, whose surname was Jalālu-d-din Muhammad, was a celebrated poet, a native of Sāwa, and flourished in the reigns of Shaikh Hasan Jalāyer and his son Sulṭān Aweis. He died 779 A. H. (Beale, O. B. D.)

[2] Not in MS (B). [3] MSS (A) (B) پیغمبر

[4] MSS. (A) (B) read زنی for زوج.

[5] Poetical name, nom-de-plume

Thy form is straight like the letter Alif [may his shadow be lengthened),
And thine eyebrows are extended like the *medda* over the Alif.[1]
Thou hast cast the die of acceptance on the words of others,
But through the words of lovers thou has drawn the line of refusal;
Thou endurest troubles, do not attempt to draw her, O painter of Chin,
Wert thou to draw a hundred, never would there come eyes and locks like her's.
Firāqi, be not over-desirous of the wealth of union with her,
Thou hast suffered boundless tyranny and spite at the hands of thy beloved.[2]

The king, who has now taken refuge in God's pardon, in spite of that unseemly behaviour was excessively fond of the Khwājah.

Accordingly, so[3] desirous was he of his society that he joined him in the marriage-bond to one of the Begams, in the hope[4] that he would adopt the manner of life of people of probity and rectitude, but the Khwājah was held so close a prisoner[5] by his evil habits, that he could not abide companionship with the king

Verse

When once evil habits have taken possession of the nature
They will never leave it till the day of death.

490. He put forward various flimsy pretexts to that end, and not even contenting himself with this, one day while in the king's assembly he was guilty of a breach of decorum which one blushes to mention. The king, out of the exceeding kindliness and goodness of his nature, overlooked his fault, and merely remarked, "My dear Khwāja what sort of manners are these!" The Khwāja sought permission to proceed to Makka the revered, the blessed,[6] and after duly setting in order the requisites for his journey and the

[1] An Alif ا with a curved line written across it horizontally آ is called *Alif mamdūda*. This cross line was originally the word مد, *madd* which means lengthening or prolonging.

[2] MS. (*B*) transposes the two last lines. [3] MS. (A) از بس omits کہ.

[4] MS. (A) reads تا شاید کہ [5] MS. (A) reads گرفتاری.

[6] MS. (A) omits معظمہ مبارکہ MS. (B) omits معظمہ.

requirements for a sea-voyage,[1] he bade him farewell. When he embarked he enquired of his companions, what[2] are the advantages of going thither? They replied, "Purification from past sins." He rejoined, "I will wait then till I have fulfilled the catalogue of sins, and then be purified, so that I may have no further desire to sin."[3] Thus he remained destitute of that grace, and abandoning himself to his desires, gave the rein to his passions. Sulṯān Bahādur of Gujrāt in consideration of pleasant companionship and good-fellowship, appointed[4] him a daily allowance of one *ashrafī*[5] for his expenditure. One day when he was passing through the bāzār of Aḥmadābād, seeing the Khwāja in the *Tirpauliya* mosque,[6] he reined back and with great kindness and *empressement* asked "How is the Khwāja faring?" He replied "On the fare which you have allotted me, one of my limbs even cannot obtain sufficient sustenance, why do you ask such a question?" Sulṯān Bahādur notwithstanding this rudeness doubled his allowance.[7]

Just at that time too Shāh Ṭāhir Dakkanī came to Gujrāt with all pomp and circumstance on the occasion of his embassage from Niẓām Shāh Dakkanī, and having heard such high praise of the Khwāja, arrived at his house, which had neither a mat nor a pitcher of water. A very pleasant colloquy followed, each reciting his own and hearing the other's verses, and on the next

[1] سار جهاز MS. (A). The text reads اسباب سفر و جهاز and adds a footnote saying that this is the reading of all three MSS and also suggests that we should perhaps read سفر جهاز MS (A.) is however evidently correct here.

[2] MS (A) reads چه چیز است.

[3] Read here تا اوصافي نماند. MS (A.), instead of the reading in the text تا نزو دگي نماند.

[4] MS (A) فرمود.

[5] The *Ashrafī* is a gold coin weighing ten *mashas*, which first obtained currency in the reign of Ashraf Pādshah (*Ghiyāṣu-l-lughāt*).

[6] MS (A) reads بازار for مسجد. The word ترپولیه *tirpauliya* is a Sanskrit word, meaning *having three doors* It does not appear which mosque is meant, but Hunter in the *Gazetteer of India* Vol. I, pp. 97-98, speaking of the architecture of Ahmadābād, points out the compromise of form between Hindu or Jain, and Muhammadan types. He says "Even the mosques are Hindu or Jain in their details, with a Saracenic arch thrown in occasionally, not from any constructive want, but as a symbol of Islām."

[7] MS. (A) omits را

491. day, after arranging all the requirements of hospitality, with a *khil'at*, a horse, and a bag of coin and valuable gifts in his own lodging, sent the Khwāja an invitation. In the warmth of their meeting and the enthusiasm of their conversation, suddenly the conversation turned upon[1] religion and sects. The Khwāja enquired of the Shāh, what is the reason that the Shī'ahs among you say such unbecoming things regarding the companions of the Prophet *on him be peace*? He answered 'Our jurisconsults[2] have decided that cursing (*la'n*) is an element of faith (Īmān).' The Khwāja rejoined, 'Curses on a faith of which cursing is an element.' The Shāh was astounded at this, and their colloquy came to an end, and that urbanity and courtesy which he had thought to shew remained hidden by the curtain of his anger, and was lost. Finally he departed thence in wretchedness and ignominy to the Dakkan and had an interview[3] with Nizām Shāh, who likewise sent all that was necessary to his honourable reception, and received him cordially, but neither there could the Khwāja remain, owing[4] to his perverse temper and his want of self-restraint, till by leaving the world he freed himself from the torment of existence

Verse

My heart, be patient for that stern-hearted friend,
Is sitting and grieving sore[5] at his own unhappy fate.

Verse

Where was the black horse? whither did I wend?

Who am I, and what words are these? but what can I do, for the rein of my restive, hasty[6] and audacious pen has been turned in this direction, and words have leapt forth beyond the area of my control. Were it not so, I know that it is no virtue to pry into faults, while to carp at the vices of others, shutting one's eyes to one's own defects is the acme of shortsightedness

[1] MSS (A) (B) insert در before مذهب

[2] مجتهدین *Mujtahidīn*. Mujtahid (one who strives) is the highest attainable title among Muslim divines *See Hughes' Dict. of Islām, s. v. and Ijmā'*.

[3] MS. (A) ملاقات نمودند,

[4] MS. (A) از جهت MS. (B) reads اجلام for انجامم.

[5] MS (A) reads خوی کشید for نشیند وی. [6] MS. (A) تند رو

Verse

The wicked sees all the vices of others,
From the pitcher that distils which it contains[1]

God He is glorified and exalted, preserves all of us from that which is wrong and improper, and as at this time[2] the writer has not with him a selection from the anthologies of the eloquent and learned poets, accordingly he has found it necessary to restrict himself[3] to the brief mention of these few poets by way of an example. 49

Should this inconstant and transitory life give a few days respite, and should the days, in opposition to their usual habit afford assistance, and should Fate give its help, he will make mention of the poets of former times, and the contemporary poets of Hindūstān, especially of those whom he has seen or heard and appreciated in his own lifetime, together with extracts from their poems included in their biographies.

Mine is the endeavour, its perfection is from God[4] Should this not come to pass, this much will suffice as a memorial of the author

Qitah

If I remain in life, I will repair
The garment which exile has rent,
If I should die,[5] accept this my excuse,
Many are the hopes which crumble into dust

[1] This proverb in one form or another is well-known. The Arabic proverb runs كل إناء ينضح بما فيه Every vessel exudes what it contains.

[2] MS. (A) درين هنگام

[3] MS (A) (B) اقتصار و اختصار

[4] من الله MS. (A) (B) which omit تعالى و تقدس

[5] MSS. (A) (B) بمرديم

THE END

INDEX

OF

MUNTAKHABU-T-TAWARIKH.

VOLUME I.

The numbers refer to the pages; *n* stands for footnote.

A.

Aaron of Scripture, 302 *n* 2.

Abâhât, the *nuh âbâ-i-'ulwiya*, or nine heavens, 176 *n* 2.

Abardhan, town of, 84 *n*. See Bardhan.

Abardîn, town of, 84 *n*. See Bardhan.

Abîward, city of, 30 *n*. See under Abîward.

'Abbâs ibn 'Abdu-l-Muṭṭalib, uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad, 74 *n* 2

'Abbâs, Dynasty of, 13 *n* 1. House of, 571 *n* 2. See also under the 'Abbâsides.

'Abbâs Khân, the Historian of Shîr Shâh, 461 *n* 10.

'Abbâsides, the, 17, 310. See also above under 'Abbâs.

'Abdu-l-'Azîz, one of the Amîrs of Bâbar, 441.

'Abdu-l-'Azîz Khân, the son of 'Abdu-llah Khân, the Ozbak king, 582 and *n* 5.

'Abdu-l-Ghafûr Lârî, Maulavî,—a celebrated Shaikh, 588.

'Abdu-l-Ḥaiyy, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Jamâlî Kanbâwî of Dihlî,—a poet of the time of Islem Shâh, 526 and *n* 7.

'Abdu-l-Ḥamîd ibn Abî-l-Ḥadîd al-Mu'tazilî, author of the *Sharḥ-i-Nahju-l-Balâghah*, 458 *n* 3

'Abdu-l-Ka'bah ibn Abî Quḥâfah, original name of Abû Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddîq, successor of Muḥammad, 106 *n* 1.

'Abdu-llâh, one of the best of names, 602 *n* 5.

'Abdu-llâh Ḥusainî of Baiâna, Shaikh,—one of the learned and holy men of the time of Sulṭân Sikandar Lodî, 434.

Abdu-llâh Khân Ozbak, one of the Amîrs of Humâyûn, 594.

'Abdu-llah Khân, the Ozbak king of Khurâsân, 582 and *n* 5.

'Abdu-llah Niyâzî, Miyân Shaikh,—a Niyâzî Afghân who adopted the manners of a Mahdî, 508, 509, 510, 512, 518, 520.

'Abdu-llāh of Sulṭānpūr, Mullā,—*Shaikhu-l-Islām* and *Ṣadru-ṣ-Ṣadūr* under Islem Shāh, 506 and n 2, 513, 514, 515, 517, 518, 519, 521, 523, 525, 534

'Abdu-llāh Tulumbī of Dihlī, Shaikh,—one of the great and learned men of the time of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 426 and n 10, 427, 429.

'Abdu-llah ibn az-Zubair, sovereign of Ḥijāz and 'Irāq, 287 n 2

'Abdu-l-Malik ibn Marwān, of the Umayyad dynasty of Khalīfahs, 12 n n 1 and 2, 18 n 1

'Abdu-l-Malik ibn Nūh Sāmānī, Amīr,—last of the Sāmānī dynasty, 16 and n 2.

'Abdu-l-Muttalib, grandfather of Muḥammad the Prophet, 2 n 5.

'Abdu-l-Qādir ibn Mulūk Shāh Badāonī, author of the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh*, 8. See under al-Badāonī.

'Abdu-l-Qādir, son of Niẓām Shāh Baḥrī, ruler of the Dakkan, 625 n 3

'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, one of the best of names, 603 n 5.

'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmi, Mullā Nūru-d-Dīn, 32 n 2. See under Jāmi

'Abdu-r-Raḥmān ibn Muljim, murderer of 'Alī, 207 n 6

'Abdu-r-Rashīd, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawi, Sulṭān of Ghaznīn, 60.

'Abdu-r-Rashīd Sulṭānī, Sa'ādat Khān,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mahmud Shāh of Dihlī, 349

'Abdu-r-Razzāq ibn Ahmad ibn Ḥasan Maimandī,—Wazir of Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawi, 50 Same as Khwāja Imām Abul-Fatḥ 'Abdu-r-Razzāq, (q v)

'Abdu-ṣ-ṣadr Ḥājib-i-Khāṣṣ, Qāẓī,—of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh of Dihlī, 393 n 3.

'Abid, Qāẓī,—a poet of the reign of Fīrūz Shāh of Dihlī, 341 and n 2.

'Abid Khān, the Ozbak king of Khurāsān, 582 n 5.

Āb-i-Siyāh. See the Kālī Nadī, 378 n 1.

Abīward, a city of Khurāsān, also called Abāward and Bāward, 29 n 6, 43 n 2.

Abiwerd, same as Abiward (q v).

Abkand, hill of, 438 n 7.

Abkh, town, 445 n 3

Abraham, 154 n 8, 155 n, 207 and n 4, 234, 488 n 5

Absantīn (Absinthium), herb, 586 n.

Abtar, name of a noxious serpent, 436 n 9

Abū 'Abdu-llah Muḥammad, ibn Abu-l-Ḥasan Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, the celebrated Imām, 6 n 3. See under Bukhārī

Abū 'Abdu-llah Muḥammad ibn Omar ar-Rāzī,—a doctor of the Shāfi'ite sect, 73 n 1 See under Fakhru-d Dīn Rāzī

Abū 'Alī Ḥasan, the Kotwāl of Ghaznīn, and *Dīwān* of the kingdom under Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 47, 48, 49

Abū 'Alī Ḥusain bin 'Abdu-llāh, commonly known as Ibn Sīna (Avicenna), 533 n 1

Abū 'Alī Sinjūrī,—a contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 20

Abū Bakr, the first Khalīfah, 3 n 6, 59 n 2, 106 and n 1, 149 n, 156 n 5, 157 n, 158 n 1, 303 n 4, 604 n 5, 625 n 3. See under aṣ-Ṣiddīq.

Abū Bakr Dolaf ibn Jahdar (or Ja'far) ibn Yūnus ash-Shiblī, a celebrated Muḥammadan Saint, 59 and n 1.

Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad 'Alī Samarqandī, Amīr Rūḥānī,—one of the most learned men of the time of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-Timish, 93 and n 2.

Abū Bakr Khān, a prince of the family of 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 291.

Abū Bakr Khān, a relation of Muḥammad Khān the ruler of Nāgor, 423 n 11.

Abū Bakr Khān, *afterwards* Abū Bakr Shāh, son of Zafar Khān, the grandson of Sulṭān Fīroz, 341, **342**, 343, 344, **345**, 346.

Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariya ar-Rāzī, known as Rhases, the famous physician, 30 n 1

Abū Bakr Shāh See under Abū Bakr Khān, son of Zafar Khān.

Abū Bakr Ṭūsī Ḥaidarī, chief of the sect of Qalandars, 234.

Abū Firās Hammām, son of Ghālib, the poet known as al-Farazdaq (*q v.*), 287 n 1.

Abū Ḥanīfah, Imām,—founder of the Ḥanafite School of jurisprudence, 57 n 1.

Abū Ḥanīfah, a poet of the time of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh of Dihlī, 134 n 3.

Abū Isḥāq, son of Alptigīn, governor of Ghaznī, 13 n 1, 14 and n 1.

Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, the 'Abbāside Khalīfah, 74 n 2.

Abu-l-'Abbās ibn Māmūn, Khwārazm Shāh,—a contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 23.

Abu-l-'Abbās, al-Qādir billāhi Aḥmad ibn Isḥāq ibn al-Muqtadir, the 'Abbāside Khalīfah, 17 and n 2.

Abu-l-Ajsād, Father of bodies, a name for Sulphur, 340 n 2.

Abu-l-'Alā Ganjawī, master of the poet Khāqānī, 568 n 4.

Abu-l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, the Arab poet, 183 n 1.

Abu-l-Arwāḥ, Father of spirits, a name for Quicksilver, 340 n 2.

Abu-l-Baqā, Amīr, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 465, 560, 573.

Abu-l-Barakah, 632 nn 3 and 5. Same as the next (*q. v.*).

Abu-l-Barakāt of Māwarāu-n-Nahr, Khwājā, 632 and nn 3 and 5. See the above.

Abu-l-Faraj Rūnī, the Ustād, a celebrated poet of the time of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, Saiyyidu-s-Salāṭīn, 53 n, 54 and n 1.

Abu-l-Fatḥ 'Abdur-Razzāq, grandson of Ḥasan Maimandī, Khwāja Imām,—Wazīr of Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 47, 50.

Abu-l-Fatḥ, Miyān Shaikh, son of Shaikh-allahdiyah of Khairābād, 546 and n 1.

Abu-l-Fatḥ al-Mu'taẓid billāhi, sixth of the 'Abbāsī Khalīfahs in Egypt, 327 n 6

Abu-l-Fatḥ Sulṭān Afshār, one of the Amīrs of the Qizilbāsh, 575 n 3.

Abu-l-Fatḥ of Thanesar, Miyān,—a learned doctor of the time of Islem Shāh, 513.

Abul-Fazl 'Allāmī,—the celebrated minister of Akbar and author of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, 26 n 2, 27 n 1, 52

n 3, 384 *n* 3, 408 *n* 1, 410 *n* 4, 415 *n* 4, 417 *n* 7, 503 *n* 3.

Abu-l-Faẓl Zangi, of Bust,—a contemporary of Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawi, 47

Abul Feda, Annales, 167 *n* 4

Abul Feda, Geography of, 14 *n* 3, 15 *n* and *n n* 2 and 5, 17 *n* 4, 23 *n* 1, 27 *n* 1 and 2, 30 *n* and *n* 1, 34 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 35 *n* 2, 36 *nn* 2 and 10, 42 *n* 1, 43 *nn* 1, 3 and 4, 46 *n* 1, 50 *n* 2, 67 *n* 1, 71 *n* 3, 147 *n* 1, 167 *n* 4, 265 *n* 5

Abu l-Fidā' See under Abul Feda

Abu-l-Ḥāriṣ Sinjar ibn Malakshāh ibn Alp Arslān, the Seljūq, 167 *n* 3. See under Sinjar

Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Ali ibn Abi-l-Karam Muḥammad ash-Sharbāni, Shaikh, commonly known as Ibnu-l-Asir, 624 *n* 8

Abu-l-Ḥasan 'Ali, Sultān, son of Sulṭān Mas'ūd Ghaznawi, 50 and *n* 1

Abu-l-Hirṣ Manṣūr Sāmāni, Amir, 14 *n* 1. See under Manṣūr ibn Nūḥ.

Abu-l-Majdūd, son of Sultān Mas'ūd Ghaznawi, 37 and *n* 6

Abu-l-Ma'āli, Shāh, one of the great Amirs of Humāyūn, 592, 594, 596, 597.

Abu-l-Mujāhid, son of Sultān Mas'ūd Ghaznawi, 37 and *n* 6

Abu-l-Najm Amir Aiyaz, 33 *n* 3. See under Aiyāz.

Abu-l-Qāsim Beg, one of the Amirs of Humāyūn, 474

Abu-l-Qasim Firdausi, the famous poet, author of the *Shāh Nāmah*, 32 *n* 1 See under Firdausi.

Abu-l-Qāsim Ibrāhim. Sulṭān, son of Mas'ūd, son of Maḥmūd of Ghaznin, 53. See under Ibrāhim Sayyidu-s-Salāṭin.

Abu-l-Qāsim Maḥmūd, son of Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawi, 48.

Abu-l-Qāsim-i-Nūḥ son of Manṣūr, son of Nūḥ Sāmāni, Amir, 14 *n* 1. See under Nūḥ. son of Manṣūr, son of Nūḥ Sāmāni.

Abu-l-Wāḥid Fārighi, Shaikh, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 616 and n 4, 617 and *n* 6, 618. See the next

Abu-l-Wajd Fārighi, Shaikh, 616 *n* 4, 617 and *n* 6, 618. Same as the above (*q v*).

Abu-l-Wājid Fārighi, Shaikh, 616 *n* 4 See the two above.

Abu Manṣūr Zangi, brother of Abu-l Fazl of Bust (*q. v.*), 47.

Abū Muḥammad 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān ibn Yahin ibn Yūnas Aljigili, the Khaṭib of Samarqand, 159 *n*.

Abū Muḥammad ibn Adam Sanāi al Hakim, 35 *n* 1. See under Ḥakim Sanāi, 56 *n* 2.

Abū Muḥammad al-Hajjāj, son of Yusuf ibn al-Ḥakam as-Saqafi, 12 *n* 1 See under al-Ḥajjāj

Abū Muḥammad Niẓāmu-d-Din Ahmad, the celebrated poet Niẓāmi, 298 *n* 4. See under Shaikh Niẓāmi Ganjawi

Abu-n-Najm Amir Aiyāz, 33 *n* 3. See under Aiyāz.

Abu-n-Najm Aḥmad Manūchihri Dāmaghāni, Ḥakim,—a Poet of the time of Sulṭān Mas'ud Ghaznawi, 46 *n* 4.

Abū Naṣr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad, Wazīr of the Ghaznawī Sulṭāns, 46.

Abū Naṣr Muḥammad bin Aḥmad,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Maudūd of Ghaznīn, 47.

Abū Naṣar 'Abdu-l-'Azīz ibn Manṣūr. Ḥakīm, the poet known as 'Asjadī, 17 *n* 3.

Abū Qaḥāfah. See Abū Quḥāfah.

Abū Quḥāfah, father of Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣiddīq, the first of the Khalīfahs, 106 and *n* 1.

Abūrijā, Malik Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn or Mujīru-d-Dīn,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 305, 308.

Abū Sa'īd 'Abdullah ibn Abu-l-Hasan 'Alī Baiẓāwī, Qāẓī,—author of the *Niẓāmu-t-Tawārīkh*, 34 *n* 8. See under Baiẓāwī

Abū Shujā' Muḥammad, son of Chākirbeg Dāūd, son of Mīkāīl Saljūqī, surnamed 'Aẓdu-d-Daulah Alp Arslān, third monarch of the Saljūqīyah dynasty, 35 and n 1. See under Alp Arslān

Abū Tāher (Ṭāhir), chief of the Karmatian sect of Muslim heretics, 21 *n* 1.

Abū Ṭālib, uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad and father of 'Alī, 74 *n* 2, 105 *n* 2.

Abū Ṭālib family, 74 *n* 2 See the above

Abū Ṭālib of 'Irāq, Mīr Sayyid,—a contemporary of Islem Shāh, 505

Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad ibn Mīkā'īl ibn Saljūq, Ruknu-d-Dīn Tughral Beg, 42 *n* 3. See under Tughral Beg, founder of the Saljūq dynasty.

Abū 'Umar Minhāju-d-Dīn 'Usmān ibn Sirāju-d-Dīn al-Juzjānī, author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, 127 *n* 2. See under Minhāj-i-Sirāj.

Abyssinian slaves, 334.

Acesines, the,—the river Chenāb, 23 *n* 3.

Aconite plants, 586 *n*

'Ād, tribe of,—a pre-historic tribe of Arabs 261 *n* 6, 499 and n 5.

Adam, 4, 144 *n* 2, 200 *n*, 304, 320 *n* 4, 422, 449 *n* 8.

Ādam Ghakkar, or Ghakkar, Sulṭān,—a contemporary of Islem Shāh and Humāyūn, 508, 583, 593 and *n* 4 The name is also spelt Ghakar,

Ādam Kūkar, Malik,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 431. 432.

Ādam Lodī, Malik,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 419.

'*Adāvat*, enmity, 576 *n* 5, 577 *n*.

Adeṣar, Rāi of Satgaṛh,—contemporary of Fīrūz Shāh, 329 *n* 5.

'Ādil Khān, brother of Sārang Khan, the ruler of Dīpālpūr, 349 and *n* 5.

'Ādil Khān, Malik Naṣīru-l-Mulk, the governor of the Doāb, 354, 359.

'Ādil Khān, son of Shīr Shāh, 476, 477, 479, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 492

Aditya, name of the Sun in Sanskrit as being the origin of all things, 79 *n* 2.

Adjmere, same as Ajmīr (*q. v.*), 129 *n* 2

'Adlī Khān Sūr, 550 *n* 11. See under 'Adlī

'Adli, popular name of Sulṭān Muḥammad 'Ādil, son of Niẓām Khān Sūr, *formerly* Mubāriz Khān (*q. v.*), **536**, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 544, 545, 548, 550, 552, 555, **556** and *n* 5, **557**, 558, 592.

Adonis, 104 *n* 2.

Adwantgaṛh; fortress, 422 *n* 2

Af'alu-t-tafẓīl, 515 and *n* 6

Afgans, 80 *n* 5. See under the Afghāns.

Afghān, Malik, 334,—of the Maliks of Fīroz Shāh.

Afghānistān, 362 *n* 2, 466, 520

Afghānpūr, 259, 300

Afghāns, the, 44, 80 *n* 5, 129 *n* 2, 399, 436, 439, 440, **443**, 444, 457, 458, 460, 470, 471, 477, 479, 487, 489, 490, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503 *n* 2, 513, 517, 520, 525, 528, 537, 543, 549, 551, 552, 554, **558**, 586, 588, 590, 592, 593, 594, 595, 597, 598

Afif, the Historian. See Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif.

Aflātūn (Plato), 520 and *n* 7, 533

Afrāsiāb, an ancient king of Tūrān, 52, 116 *n* 5, 180 *n* 2, 435. See also the next

Afrāsyāb, 410 Same as the above *q v*.

Africa, 167 *n* 1

Afshār, name of a Turki tribe, 572 and *n* 8

Afẓalu-d-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī an-Najjār the famous poet Khāqānī, 583 *n* 4

Āghā Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī, author of the *Ḥayātu-l Qulūb*, 110 *n* 3

Aghānī, Kitābu-l-, 527 *n* 3.

Āgin-i-bālish, 606 *n* 4.

Agra, city of, 70 *n* 4, 341 *n* 1, 386 *n* 3, 408 *n* 1, 414, 419 and *n* 3, 420, 421 and *n* 4, 423, 425, 430, 431, 433, 435, 442, 444, 445, 446, 447, 451, 452, 453, 455, 456, 458, 459, 461, 462, 463, 464, 467, 472, 474, 476 *n* 5, 486 and *n* 6, 487, 488, 489, 490, 492, 493, 495, 513, 515, 518, 521, 526, 542, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 556, 578, 597, 610, 617.

Agra road, 386 *n* 3.

Agra, Sarkār or district of, 70 *nn* 3 and 4, 425 *n* 4.

Āgra, Ṣūbah or province of, 365 *n* 8, 410 *n* 4.

Ahār, ancient town in the Bulandshahr district, 395 and *n* 4, 396, 546 and *n* 4.

Aḥāwan, a Bhagat boy, named Mujāhid Khān by 'Adlī, 557 *n* 8.

Ahl-i-Sunnah wa jamā'ah, a name of the Sunnis, 626 *n* 2.

Ahl-i-Sunnat, a name of the Sunnis, 626 *n* 1.

Aḥmadābād, capital of Gujrāt, 357 and *nn* 3 and 4, 454, 455, 635 and *n* 6

Ahmad ibn 'Abduṣ-Ṣamad, Khwājah, 47 Wazīr of Sulṭān Maudūd of Ghaznīn.

Ahmad Abu l-'Abbās, son of al Muwaffaq bi-llāh al-'Abbāsī, 458 *n* 3

Ahmad Aiyāz, Khwāja-i-Jahān (*q v*), Malik,—of the Maliks of Sulṭān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh, 304, 315, 323, 328

Ahmad 'Alī, Maulawī, editor of the

Muntakhabu-t-Tawārikh of Budāonī, 92 *n*.
Aḥmad, son of Amīr Khusrū of Dihlī, a poet, 339, 340.
Aḥmad Chap, Malik, Vazīr of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 238, 241, 243, 248 and *n* 6.
Aḥmad Dānyāl, father of Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā, the celebrated Muḥammadan Saint, 266 *n* 1
Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan Maimandī, Vazīr of Sulṭān Mas'ūd, son of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 35.
Aḥmad Jilwānī the First, Sulṭān, ruler of Baiāna, 414 See also under Aḥmad Khān Jilwānī.
Aḥmad Junaid, Mullā, 486 and *n* 1. Same as the next.
Aḥmad Jund, Mullā, 486 and *n* 1 Same as the above.
Aḥmad Kathū, Shaikh, 357 and n 3. Surnamed Ganjbakhsh, the name is also written Khaṭṭu
Aḥmad Khān, brother of A'ẓam Humāyūn Lodī,—one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 434
Aḥmad Khān Jilwānī, ruler of Baiāna, 405 See also under *Sulṭān* Aḥmad Jilwānī.
Aḥmad Khān, the Governor of Karra under Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 434.
Ahmad Khān, son of Khān-i-Jahān Lodī, styled A'ẓam Khān Humāyūn, 416 and *n* 11
Ahmad Khān, son of Khān-i-Khanān Farmalī,—of the Amirs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 418 and *n* 11
Aḥmad Khān Lodī,—one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 434.
Aḥmad Khān Sūr, one of the cousins of Sher Shāh, assumes the title of Sulṭān Sikandar, 542. See under *Sulṭān* Sikandar Sūr.
Aḥmad Khaṭṭu, Shaikh, 357 *n* 3, surnamed Ganjbakhsh The name is also written Kathu.
Aḥmad Lāchīn, Malik,—one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 313.
Aḥmad, Malik, son of Amīr Khusrū the famous poet of Dihlī, 339, 340.
Aḥmad, Malik, brother of 'Imādu-l-Mulk Maḥmūd Ḥasan, the governor of Multān, 392
Ahmad, son of Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 45 and *n* 2, 46
Aḥmad Niyāl Tigīn, Amīr, treasurer of Sulṭān Mas'ūd, son of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 36 and *n n* 6, 8 and 9.
Aḥmad Shāh, Sultān, the ruler of Gujarat, 357 *n n* 3 and 4, 379 and *n* 2
Ahrimān, the Satan of the Persians, 280 and n 3.
Aibak, soubriquet of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d Dīn Lakbakhsh, the ruler of Dihlī, 77 and n 2.
Aimah grants of land, 496 and n 1.
Āīn-i-Akbarī, the, 8 *n* 3, 13 *n* and *n* 1, 14 *n* 3, 15 *n* 2, 17 *n* 4, 19 *n* and *n* 6, 23 *n* 3, 24 *n* 2, 25 *nn* 1 and 5 26 *n* 2, 27 *n* 4 28 *n* 2, 34 *n* 5, 36 *n* 10, 48 *n* 1, 52 *n* 3 62 *n* 2, 65 *n* 1, 67 *n* 3, 69 *nn* 2 and 5, 71 *n* 3, 72 *n* 1 76 *n*, 81 *n* 2, 82 *nn* 3 and 5, 84 *n* 2 87 *n* 1, 91 *n* 2, 92 *n* 2, 95

n 5, 124 n 4, 125 n 3, 128 n 3, 129 n 2, 130 n 1, 132 n 3, 133 n and n 2, 142 n 1, 147 n 1, 193 n 1 221 n 3, 222 n 3, 223 n, 236 n 2, 248 n 2 249 n 5, 264 n 6, 265 nn 2 and 5, 266 nn 1 and 4, 304 n 4, 306 n 1, 330 n 8, 332 n 5, 353 n 1, 357 nn 3 and 4, 366 n 3 377 n 4, 380 n 2, 384 n 3, 408 n 1 410 n 4, 415 nn 4 and 7, 416 nn 3 and 13, 417 nn 7 and 8, 420 n 5, 8 and 9 421 n 8, 422 nn 2 and 3, 424 n 3, 425 n 2, 432 n 7, 439 n 2, 449 n 2, 454 n 7, 464 n 5, 476 n 5, 479 n 5, 496 nn 1 and 8, 498 n 3, 499 n 3, 501 n 7, 503 n 3, 506 n 2, 507 n 1, 508 nn 7 and 8, 509 n 8, 515 n 4, 523 n 5, 536 n 6, 546 n 7, 557 nn 1 and 3, 567 n 3. 568 n 6, 571 n 9, 573 n 3, 580 n 5, 584 n 3, 587 n 7, 588 n 4, 590 n 5, 592 n 9, 597 n 5, 605 n 1, 609 n 5, 610 n, 611 n 3, 623 n 6, 626 n 3.

Ainu-l-Mulk Shihāb Multānī,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 264, 282, 283, 285, 290, 291, **293**, 294, 312

Aiyāz, Amīr,—one of the favourites of Sulṭān Mahmūd of Ghaznīn, 32 n 1, 33 and n 3, 34

Aiyāz, Malik, Khwāja-i Jahān, (q v)—of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 304, **315**

Aiyūb, Khwāja, ibn Khwāja Abu-l-Barakāt, of Māwarān n-Nahr, a poet of the time of Humāyun, 632 and n 2, 633, 634, 635, 636

'Ajā'ibu-l-Makhlūqāt of al-Qazwīnī, 79 n 2

Ajallu-l-jabhah, 515 and n 6.

'Ajam (Persia), 283.

Ajāwan, town, 495.

Ajāwan,—a Bhagat boy to whom Islem Shāh gave the name of Mujāhid Khān, 557 n 8.

Ajlā-l-jabhah, 516 and n 2

Ajmīr, 69 and n 2, 70 and n 2, 120 n 4, 124, 129 n 2, 477.

Ajūdhan, town,—known also as Pāk Pattan, 133 n, 233, 349 n 3, 355 and nn 1 and 3, 360, 362 and **n 2** and **3**, 363 n, 520 n 2 See also the next.

Ajūdhya, town, 223 n. Same as Ajūdhan, (q v.)

Ajyāra, Daulat Khān, son of Sazāwal Khān, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 527, 531, 532 and n 2.

Akat Khān, brother's son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 258 and n 7, 259 and n 5.

Akbar, the Emperor, 8 and n 2, 9 n 2, 58 n 5, 63 n, 97, 125 n 1, 132 n 3, 306 n 1, 383 n 8, 408 n 1, 431 n 8, 432 n 10, 464 n 5. 520, **566** and n 13, 568 n 6, 580 and n 5, 581, 592 n 9, **594** and n 6, 596, 597

Akbar Nāma of Shaikh Abu-l-Fazl 'Allāmī, 504, 579 n 7.

Akbar Shāh, 8 and n 2 See under Akbar

Akchak. a district of Hindustan, 334 and n 4

Akhal, town, 334 n 4.

Akhara, a kind of musical entertainment. 332 and **n 5**, 498

Ākhirinpūr popular name of the town of Fīruzpur, as the 'Last city' built by Fīroz Shāh, 336 and n 3

Akhur, stable, 274 n 5

Akhor Beg, a Court Office, 282.

Akhtā, a gelding, 274 *n* 5.

Akhūnd, tutor, 589 and *n* 2, the Akhūnd, Maulānā Zainu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Kamāngar Naqshbandī, 589, 590 and *n* 6.

Akhyāfī, brothers by the same mother but a different father, 466 *n* 7.

Al-Aāsi, son of Nabīh, of the tribe of Quraish, killed in the battle of Badr, 74 *n* 2.

Alagh Khānī (Ulugh Khānī), a canal leading from the Sutlej, now called the Jureah canal, 325 *n* 3.

'Alāī Mahdī of Baiāna, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Ḥasan of Bangāla, 507 and *n* 1, 509, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 521, 522, 523, **524**.

Al-Ajall, the Great, an epithet applied to God, 515 *n* 6.

'*Alam*, a standard or ensign, 483 *n* 2

'Alam Khān, title of 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī (*q. v.*), 292.

'Alam Khān, son of Sulṭān Bahlūl Lodī, 411 *n* 2.

'Alam Khān Lodī, Governor of Kālpī, —one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 436, 437, 438, 443, 446.

'Alam Khān, Governor of Miwāt,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 419 and *n* 2.

'Alam Lodī, Sulṭān, ibn-i-Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 451, 454.

'Alam, Malik, Governor of Daulatābād,—of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 313.

'*Alams*, the two—, or standards, the sun and moon, 147 *n* 2.

'*Ālam-i-amr*, the world of the order, or potentiality, 105 *n* 1.

'*Ālam-i-khalq*, the world of creation, or the material world, 105 *n*.

'*Ālamu-l-Ḥaiwān*, the animal world, 147 *n* 2.

'*Ālamu-l-Ins*, the world of mankind, 147 *n* 2.

'*Ālamu-l-Jinn*, the world of the jinn or genii, 147 *n* 2.

'*Ālamu-l-Ma'ādin*, the mineral world, 147 *n* 2.

'*Ālamu-l-Malā'ikah*, the world of angels, 147 *n* 2.

'*Ālamu-n-Nabāt*, the vegetable world, 147 *n* 2.

Alaptagīn. See under Alptigīn.

Al-Arkān, the four elements, 102 *n* 1.

Al-Aṣma'ī, the celebrated Arab Grammarian and Philologist, 75 *n*.

'Alāu-d-Daulah Mas'ūd, Sulṭān, ibn Saiyyidu-s-Salāṭīn Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, 55 and *n* 2.

'Alāu-d-Daulah of Samnān, Shaikh, 571 *n* 9.

'Alāu-d-Dīn, Sulṭān, title of 'Alī Mardān (*q. v.*) as ruler of Lakhnauti, 86

'Alāu-d-Dīn Ayāz, Kotwāl of the New Castle of Dihlī, under Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 260 *n* 5.

'Alāu-d-Dīn, Saiyyid, Governor of Badāon under Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 335 and *n* 6.

'Alāu-d-Dīn Badāonī, Sulṭān of Dihlī, 335. See 'Alāu-d-Dīn ibn Muḥammad Shāh.

'Alāu-d-Dīn Bahrām Shāh, Sulṭān of the Deccan, 309, **314**. See Ḥasan Kaithalī.

'Alāu-d-Dīn, Sulṭān, king of Bangāla, —contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 417.

'Alāu-d-Dīn Dhārwāl, Malik,—of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh of Dihlī, 349.

'Alāu-d-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Ḥusain Sūrī, King of Ghūr, 60, 61, 62. Same as the next (q v).

'Alāu-d-Dīn Ḥusain ibn Ḥasan Ghorī Jahānsoz, the first of the kings of Ghūr, 61 n 4, 64 n 2. See also the above.

'Alāu-d-Dīn Jānī, Malik,—of the Maliks of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 94 n 3, 98 n 2.

'Alāu-d-Dīn, Governor of Karra, 236 See 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī.

'Alāu-d-Dīn Khāfī, Malik 'Izzu l-Mulk, Governor of Lakhnauti,—of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 94 and n 3.

'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, Malik and afterwards Sulṭān, 232, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, **246** 247 n, 249, 250 and n 5, 251, 252 n 1, 254 n 1, 256, 259, 266, **269** and **n 1**, 271 n 6, 273 and n 1, 274 and n 1, 282, 283, 286 n 1, 289, 290, 291, 292, 294 and n 3, 296 and n 3, 379 n 2, 397 n 1, 472.

'Alāu-d-Dīn of Lakhnauti, Sulṭān See under 'Alī Mardān

'Alāu-d-Dīn, of Lakhnauti, Sulṭān, 309. See under 'Alī Mubārak

'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd, Sulṭān, son of Saiyyidu-s-Salāṭīn Ibrāhīm ibn Sulṭān Mas'ud Ghaznawī, 55 and n n 2 and 4.

'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd Shāh ibn Ruknu-d Dīn Fīroz Shāh, of the Shamsiyah Sulṭāns, **124**, 125, **126**

'Alāu-d-Dīn ibn-i Muhammad Shah ibn-i-Mubārak Shāh ibn-i-Khiẓr Khān, Sulṭān of Dihlī, 398, 399, **400** and n, 401 and n 4, **402** and n 1, 405 and n 4, 406, 409.

'Alāu-d-Dīn Sikandar Shāh, Sulṭān, ibn-i-Muḥammad Shāh ibn-i-Fīroz Shāh, 347. See Humāyūn Khān, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh.

'Alāu-l-Mulk, Malik, uncle of Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Barnī the Historian, Kotwāl of the New Castle of Dihlī under Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 237, 249, 255, 260 and n 5.

Alberuni See under Albīrūnī.

Albīrūnī's *Chronology* (Sachau), 76 n, 104 n 2, 108 n 4, 166 n 1, 260 nn 3 and 4, 369 n 3, 627 n 1.

Albīrūnī's *India* (Sachau), 17 n 4, 21 n 4, 22 nn 1 and 5, 23 nn 2 and 3, 24 n 6, 25 n 1, 27 n 4, 28 n 3, 36 n 10, 76 n, 79 n 2, 95 n 5, 114 n 2, 131 n 2, 332 n 4.

Alburz, mountain of,—in Persia, 178 n 2

Alchemy, science of, 244 n 6.

Alexander the Great, 35 n 2, 101 n 2, 254 and n 5, 331 n 10, 332 n, 389 n 2, 560 n 8, 595 n 7

Alexandrian School, the, 374 n 5.

Alf Khān. See Alp Khan Sinjar.

Alfī, 80 n 4 See under the Tārīkh-i Alfī.

Alghayatu fil fiqh, by Qāẓī Baiẓāwī, 6 n 4

Alghu Khān, the Mughal, grandson of Chingiz Khan, and son-in-law of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 236 **248**

'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the fourth Khalīfah **3 n 6**, 59 and **n 4**, 74 and

n 2, 80 n 5, 93 n 4, 105 n 2, 106 and n 5, 151 n 5, 156, 157 n 2, 168 n, 207 and n 6, 260 n 7, 308 n 4, 376, 505 and n 6, 572 and n 1, 57, n, 604, 623 n 3, 639 n 5. See under Asadu-llāh.

'Alī Beg Mughal, a prince of the royal house of Khurāsān, 250, 251 and n 5, 252.

'Alī Dāya, one of the generals of Sulṭān Mas'ūd, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 48.

Alidek range of mountains, 530 n 3.

Alif, the first letter of the Alphabet, 100 and nn 2 and 3, 587 n 5, 634 and n 1.

Aliganj *tahsil*, 185 n 1, 218 n 3.

Aligarh, town, 135 n 1, 386 n 6.

'Alī Gujrātī, Amīr,—of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh of Dihlī, 396.

'Alī Ismā'īl, the Sipah Sālār,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 88.

'Alī, son of Iyal Arsalān, a relative of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 33 n 2

'Alī Karmākh, 69 n 1. See under 'Alī Kirmāj.

'Alī, of Kashmīr, Sulṭān, 381

'Alī Khān, a prince of the family of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 291.

'Alī Khān, a relation of Muḥammad Khān, the ruler of Nāgor, 423 n 11, 425.

'Alī Khaṭaṭī, a court officer of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 304

'Alī, Khilāfat of, 577 n.

'Alī Khishāwandī, a relative of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 33 n 2.

'Alī Kirmāj, an Amīr of the Ghorī dynasty, Governor of Multān, 66 and n 4, 69 and n 1.

'Ālī Kirmāny, 66 n 4. For 'Alī Kirmāj (q. v.).

'Alī, son of Kizil Arsalān, father-in-law of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 33 n 2.

'Alī Kurbat, a relative of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 33 n 2.

'Alī Malik, Governor of Uchh, under Sārang Khān, the ruler of Dīpālpūr, 353.

'Alī Mardān, one of Muḥammad Bakhtyār's Generals, seizes the sovereignty of Lakhnautī under the style of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn, 85, 86 and n 2, 88 n 1.

Āl-i-Marwān, the,—a branch of the Umayyad family, 59.

'Alī Masīj (Mīch), Amīr, a chief of the tribes of Kūnch and Mīj, 83 and n 4. Called also 'Alī Mīj.

'Alī ibn Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, Sulṭān of Ghaznīn, 50 and n 1.

'Alī Mīj, 83 n 4. See under 'Alī Masīj.

'Alī Mubārak, Inspector of Troops under Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 308, 309. Assumes the title of 'Alāu-d-Dīn as Sulṭān of Lakhnautī.

'Alī Mughal, Shaikh, ruler of Kābul,—contemporary of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh of Dihlī, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392.

Āl-i-Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, the Family of the Prophet, 59.

'Alī ibn Muḥammad Ṣāḥibu-z-Zanj, of the family of 'Alī, raises a revolt at Baṣra, 458 n 3.

'Alī, son of Mūsā ar-Riẓā, one of the twelve Imāms of the Shī'ah, 573 n 3.

'Alī Qulī, Ustā, the Artillerist of Bābar, 439 and n 6.

'Alī Qulī Khān Shaibānī, the Khān-i-Zamān, son of Ḥaidar Sulṭān Osbak-i-Shaibānī,—one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn and Akbar, 592 and n 9, 594, 597, 598, 599, 600.

'Alī Qulī Khān Sīstānī,—one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 590. Probably the same as above.

'Alī bin Rabī', an Amīr of the Ghaznavide dynasty, 48, 50 and n 1.

'Alī, ring of, possessed of magical properties, 505 and n 6.

'Alī *Sarjāndār*, Malik,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 313.

'Alī, Shaikh, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 565 n 1.

'Alī, Shaikh, the ruler of Kābul. See under 'Alī Mughul

'Alī Shaṭranjī, Khwāja, Auḥadī's Life of, 114 n 3.

'Alī Sher, the Vazīr Amīr, disciple of Maulānā Jāmī, 33 n 2.

'Alī Sher, sister's son to Ẓafar Khān 'Alā'ī,—an Amīr of the time of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 311.

'Alī, Sulṭān, King of Kashmīr, contemporary of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh of Dihlī, 381.

'Alī Tagīn, ruler of Māwarā-an-Nahr,—contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 27.

Allahābad, city of, 415 n 5, 417 n 7, 486 n 6.

Allahabad, Sarkār of, 416 n 3.

Allāhdād Kālū or Kāla, Lodī, Malik,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh of Dihlī, 391, 395 396, 398.

Allāhdād Lodī, Malik, 398. See Allāhdād Kālū Lodī.

Almagest of Ptolemy, 76 n.

Almanṣūra in Sindh, 36 n 10. See under al-Manṣūrah.

Alor, city of, 66 n 2.

Alp Arsalān, son of Dāūd, son of Mīkā'īl, son of Saljūq, second monarch of the Saljūqīyah dynasty, 35 and n 1, 51 and n 2.

Alp Khān, Governor of Dhār, 384 and n 5, 385, Governor of Kālpī, 393 Same as the next q. v.

Alp Khān, commonly called Sulṭān Hoshang, ruler of Mālwā, 363 n 2, 384 and n 5, 385, 393.

Alp Khān, title of Sinjar, wife's brother of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 247, 249, 254, 267, 282.

Alptagīn See under Alptigīn.

Alptigīn, a slave of the house of the Sāmānīs, the independent governor of Ghaznī and Kābul, 13 n 1, 14 and n n 1 and 2, 16 n 3.

Alptigīn Ḥājib, an Amīr of the Ghaznavide dynasty, 47 n 5.

Altamish or Iyaltimish, 88 n 3. See under Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish.

Altamsh, meaning of the word, 89 n 1.

Altigīn, 47 and n 5. Same as Alptigīn Ḥājib (q. v.)

Altūn Bahādur,—one of the Amīrs of the king of Khurāsān, 320.

Altūn Tāsh, an officer of Sulṭān Maḥ-

mūd of Ghaznīn, whom he appoints Governor of Khwārazm, with the title of Khwārazm Shāh, 28.
Altūnīyah, Malik. See under Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Altūnīyah.
Alwar, town and fortress, 129 *n* 2, 256, 385, 448, 462, 534, 542, 543, 547, 553. See also under Ulwar.
Alyās Khān, Governor of Chhāīn, under Masnad-i-'Ālī Khiẓr Khān, Sulṭān of Dihlī, 379 and *n* 2.
'Amād Khān Karrānī,—one of the Afghān Amīrs of Hindustān, 540.
Amal or Amol, capital of Ṭabaristān, 36 and n 2.
Amānī Kābulī, Mirzā, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 587 and *n* 3, 616.
Amarcōsh, a Sanskrit Dictionary, 374 *n*.
Amarkōṭ, town, 464 *n* 5, 564, 566 and *n* 13, 567 *n* 1, 568 *n* 6.
Ambālā, town, 330 *n* 7, 334, 362 *n* 1, [492, 493.
Ambēr, town, 520.
Ambergris, notes on, 182 *n* 1.
Ameer Jadeeda, 334 *n* 2.
'Amīd Abū Naṣr, Maqāmāt of,—by Baihaqī, 32 *n*.
'Amīd Dailamī, the poet, 99 *n* 4, 138 *n* 1. Called also 'Amīd Lūmakī, *q v*.
Amīd Lūmakī, of Gīlān, the poet, —panegyrist of Sulṭān Muḥammad Yamīn, 99 and n 4, 138 and n 1, 141, 144, 151, 159 *n* 1, 160, 165 and n 1, 169, 172, 177, 182. Called also 'Amīd Dailamī.
Amīd Lūyakī, 99 *n* 4, for 'Amīd Lūmakī the poet, (*q. v.*).
'Amīd Tūlakī, 99, for 'Amīd Lūmakī, the poet, (*q. v.*).
Amīn, Chief Commissioner, 497.
Amīn b-'Abdullah Kashari, governor of Khurāsān, under Hishām ibn 'Abdu-l-Malik (*q. v.*), 13 *n* 1.
Amīn Khān, Governor of Bengal, under Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 186.
Amīr of the Eight Squares, the Wazīr at Chess, 103 and *n* 1.
Amīr Abū Ṭālib, of 'Irāq, Saiyyid, —a skilful physician of the reign of Islem Shāh, 505.
Amīr 'Alī Sher, the Vazīr, disciple of Maulānā Jāmī, 32 *n* 2.
Amīr Arslān Kātibī. See Arslān Kātibī.
Amīr Ḥasan. See Ḥasan of Dihlī, the poet.
Amīr Khalīfa, Prime Minister of Bābar, 451.
Amīr Khān ibn-i-Dā'ūd Khān ibn-i-Shams Khān Auḥadī, the Governor of Baiānā, 385 *n* 1.
Amīr Khusrū, the poet. 134 *n* 4, 135 *n*, 142 *n* 3. See under Khusrū and Mīr Khusrū.
Amīr, Khwāja, of the Amīrs of Bābar, 446.
Amīr Muẓaffar,—one of the Maliks of Shaikh 'Alī Mughul, the King of Kābul, 389, 390, 392.
Amīr Rūḥānī, Ḥakīm Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad 'Alī Samarqandī, —a learned man of the time of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 98 and *n* 2.
Amīr Shaikh Ḥasan, King of Khurā- [sān, 571 *n* 9.
Amīr Ṭamghāch, title of Ībak, slave of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 89 and *n* 2.

Amīrān-i-Ṣada, the Amīrs of hundreds, 334 and *n* 2.

Amīru-l-Millat Yamīnu-d-Daulat, title of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 17.

Amīru-l-Umarā (Chief of the Amīrs), a title, 90.

Amīru-l-Umarā Fakhru-d-Dīn, *Kotwāl* of Dihlī, 260 *n* 2. See Maliku-l-Umarā.

Amīru-l-Umarā Hindū Bēg, of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 457. See under Hindū Bēg Qūchīn

Amīru-l-Umarā, Malik Mubārak Kabīr,—of the Amīrs of Tughlaq Shāh, grandson of Sulṭān Fīrūz, 342 and *n* 1.

Amol, capital of Ṭabaristān, also written Amal, 36 *n* 2

'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ, of the Banu Umayyah, one of the Governors of Mu'āwiyah, 157 *n* 2

'Amr ibn-u-Lais aṣ-Saffār, King of Khurāsān, 481 and n 6.

Amrāẓ-i-Mutazāddah, 463 and *n* 1.

Amritsar, 520

Amroha, town, 185, 231, 251, 261, 268, 395, 398, 546 and *n* 5.

Amron ibn al-'Āṣ See 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ

Amū Daryā, the,—the Jaihūn or Oxus, 27 *n* 1.

Anā, a mother, in Turkī, 568 *n* 6

Anagah or *Anāgah*, foster-mother, in Turkī, 580 *n* 5. See also the next

Anāka, *Anākā*, or *Anākah*, wet-nurse, in Turkī, 4C4 *n* 5, 568 *n* 6, 580 *n* 5. See also *Anagah*

Anandpāl or Anand Pāl, son of Jaipāl, ruler of Hind,—contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 20 22 *n* 6.

Anandrāj, Farhang of, 596 *n* 6.

Anberī, township of, 530 and *n* 9

Ancient Arabian Poetry, Lyall's *Introduction to*, 99 *n* 6.

Ancient Geography of India, Cunningham's, 21 *n* 4, 22 *n* 5, 23 *n* 2, 24 *n* 6, 48 *n* 5, 66 *n* 3, 67 *n* 1, 69 *n* 5, 80 *n* 1, 132 *n* 3, 265 *nn* 2 and 4, 293 *n* 5, 362 *n* 2, 363 *n*, 382 *n* 4, 389 *n* 2, 415 *n* 5.

Ancient India, McCrindle's, 364 *n* 4.

'Andhlī, the name 'Adlī (*q. v.*) perverted, 536 and *n* 10.

Andhra, country, 265 *n* 2.

Andkhūd, fortress of, 71.

Anhalpur, original name of Patan, a city of Gujerāt, 28 *n* 2.

Anhalwara (Nehroala), ancient name of Patan, a city of Gujerāt, 28 *n* 2.

Anhelwāra (Nahrwāla) kingdom, in Gujerāt, 256 *n* 4.

Ankus, in Hindī, a hook or goad for elephants, 118 *n* 2.

An-najm, the Pleiades, 630 *n* 4.

Annales, of Abul Fidā, 167 *n* 4.

'*Anqā*', a fabulous bird, called Sīmurgh in Persian, 178 *n* 4.

Anṣar, the,—tribes of al-Madīnah who supported the Prophet, 215 and n 7, 216 *n*.

Ansurī, Ḥakīm,—a famous Persian poet, 17 *n* 3.

Ant, notes on the, 108 *n* 1.

Antarī, township of, 530 *n* 9.

Anth Gram. Arab., of de Sacy, 6 *n* 4.

Anti-christ, 278 *n* 2, 369 *n* 3. See under ad-Dajjal.

Ants, Valley of the, 240 n 2.

Anwari, the famous Persian poet, 54 n 1, 76 n 1, 626.

Anwāru-t-Tanzīl, the, a celebrated commentary on the Qur'ān by Qāẓi Baiẓāwī (q. v.), 6 n 4.

Anwla, forest of, 279.

'Aql-i-awwal, 374 n 5. See under 'Aql-i-kull.

'Aql-i-kull, called also *'Aql-i-awwal*, the first or supreme intelligence, a name given to the Angel Gabriel, 374 n 5.

'Aql Nāmah, a work by Ḥakim Sanāi, the celebrated poet, 56 n 2.

Aqṭā's, 597 See *Iqṭā'* grants.

Arabia, 3.

Arabian Nights, the, 148 n 1.

Arabian Poetry, Clouston's, 99 n 6.

Arabs, the, 28, 61 n 5, 94, 117 n 2, 145 n 1, 146 n 1, 192 n 2, 198 n 2, 287, 369 n 1, 527 n 3, 630 n 4, 637 n 1.

Arabum Proverbia, Freytag's, 458 n 3, 507 n 3, 580 n 1.

Arail, town, 415 n 4.

Ārām Shāh, Sulṭān, ibn Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 87, 88 and n 1.

Arangal or Warangal, 265 n 4. See Arankal.

Arankal, ancient capital of Telingāna, 265 and n 4, 297, 299. Afterwards called Sulṭānpūr The name is also written Arangal or Warangal.

'Ar'ar, the Juniper tree, 182 n 4.

'Araẓ, an accident, a term of Muslim theology, 614 n 2.

A'rāẓ-o-jawāhir, 614 n 2. See under '...' and *Jauhar*.

Ardabil, a town of Persia, 573.

Arg, meaning of, 316 n 1.

Arghawān, the, (Arabicè) Arjawān, a kind of tree, 109 n 4, 172 and n 4, 173.

Aria, ancient name of Herāt, in Khurāsān, 35 n 2.

'Ārif, or holy, a Ṣūfī title, 32 n 2, 272 and n 1.

Āril, a place near Ilāhābās (Allahabad), 415 and n 4.

Aristotle, 255.

'Āriẓ-i-Mamālik, Mustermaster General, 230 n 1, 293 and n 2.

Arjuwān, the. See under Arghawān.

Arkal, a place, 415 n 4

Arkali Khān, son of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 231, 233, 235, 236, 244, 247 and n and n 4, 248 and n 8.

Al-Arkān, the four elements, 102 n 1

Armān, country of,—in the *Shāh Nāma* of Firdausi, 180 n 2.

Armenia, 61 n 5.

Armenians, the, 180 n 1.

Arrah, town, 185 n 1.

Arrian, the Greek geographer, 23 n 3, 24 n 6, 30 n 1, 332 n.

Arsacia, an ancient name of the city of Rai (q v), 30 n 1.

Arsalān Khān, one of the Shamsiyah Amirs, 130, 131.

Arsalān Shāh, Sulṭān, ibn Mas'ūd ibn Sayyidu-s-Salāṭin Ibrāhim Ghaznawi, 55 and n 4, 56 and n 1.

Arsar Khān, one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād, the grandson of Sulṭān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban, 226 n 1.

Arslān Katibi, Amir, an eminent poet

of the reign of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 245.

Artagīn, a general of Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 47.

Artaulī, township, 386 and n 6.

'Arūs-i-Jahān, town, 379 n 2.

'*Arūẓ*, a term of Prosody,—explanation of, 606 n 4.

Aryal, a place, 415 n 4.

Arzan, the smaller millet, 465 n 6.

Arzhan, desert of, between Bushire and Shīrāz, 572 and n 1.

Asad Khān Lodī,—of the Amīrs of Maḥmūd Shāh, the grandson of Fīroz Shāh, 364.

Asad bin Sāmān, founder of the Sāmānī dynasty, the princes of Khurāsān, 14 n 1

As'adak Allāh, 412 and n 3.

Asadu-d-Dīn ibn Yaghrash Khān, called Malik Khamūsh,—uncle's son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 283

Asad 'Ullah, or the Lion of God, a name of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 93 n 4, 150.

Āṣaf, Wazīr of Solomon, King of the Jews, 206 n.

Asamabad, town of, 21 n 4

Āṣāru-l-Bilād, the,—of al-Qazwīnī, n 4.

Asāwal, town in Gujarāt, 357 n 4, 361

'*Aṣfir*, a flower, 173 n 3

Asghar, Governor of Dihlī under Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 418

Ash'arī, Sharafu-l-Mulk, of the Amīrs of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd Shāh, of Dihlī 125.

'*Ashars*, portions of ten Āyats into which the Qur'ān has been divided, 102 and n 4.

Al-Ashbāh wa-n-Naẓāir, a work on Fiqh or Jurisprudence, by Zainu-l-'Ābidīn bin Najīm, 5 n 4.

Ashhab, or white ambergris, 183 n 1.

'*Ashiqa*, a poem by Mīr Khusrū, of Dihlī, 256, 264, 266, 267 n 1, 274 n 1, 276 n 1.

Ashraf Pādshāh, 685 n 5.

Ashrafī, a gold coin, called after Ashraf Pādshāh, 685 n 5.

Ashrafu-d-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Nāṣiri-l-'Alavī,—a poet of the time of Bahrām Shāh Ghaznawī, 56 n 3. Same as Sayyid Ḥasan Ghaznawī the Poet, *q. v.*

'Āshūrā', day of, 199 n 3, 200 and n, 320 and n 4, 464, 623.

Asī river, the, otherwise known as the Medakī, 419 n 6

Asia, Northern, 191 n 3.

Asiatic Lithographic Press, the, 103 n 1

Asiatic Researches, 374 n.

Asiatic Society of Bengal, 127 n 2, 511 n 2.

Aṣīr, Qāẓī,—contemporary of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 217.

'Asjadī, Ḥakīm Abū Naẓar 'Abdu-l-'Azīz ibn Manṣūr, a celebrated poet of Merv, 17 and n 3.

'Askarī, Mīrzā, one of the Mughul chiefs under Humāyūn, 455, 465, 567, 568, 573, 574, 575, 585 and n 9

Aṣl wa Far', signification of the term, 5 n 4.

Asmā', names or attributes of the Deity, 459 n 2

Aṣma'ī,—the celebrated Arab grammarian and philologist, 75 n.

Asmau-l-ḥusnā, the best of names, 603 and n 5.
Asmāu-l-Jalāliyeh, terrible attributes of the Deity, 459 n 2.
Asmāu-l-Jamāliyeh, amiable attributes of the Deity, 459 n 2.
Asparag, a herb, 173 n 2.
Ashrafu-l-Mulk, of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, brother's son of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Taghlaq, 324.
As-Suyūṭī See under Suyūṭī.
Aṣṭarjī, the jinn who stole Solomon's signet ring, and ruled in his place, 205 n 3, 206 n.
Astronomers of Greece, 75 n 2.
Asun river, the,—flowing west of Gwāliār, 419 n 6.
Atā, a father, in Turkī, 568 n 6.
Atābak or *Atābek*, a Turkī word, signification of, 568 n 5.
Atābakī, the office of *Atābak* (q. v.), 568 n 5
Atābaks of Āzarbaijān, the, 158 n 3.
Atākā, a Turkī word, meaning of, 464 n 5, 568 n 6
Atala Masjid, at Jaunpūr, built by Sulṭān Ibrāhīm of Jaunpūr, 364 n 3.
Atālīgh, or *Atālīq*, a Turkī word, signification of, 468 and n 2, 569 n 5, 597.
Ātashkadā i-Āẕur, the, 32 nn 1 and 2, 35 n 1, 53 n, 54 n 1, 96 n 2, 134 n 3, 187 n 2, 270 n 6, 341 nn 1 and 2, 584 n 3.
Atāva, a town in the Sarkār of Agra, 70 n 3. See under Aṭāwah.
Aṭāwah, town of, in Hindustān, 70 and n 3. Also written Atāva, (q v.)
Atgah, 568 n 6
Atgah Khān, Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad. See under Atka Khān.
Atkā, a Turkī word, meaning of, 464 n 5.
Atka, a Turkī word, meaning of, 464 n 5, 568 n 6.
Atka Khān, Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Mīr Yār Muḥammad of Ghaznī, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, and foster-father to Prince Akbar, 464 n 5, 563, 568 and n 6.
Atkinson's *Shāh Nāmah*, 32 n 1, 116 n 5, 178 n 2, 180 n 2, 321 n 1, 435 n 2.
Aṭlas, meanings of the word, 142 n 1, 246 n 2.
Atlas, Keith Johnson's *Royal*, 567 n 1, 570 n 7.
Atlas of India, 384 n 1.
Attock, on the Indus, 20 n 1, 44 n 6 358 n 6.
Āṯwāl, the,—a geopraphical work, 14 n 3, 29 n 6, 30 n 1.
'Auf ibn Qasaī (called also Ṣaqīf), 12 n 1.
'Aufī, Muḥammad, author of the *Jāmi'u-l-Ḥikāyāt* and *Taẕkiratu-sh-Shu'arā*, 220.
Auḥad Khān Auḥadī, Governor of Baiāna, 385.
Auḥadī's Life of Khwāja 'Alī Shaṭranjī, 114 n 2.
Auḥadī family of Baiāna, the Governors of the city, 386.
Aulaka or *aulakā*, a Turkī word, signification of, 354 n 7.
Aunla, town of, 71 n 2.
Aurangzeb, Emperor of India, 82 n 4.

Avicenna, 533 n 1.

Awadh (Oudh), 415.

Awais Jalāyer, Sulṭān, son of Amīr Shaikh Ḥasan, King of Khurāsān, 571 n 9. See also under Aweis.

Awais Sirwānī, Khwājā, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 493 n 7.

Awe, Loch, 301 n 3.

Aweis, Sulṭān, son of Shaikh Ḥasan Jalāyer, King of Khurāsān, 633 n 1. See also under Awais.

A'yānī, uterine brothers, 466 n 7.

Ayek, the,—a small river of Siālkot, 67 n

Ay-tutulmash, eclipse of the moon, probable origin of the name Iyaltımısh, 89 n 1

Ayūb, *takhalluṣ* or poetical name of Khwāja Aiyūb ibn Khwāja Abu-l Barakāt, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 633.

Azādpūr, fortress of, 324 n 6.

A'ẓam Humāyūn, Bāyazīd, nephew of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 409, 410 and n 1.

A'ẓam Humāyūn, Haibat Khān of Lāhore,—one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shāh, 490, 492, 493, 497 and n 3, 498, 500.

A'ẓam Humāyūn Shirwānī, Governor of Karra,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm bin Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 430, 432, 433, 434, 435.

A'ẓam Humāyūn, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 431 n 1.

A'ẓam Humāyūn Sirwānī, Bihār Khān, Governor of Handīya,—one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 517, 541

A'ẓam Khān Haibat, of Lāhore, 492. See A'ẓam Humāyūn Haibat

A'ẓam Khān Humāyūn, son of Bāyazīd, son of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 410 n 1, 411 n 2, 412 n 2, 414 and n 2.

A'ẓam Khān Humāyūn, son of Khān-i-Jahān Lodī,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 416, 424.

A'ẓam Khān Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad of Ghaznī, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 464. Same as Atkah Khān, (q v.).

A'ẓam Malik, Shaikhzāda-i-Busṭāmī,—of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 328.

A'ẓamu-l-Mulk, Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Yaḥyā, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 302, 308.

Azān, the,—or call to prayer, 472 n 6, 600 n 9, 601 and n.

Azarbaijān, province of, 30 n 1, 61 n 5, 158 n 3.

Aẓdu-d-Daulah Alp Arslān, third monarch of the Saljūqiyah dynasty, 35 and n 1. See under Alp Arslān.

'Azdu-d-Daulat, title given by the Khalīfah Al-Qādir billāh to Amīr Yūsuf, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznin, 29

'Azīz Ḥimār, 313 n 2. Same as the next (q v).

'Azīz Khumār,—of the servants of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 313 and n 2

'Azīzu-llah Tulumbī of Sambhal, Shaikh,—one of the great and learned men of the time of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 426, 427, 429

Azlām, the arrows in the game of *maisir*, 369 n 1

'Azra, heroine of a Turkish romance, mistress of Wāmiq, 40 and n 1.

B.

Bâbâ Isḥâq Maghribi, a Shaikh of Nâgor, 357 n 3.
Bâbâ Qashqa,—or
Bâbâ Qushqah, one of the Amirs of Bâbar, 441, 581
Baban, the Afghân, of the Amirs of Bâbar, 439.
Baban, of the Amirs of Sulṭân Maḥmûd, son of Sulṭân Sikandar Lodi, 471 and nn 4 and 6, 472.
Bâbar, 9 n 2, 63 n, 128 n 3, 421 n 8, 436, 437, 438 and nn 3 and 5, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 447, 468, 469, 534, 570, 596, 605 n 1, 609 and n 5, 610.
Bâbar, Erskine's *Memoirs* of, 421 n 8, 437 n 7, 439 nn 4, 6 and 7, 440 n, 448 n 4, 570 nn 5 and 6
Bâbari script, or the Khaṭṭ-i-Bâbari, invented by Bâbar, 450.
Bâbar-nâmah, the,—the Memoirs of Bâbar, 325 n 3.
Bâber. See under Bâbar.
Bâbernâmah. See under *Bâbar-nâmah*
Bâbtigin, for Bârtagin, the Hâjib Buzurg of Sulṭân Maudûd Ghaznawi, 48 n 4.
Bâbû Khân, one of the Amirs of Sulṭân Sikandar Lodi, 419
Babûl, the *Acacia Arabica*, 335 n 10, 550 n 1.
Babûli, a place, 335 and n 10
Babylon, 169 n 1.
Bachgotis, a tribe of Râjpûts, 414 and n 13
Badagh Khân, of the Amirs of Shâh Ṭahmâsp, King of Persia, 456.
Badakhshân, 27 n 2, 443, 448, 576, 580, 581, 582, 585, 605, 608 and n 5
Bâdalgarh, fortress of, in Gwâliar, 432 and n 7.
Bâdalgarh,—or
Badal Gaṛh, original name of the citadel of Âgra, 432 n 7, 551 and n 7.
Badâon, district and town of, 71 and n 2, 88, 89, 90, 97, 99 and n 2, 119, 123, 124, 130, 131, 185, 231, 233, 234, 236, 244, 251, 260, 266 n 1, 297, 305, 335, 375, 377, 379, 380, 386 and n 4, 396 and n 2, 398, 399, 401, 402 and n 1, 405, 409, 413 and n 13, 427, 535, 545, 546, 557, 558, 597, 598, 600. Written also Badâûn, Budâon and Budâûn
Badâoni, 'Abdu-l Qâdir bin Mulûk Shâh, author of the *Muntakhabu t Tawârikh*, 1 and n 1, 8 and n 2, 9 n 2, 11 n 1, 31 n, 54 n 2, 62 n 4, 65 n 2, 84 n, 90 n 2, 133 n, 176 n 2 300 n 3, 304 n 1, 306 n 1, 320 n 5 326 n, 328 n 6, 330 n 6, 332, 334 n 2, 349 n 12, 356 n 3, 357 n 4, 358 n 3, 363 n, 366 n 4, 368 n 1, 388 n 2, 400 n, 402 n 1, 404 n 2, 414 nn 1 and 6, 466 n 7, 473, 497, 508 n 3 511 n 2, 548 n 4, 545, 557 n 2, 579, 584 n 3, 592 n 9, 609 n 3, 610
Badâûn See under Badâon.
Badâûni See under Badâoni.
Badger's *Imâms and Saiyyids of Omân*, 157 n 2.
Bâdghis, town of, 71.
Badr, battle of,—the principal of the Prophet's military exploits, 74 n 2, 216 n.
Badr Shâ'ir Shashi, a poet of the time of Sulṭân Muḥammad Tughlaq Shâh, 296 and n 6, 321 and n 6

Known also as Badru-d-Dīn Chāchī, of Turkestān

Badra-i-Sakūn, a place, 288 and *n* 5

Badru-d-Dīn Chāchī, the poet, 296 *n* 6. See under Badr Shā'ir Shāshī

Badru-d-Dīn of Hānsī, Shaikh, contemporary of Sultān Fīroz Shāh, 322 and *n* 5, 323.

Badru-d-Dīn Sankar, or Sangar, Rūmī, Amīr Ḥājib, of the Shamsiyah Maliks, 121 *n* 7, 123

Badru-d-Dīn Ẓafar Khān, one of the Maliks of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 247 and *n* 2

Badshāpūr, town, 129 *n* 2.

Badward, a name of the town of Bāward or Abīward in Khurāsān, 30 *n*.

Bāgh-i-Jūd, the, 396 and *n* 3

Bāgh-i-Sabz, on the banks of the Lāhor river, 188 and *n* 3, 190 *n* 1

Bāgh-i-Sard, 188 *n* 3 For the Bāgh-i-Sabz (*q v*)

Bāgh-i-Sarīr, 188 *n* 3 For the Bāgh-i-Sabz (*q v*)

Baghdād, 12 *n* 2 (read Damascus), 17, 32 *n* 1, 57, 59 *n* 1, 86 *n* 3, 94 *n* 2, 205 *n* 1, 286, 311 and *n* 4, 322, 394 and *n* 5, 397, 432 *n* 10 571 *n* 2

Baghdād gate, at Dihlī, 432 *n* 10.

Bagore, town, 379 *n* 1

Bagrām, old name of Peshāwar, 66 *n* 6

Bahā, Qāẓī, one of the boon-companions of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 252, 253 and *n* 2.

Badādur Garshasp, Malik, of the Amīrs of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 204 and n 1.

Bahādur, Sultān, ruler of Gujrāt,—contemporary of Humāyūn, 452, 453, 454 and *n* 4, 455, 456, 458, 685.

Bahādur Khān, a prince of the family of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 291.

Bahādur Khān, son of Daryā Khān Lūhānī, of the Amīrs of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī,—takes possession of Bihār, assuming the title of Sultān Muhammad, 435 Elsewhere he is called Bihār Khān (*q v*)

Bahādur Khān, Governor of Narnūl under Sultān Mahmūd, grandson of Sultān Fīroz Shāh, 305 *n* 7.

Bahādur Khān Sīstānī (Shaibānī?), Governor of Qandahār,—one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 590, 591, 594

Bahādur Shāh, otherwise known as Tūda (? Nūda), independent Governor of Sunār Gānw,—contemporary of Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 299, 300

Bahādur, Sultān Muhammad, son of Muhammad Khān Gauria,—contemporary of 'Adlī, 556 and *n* 3

Bahādur Nāhir, Khān Zāda of Miwāt, 343, 344 and n 7, 345, 347, 351 and *n* 6 354, 358 and *n* 4, 366 n, 375. Founder of the Khān Zāda race, the rulers of Miwāt.

Bahankar, fortress of, 80 and *nn* 4 and 5

Bahāpūr, town, 227 and *n* 7, 229.

Bahār Khān, A'ẓam Humāyūn Sirwānī, 521 See under Bihār Khān

Bahārī, town, 232.

Bahāristan, one of the works of Maulānā Jāmī, 32 *n* 2

Bahārpūr, town, 227 *n* 7

Bahāu-d-Dīn, one of the Amirs of Islem Shāh Sūr, 530.

Bahāu-d-Dīn Gurshasp, Malik, Governor of Sāgur, under Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 304 *n* 1.

Bahāu-d-Dīn Jangī, Malik, of the Amirs of Muḥammad Shāh Firoz Shāhī, 344.

Bahāu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Ūshī Farghānī, 78 *n* 2 See Bahāu-d-Dīn Ūshī.

Bahāu-d-Dīn Naqshbandī of Bukhārā, Khwāja, a renowned saint, the founder of the Naqshbandī School, 588 *n* 4.

Bahāu-d-Dīn Sām Ghūrī, Malik, 77 *n* 1. Probably Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn Muḥammad is meant

Bahāu-d-Dīn Tughral, Malik, one of the generals and slaves of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Sam Ghūrī, 80, 81

Bahāu-d-Dīn Ūshī, a famous preacher and learned divine of the time of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 78 and n 2.

Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyāī the Multānī, Ghausu-l-'Ālam Hazrat Shaikh, a famous Muḥammadan Saint, 133 and *n* and n 2, 248 *n* 2.

Bahdā, a village of the dependencies of Khurāsān, 588 and *n* 5 Called also Bahdāyan

Baḥdāyan, village of, 588 *n* 5. See the above.

Al-Baḥḥās, or the controversialist, a name of Shaikh Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā of Budāon (*q v*), 71 *n* 2

Bahīra, town, 465.

Bahjat Khān, governor of Chanderi under Sultān Maḥmūd of Mālwa, transfers Chanderi to Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 424 and n 4.

Bahlol, Sulṭān, 377 *n* 4. See under *Sulṭān* Buhlūl Lodī.

Bahman, an ancient King of Īrān, 85 *n* 2.

Bahman, eleventh month of the Persian year, 627 and *n* 1.

Bahmān, one of the Amirs of Islem Shāh Sūr, 517.

Bahmān Khān, a Niyāzī Afghān, 498.

Bahmanwā, ancient name of the town of al-Manṣūrah in Sindh, 86 *n* 10.

Bahr-i-'Ajam, the,—a lexicographical work, 114 *n* 2.

Bahr-i-Jurjān, the Caspian, 153 *n* 1.

Baḥr-i-Khwārazm, the Lake Aral, 153 *n* 1.

Bahr-i Nitas, the Black Sea, 153 *n* 1.

Baḥr-i-Qulzum, the Red Sea, 169 *n* 1.

Baḥr-i-Tabariya, the Dead Sea, 153 *n* 1.

Bahrah, town of, 128 *n* 3. Probably same as Bhera (*q v*).

Bahraich, district, 349, 409, 411 *n* 2. See also the next.

Bahrāij, district, 125, 126, 131. See also the above and under Bharāij

Bahrām, ancient King of Persia, 157 *n* 1, 436.

Bahrām Iba, Kishlū Khān, governor of Multan and Uchh, adopted brother of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 292 and *n* 4, 293, 297 and *n* 6, 304.

Bahrām Khān, son of Sulṭan Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 297

Bahrām Khān, governor of Sunargāinw under Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 308.
Bahrām Khān Turkbacha, ruler of Sāmāna, contemporary of Maḥmūd Shāh of Dihlī, 362, 365.
Bahrām Mīrzā, brother of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, King of Persia, 569.
Bahrām Shāh, Sulṭān, ibn Mas'ūd ibn Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60
Bahrām Shāh, son of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Qabāchah (q. v.), 90
Bahrām Shāh, son of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish. See under Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Bahrām Shāh.
Bahrām Ullah, 297 n 6. For Bahrām Iba (q. v.).
Baḥrī, Malik, of the Maliks of Abū Bakr Shāh. Sulṭān of Dihlī, 344
Bahrsūr, a halting-place opposite to Baiāna, 518
Baḥru-l-Jawāhir, a work on medicine, 5 n 3, 30 n 2, 42 n, 49 n 2, 101 n 1, 117 n 2, 118 n, 146 n 6, 148 n 4, 161 n 3, 167 n 2, 226 n 5, 319 n 4.
Bahwa Lūhānī, Miyān, Governor of Baiāna, one of the Maliks of Islem Shāh, 518, 519.
Baiāna, district and town, 359, 360, 378, 379, 385, 386, 387, 392, 395 and n 3, 400, 405, 414, 418, 419, 424, 443, 445, 452, 487, 488 497, 507, 509, 512, 513, 518, 519, 520, 526, 541, 549, 551 and n 8, 553, 597, 598 See also under Bhiāna and Biāna.
Baiāna, fortress of, 549, 551.
Baihaqī, the Historian, 32 n, 36 nn 8 and 9, 37 n 2, 46 n 2.
Bairām Dev, Rājā of Hindūstān, contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 28 and n 4. See under Brahma Dev.
Bairām Dev, son of Rāi Harsingh of Itāwa, contemporary of Maḥmūd Shāh, grandson of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 361.
Bairām Dev, the Rājā of Kola, contemporary of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 231.
Bairām Khān, Khān-i-Khānān, one of the great Amīrs of Humāyūn and Akbar, 447, 567, 568, 569, 572, 576, 588, 589, 590 and n 5, 591, 594, 595, 597, 622.
Bairām Khān Turkbacha, ruler of Sāmāna, under Masnad-i-'Ālī Khiẓr Khān of Dihlī, 365, 378.
Baitālī, township of,—on the banks of the Ganges, 360 and n 3, 375, 377, 379, 407 n 1. See also Betālī.
Baitaranī river, the,—in Orissa, 125 n 3.
Bāitigin, 46 n 4, for Bārtagīn, the Ḥājib-i-Buzurg (q. v.).
Baiẓā, a village of Shīrāz in Persia, 6 n 4.
Baiẓāwī, Qāẓī, author of the *Anwāru-t-Tanzīl*, a celebrated commentary on the Qur'ān, and of the *Niẓāmu-t-Tawārīkh*, 6 and n 4, 10 n 3, 34 and n 8, 45 and n 2 53, 56 n 1, 63 and nn 3 and 4, 63, 64 n 1.
Bajj, fort of,—in Majbaristān, 34 and n 6.
Bajlāna, a place on the Ganges, 379
Bajwāra, town, 290 and n 2, 291 and n 5, 497, 520

Bakhtyār Khiljī, Malik, 85 n 1. See under Muhammad Bakhtyār Ghūrī or Khiljī.
Bakkar, town, 559 and n 5, 560, 561 and n 11, 563, 566 and n 13, 567, 574, 580. See also under Bukkur and Bhakkar.
Baksar, country of, 408 and n 5.
Baktūzūn, one of the Amirs of 'Abdu-l-Malik ibn Nūḥ Sāmānī, King of Khurāsān, 16 and n 2.
Balārām, town, 346.
Balarwān, fortress of, in Gharjistān, 63 n 1.
Balban, the elder, 124. See Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban-i-Kashlū Khān
Balban, Sulṭān. See under Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban.
Balban, the younger, Malik and afterwards Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn (q. v.), 121 and n 7, 122.
Balbani Amirs, known also as the Ghiyāṣī Amirs, the partisans of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 232, 233.
Balfour, 163 n 3.
Balkātigīn, the slave of Alptigīn, Governor of Ghaznī, 14 n 1
Balkh, 16, 17, 20, 23, 27 and n 1. 30, 35, 37 and n 7. 38, 44, 46 n 1, 47, 445, 581, 582 and n 7, 585, 597 n 5
Balkh, the river of,—the Jaiḥūn, 27 n 1, 582 n 7.
Bālnāt, hill country of, 474 See also the next.
Bālnāth, mountains of, 22 and n 5. See also the above.
Bāmiān, district and town of,—in Afghānistān, 46 and n 1, 56
Banāras, 416, 520. Banārasī, 339 n 6. See Bārāṇasī.
Banas, the,—a tributary of the Chambal river, 335 n 5.
Banātu-n-Na'sh, the constellation Ursa Major, 198 and n 2.
Banbhar, town, 530 and n 3.
Banda, town, 417 n 7.
Bāndhū, fortress of, 417 n 7.
Bāndhūgarh, fortress, 417 and n 7.
Bangāla, 79, 82, 86, 135, 222, 225, 417, 457, 458, 460, 461, 470, 472, 507, 552, 554, 573. See also under Bengal.
Bangālīs, the, 470.
Bāngarmau, township of, 434.
Bang-Matī river, 84 n Called also the Beg-Matī (q v.).
Banhar, town, 530 n 3.
Bānhbana, Rāi, brother's son of the Jām of Thatha, contemporary of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 332 n 6, 333 n 4.
Baniān, town, 95 n 8, 128 n 1.
Banjāras, grain sellers, 477.
Bānswāla, town, 495.
Banū Tamīm Anṣārī, early Muḥammadan sovereigns of Sind, 13 n.
Bapāk, 415 n 5, for Prayāg, the ancient name of Allahabad.
Baqā'ī, Maulānā, a learned man of the time of Bābar, 449.
Bāqī-i-Khaṭīb, one of the learned poets of the time of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 245
Barādarān-i-akhyāfī, brothers by the same mother but a different father, 466 n 7
Barādarān-i-a'yānī, uterine brothers 466 n 7.

Baran, district and town, 89 and n 4, 121 n 5, 226, 227, 230 n 1, 250, 357, 359, 364, 396. See also the next.

Baran, fortress of, 24 n 1. See Barnah.

Bāranasī, town, 329 and n 6. See under Banāras

Barānghār, right wing of a Turkish army, 439 n 4.

Baranī, the Historian See under Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Barnī

Barāwar bacha. See under Hasan, Barāwar bacha.

Barāwar tribe, a family of servile position in Gujrāt, 274, 285, 288 See also the next

Barāwas, the, 289 Same as the Barāwar family (q. v.).

Bārbak, chief attendant of a *darbār*, 501 and n 6

Bārbak Bektars Sultānī, Malik, one of the Maliks of Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban, 186 n 5

Bārbak Shāh, son of Sultān Bahlūl Lodī, 409 and n 8, 411 n 2, 412 n 2, 413 and n 13, 414 n 1, 415

Barchha, a small spear, 479 and n 2

Bardār, hills of, 130 n 2

Bardat, governor of the fortress of Bartah in Hindūstān, contemporary of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn 24 n 1

Bardhan, town, 83, 84 n

Bardhan Koṭ, town of, 84 n

Bareilly, 364 n 4 See also the next.

Barēlī, town of, 71 n 2. See also Bareilly.

Bareṛī, *pargana* of, 424 n 3.

Bārī, township in the Sarkār of Āgra, 410, 425 and n 4.

Barmazīd Kor, one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shāh, 490 and n 4.

Barnāh, fortress of, 24 and n 1. Same as Baran (q v.).

Barnī, the Historian. See under Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Barnī.

Baroda, district 313, 314.

Barqa'ī, Ḥājī, a court officer of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 311, 315.

Barsine, wife of Alexander the Great, 332 n

Bartagīn, the Ḥājib-i-Buzurg,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 48 and n 4. See also under Bashtigīn.

Bartah, fortress of, 24 n 1.

Barūj (Broach), 311 and n 3.

Baruja, town, 358 n 6.

Barwat, Governor of the fortress of Barnah, in Hindūstān, a contemporary of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 24 and n 1

Bāsad Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Maḥmūd, the grandson of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, of Dihlī, 364

Basāwar, town, 349, 445, 475, 479, 512, 549.

Bashīr the Sirdar, an adherent of the house of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 273

Bāshtigīn Ḥājib, one of the Amīrs of the Ghaznavides, 48 n 4, 50 n 1 See under Bartagīn

Basra, town of,—in Arabian 'Irāq 12 n 1, 458 n 3.

Basudev (Vasudeva), one of the Hindu gods, 24 and n 6

Basūlī, a place, 335 n 10.

Bathindah, town of, 69 n 2. See also under Batindah

Batil, 618 *n* 2.

Batindah, called also Tabarhindah, the capital of Jaipāl,—the ruler of Hindūstān at the time of Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 19 *n* 2, 20 *n* 1. See also Bathindah.

Bāṭini sect, the,—a sect of Muḥammadan heretics, 22 and n 3.

Al-Bāṭiniah, 22 *n* 3 Same as the above (*q. v*).

Batlāhī, town, 334 and *n* 5

Batūl, the offset of a palm-tree, 622 *n* 4.

Al Batūl, a name of Fāṭimah, daughter of the Prophet, 622 *n* 4

Bāward, a city of Khurāsān, 29 and n 6, 30, 42, 43. Called also Abīward (*q v*)

Bayāk, 415 *n* 5, for Prayāg, the ancient name of Allahabad.

Bāyazid Anṣārī, also called Pir Roshan, founder of a Ṣūfī sect, called the Roshāniyyah or enlightened, 58 and *n* 5

Bāyazid A ẓam Humāyūn, nephew of Sultān Buhlul Lodi, 400, 410 and *n* 1.

Bayazid, Khwāja, eldest son of Sulṭān Buhlul Lodi, 401 *n* 4, 410 *n* 1, 414.

Bāyazid, Shaikh, the brother of Muṣṭafā Farmalī,—one of the Afghān Amirs who joined Humāyūn, 444.

Bāyazid, one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Maḥmūd son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodi, 471 and *n* 4, 472

Bayley's *History of Gujarāt*, 17 *n* 4, 71 *n* 3, 264 *n* 6, 313 *n* 5, 357 *n* 3, 452 *n* 6, 454 *nn* 1 and 7, 455 *n* 1, 458 *n* 6

Bāz Bahādur, son of Sazāwal Khān, ruler of Mālwa, contemporary of 'Adlī, 554, 557.

Bazāna, town of, 27 *n* 4.

Bazghand, fortress of, 44 and *n* 4.

Beale's *Dictionary of Oriental Biography*, 32 *n* 1, 33 *n* 1, 38 *n* 4, 53 *n*, 54 *n* 2, 55 *n* 3, 58 *n* 5, 99 *n* 3, 133 *n* 2, 134 *n* 4, 158 *n* 3, 187 *n* 2, 233 *n* 4, 236 *n* 2, 272 *n* 1, 279 *n* 3, 297 *n*, 298 *nn* 2 and 4, 332 *n* 2, 339 *n* 4, 449 *nn* 2 and 3, 450 *n* 5, 507 *n* 2, 533 *nn* 1 and 6, 571 *n* 9, 584 *n* and *n* 3, 624 *n* 6, 633 *n* 1. [Baiāna.

Beāna, town of, 80 *n* 5. See under

Bedar a town of the Deccan, 299 *n* 3 See also under Bīdar

Bedr, battle of,—the Prophet's principal military exploit, 74 *n* 2, 216 *n*. More correctly *Badr*

Beerbhoom, the Rajā of, 329 *n* 9.

Beg Tighdī, one of the generals of Sultān Mas'ūd, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 43 See under Tughdī Beg

Begam, the Queen-consort of Humāyun, mother of Akbar, 560, 566, 608 and *n* 7. See Ḥamīda Bānū

Beghū, the Turkomān, chief of the Turkomāns, contemporary of Sultān Mas'ūd, son of Mahmūd Ghaznawī, 38 and *n* 3, 39.

Beghū Malik Shāh See the above.

Beg-Matī river, the, 84 *n* 1 Called also the Bang-Matī (*q v*).

Behār, capital of the ancient kingdom of Magadh, 82 and *n* 1. See under Bihār

Behāristān of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī, 32 *n* 2.

Behāt, the,—old name of the Jhilam, one of the five rivers of the Panjāb, 44 n 6, 128 n 3, 500, 503. Spelt also the Behat.

Behnbur, town, 530 n 3

Behzād, Malik, Governor of Multān under Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 305.

Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Arabe, Nöldeke's, 99 n 6.

Bejī Rāi, Rājā of Bhātia, contemporary of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznīn, 19.

Bekasī, Maulānā, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 453 and n 7

Belnāt mountains, 22 n 5 See under Balnāt and Balnāth

Bengal, 81 n 2, 82 nn 3 and 4, 135 n 1, 299, 300, 303 n, 345 n 2, 466 n 6, 540 See also under Bangāla and Bengāla

Bengāla, 79, 82, 86. See also under Bangāla and Bengal

Ber, fruit of the *'Unnāb* tree in Hindustāni, 117 n 2

Beraisen, a mistaken reading of bi Rāsain, i e., the two Rāses (q v), 326 n

Berenice, an ancient port of the Red Sea, 169 n 1

Betālī, on the Ganges, 185 n 1. See under Patiāli and Baitali

Betel-leaf, note on, 302 n 6

Betle-chewer's cancer 303 n

Betwā river, the 95 n 3

Beveridge's *the Emperor Akbar*, 58 n 5

Be[illegible] 118 n

B[illegible] one of the dependencies of [illegible] 116 n 4

Bhadauriahs, the, 408 n 1. See the Bhadauris.

Bhadauris, the,—the inhabitants of the Bhadāwar district, 408 and n 1.

Bhadāwar, a district S. E. of Āgra, 408 n 1.

Bhadāwah, town, 410 n 4.

Bhagat, the,—a Hindū caste of loose people, 557 and n 9.

Bhagatiya, the,—a Hindū caste of loose people, 557 n 9.

Bhāgīrathī, the 82 n 4.

Bhaka, a servant of Shīr Khān, *afterwards* Shīr Shāh Sūr, 468.

Bhakārī, Shaikh, son of Shaikhu-l-Hadiyah, contemporary of Sultan Sikandar Lodī, 429 and n 5.

Bhakkar, town, 464 See under Bakkar and Bukkur

Bhangar, fortress of, 71 and n 2. See also under Bhankar and Bahankar.

Bhankar, fortress of, 90. See also under Bhangar and Bahankar.

Bharaij, district, 132 See under Bahraich and Bahraij

Bhartpūr district, 134 n 1, 308 n.

Bhasiyāna, country of, 80 and n 5.

Bhat, fort of, 355 and n 3. See Bhatnīr.

Bhāti or Bhāta, a place, 19 n 4. See under Bhātia

Bhāti, a town situated between the arms of the Mihran (Indus) 36 n 10

Bhati tribe of Hindus, the, 66 and n 2

Bhātia, a place in the vicinity of Multān, 19 and n 4, 66 n 2.

Bhatnir, town, 355 nn 1 and 3.

Bhatpar, 355 n 3, for Bhatnir (q v).

Bhatia, town, 408 n 7, 485 and n 9, 489, 542, 544, 553.
Bhatia, Kingdom of, 544.
Bhatia, Amirs of, 485.
Bhatwāra, a place, 405.
Bhawan, a place, 20 n 5.
Bhayāna, country of, 60 n 5. See under Bhiāna, Biāna and Baiāna.
Bhera, a place on the left bank of the Jhelum under the Salt Range, 19 n 4. See under Bahrah.
Bhiāna, territory of, 60 n 5. See under Bhayāna, Biāna and Baiāna.
Bhilsā, a town on the Betwā in Mālwā, 95 and n 3, 236 and n 3.
Bhim, a hero of Indian mythology, 20 n 5, 21.
Bhim, town of, 20 n 5.
Bhim Dev, Rāi, ruler of Gujrāt, contemporary of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Sām Ghuri, 66, 71. [Dev.
Bhim Rāi Dev, 71. See under Bhim
Bhim, Rai, the chief of Jammoo, contemporary of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh of Dihli, 283 and n 3.
Bhim Sen, Rājā, founder of the town of Bhongāon, 386 n 3.
Bhimnagar, fortress of, 20 and n 5.
Bhodal, township of, 547 n 4.
Bhojpūr, fortress of, 185 and n 1.
Bhongāon, a town in the Mainpūri district, 386 nn 3 and 4. See also under Bhūngānw.
Bhūgāon, 386 n 3. See the above and also Bhungānw.
Bhūhar, town, 260.
Bhukānūr, town, 386 n 3.
Bhūngānw,—or
Bhūngāon, in the Mainpuri district, 386 and n 3, 403, 431.
Bhurayee, town, 414 n 2.
Biāh, the, 25 n 3, 126, 130, 251, 253, 261, 280, 291, 292, 412 n 2. Called the Kālī Pānī (q. v.), and the Biās.
Biās, the, 325 n 3. Same as the river Biāh (q. v.).
Bibi Bā'ī, daughter of Niẓām Khān Sūr and wife of Islem Shāh, 535.
Bibi Khūnza, Malika-i-Jahān, chief wife of Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqi, 409 and n 2.
Bibi Rāchi, mother of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh Sharqi of Jaunpūr, 408 n 8.
Bible, the, 394 n 5.
Bibliotheca Indica, the, 127 n 2, 142 n 1, 315 n 7, 329 n 3.
Bidāgh Khān Qizilbāsh Afshār, one of the Amirs of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia, 572 and nn 7 and 8, 575 and n 3, 578.
Bidar, town,—in Haidarābād, Deccan, 299 and n 3, 311, 312, 314. Called also Bedar.
Bidaspes, the, = the Jhelam river, the Vitastā of Sanskrit writers, 23 n 3.
Bihand or Waihind, a place on the western bank of the Indus, 20 n 1.
Bihār, 185, 328, 329, 338, 348, 416 and nn 12 and 13, 417, 434, 435, 436, 444, 446, 456, 457, 467, 469, 470, 471 and n 1, 521.
Bihār Khān, one of the Amirs of the Lodi dynasty, 443.
Bihār Khān, A'ẓam Humāyūn Sirwānī, Governor of Handiya under Islem Shāh Sur, 517, 521, 541. See Bahār Khan
Bihār Khān, son of Daryā Khan Lohani, Sulṭān of Bihar, 467 See

Sulṭān Muḥammad of Bihār. Elsewhere called Bahādur Khān (q v).

Bibishtī, author of a commentary on the *Saḥāif*, 427 n 1.

Bijlāna, a place on the Ganges, 281.

Bijnor, hills of, 130 and n 2.

Bikanīr, town of, 69 n 2.

Bilāl, the Abyssinian mu'azzin of Muḥammad, 601 n.

Al-Bilāzurī, author of the *Futūḥu-l-Buldān*, 11 n 3.

Bilūchistān, 48 n 4, 420 n 9.

Bin, township of, 526. See also Bin Bāū.

Bīnā Pānīpatī, Shaikh, a famous surgeon, 366 n 3.

Bināyek Deo, Rājā of Dholpūr,—contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 419 n 4, 420 and n 2.

Bināyik Deo, same as the above (q. v).

Bin Bāū, in the Panjāb, 523, 525 See also Bin

Bīrā, note on, 303 n.

Birjīs, the planet Jupiter, 680 and n 2.

Birnī Khera, town, 327 and n 3.

Bīrunī See under Albīrūnī.

Bisal, fortress, 383 n 3.

Bish, aconite, 172 n 2.

Bismi-llāh, in the name of God, used at the beginning of all works, 428 and n 4

Bitter Lakes, the, 169 n 1.

Bīzhan, son of Geo and nephew of Rustam, in the *Shāhnāmah* of Firdausī, 116 n 5, 180 and n 2, 181 n 1.

Blackwater, the,—known as the Kālīpānī (q v.), 360 and n 3, 378 and n 1, 386, 411.

Bland, *On the Persian game of chess*, 103 n 1, 115 n, 479 n 7.

Blochmann, 8 n 3, 19 n, 67 n 3, 353 n 1, 357 n 4, 366 n 3, 408 n 1, 415 n 4, 417 n 8, 420 nn 8 and 9, 421 n 8, 422 n 2, 424 n 3, 432 n 7, 440 n 2, 464 n 5, 476 n 5, 479 n 5, 496 nn 1 and 8, 498 n 3, 499 n 3, 501 n 7, 503 n 3, 506 n 2, 507 n 1, 508 nn 7 and 8, 509 n 8, 515 n 4, 523 n 5, 546 nn 3 and 7, 557 n 1, 567 n 3, 568 n 6, 571 n 9, 580 n 5, 584 n 3, 588 n 4, 590 n 5, 592 n 9, 597 n 5, 605 n 1, 609 n 5, 610 n, 611 n 3, 623 n 6, 626 n 3.

Blue, the customary mourning colour in Persia, 209 and n 3

Bohar, a place in the vicinity of Hānsi, 248 and n 4.

Bokhārā. See under Bukhārā.

Bombay edition of the *Atash-Kada*, 584 n 3

Bombay text of the *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, 72 n 2, 205 n 2, 304 n 1, 307 n, 325 n 3, 326 n 2, 327 n 3, 330 n 6, 334 n 3, 339 n 2, 342 n 3, 345 n 2, 350 n 3, 355 n 4, 360 n 3, 365 n 2, 379 n 2, 385 n 1, 393 n 3, 400 n, 401 n 2, 402 nn 1 and 5, 403 nn 4 and 5, 404 nn 2 and 5, 406 nn 1 and 5, 410 nn 1 and 4, 411 n 2 412 n 2, 413 n 13, 415 n 7, 422 n 3, 424 nn 2 and 4, 425 n 6, 432 nn 3 and 7, 433 n 3, 438 n 3, 466 n 5, 478 nn 7 and 8, 489 n 5, 490 n 4, 537 n 2, 559 nn 6 and 8, 560 n 2, 561 n 2, 564 nn 6 and 8, 566 n 13, 567 n 9, 573 n 3, 579 n 8, 583 n 3, 609 n 5, 625 n 3

Bost, district, 15 n

Bost, town,—on the banks of the Hendmand, 15 n. See under Bust.
Brahma Dev, one of the Rājās of Hindūstān at the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, 28 n 4.
Brahmanputr, the, 84 and n 1, 186 n 6 Called also the Brahmkadī
Brahmans, the, 27, 28, 331, 332, 509 n 5.
Brahmaputra, the, 84 n 1. See the Brahmanputr.
Brahmkadī, the, 84. See under the Brahmanputr.
Brentford, 301 n 2
Brian O'Linn, 618 n 1.
Briggs, Ferishta, 13 n 1, 16 nn 1 and 2, 19 n 5, 20 n 2, 23 n 2, 27 n 4, 28 nn 2 and 4, 29 nn 1 and 5, 30 n 2, 31 n, 33 n 2 34 n 5, 36 n 9, 47 n 7, 48 nn 2 and 4, 66 nn 2 and 4, 259 n 5, 273 n 4, 300 n 3, 304 n 1, 307 n, 327 n 1, 329 n 9, 331 n 10, 332 n, 334 n 2, 336 n 5, 338 n 1, 344 n 7, 348 nn 3 and 9, 350 n 3 355 nn 1 and 4, 359 n 2, 360 n 3, 365 n 2, 367 n, 379 nn 1 and 2, 393 n 5, 400 n, 410 n 3, 414 nn 3 and 5, 417 n 5, 419 n 1, 424 n 4. 425 n 6, 461 n 3 478 n 7 489 n 5, 490 n 4, 566 n 13, 624 n 6, 625 n 3
Broach, 311 n 3 See under Barūj
Bū 'Alī, commonly known as Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), 533 and n 1.
Bubonic plague 524 and n 1.
Budaon. See under Badāon.
Badāon gate, in Dihlī, 227, 260.
Badāonī. See under Badāoni
Budāūn. See under Badāon
Budāūni. See under Badāoni.
Buddhists, the, 95 n 3.
Budh, Shaikh, a learned physician of Bihār in the time of Sher Shāh and Islem Shāh, 521 and n 4, 522.
Bughrā Khān, son of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban. See under Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān.
Buhlūl Lodī, Malik and afterwards Sulṭān, 398, 399, 400, 401 and n 4, 402 and nn 1 and 5, 403 and nn 4 and 5, 404 and n and nn 2 and 5, 405, 406, 407 and n 1, 408 and n 6, 409 and n 7, 410 and nn 1 and 4, 411 and n 2, 412 n 2, 413 n 13, 466
Buhlūl, Sulṭān, ibn-i-Kālā Lodī See the above
Buhlūl, Shaikh, brother of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwālīār, comtemporary of Humāyūn, 459.
Bukhārā, 13 n 1, 14 n 1, 20 n 2, 27 n 1, 89, 93, 446 n 2, 533 n 1, 570 n 7, 588 n 4, 618 and n 5.
Bukhārī, Imām, the celebrated author of Ṣaḥīḥu-l-Bukhārī, a collection of authentic traditions, 6 and n 3.
Bakkur, later name of al-Manṣūrah in Sind. 36 n 10, 559 n 5 See under Bakkar and Bhakkar.
Bulandshahr, district and town of, 89 n 4, 121 n 5, 395 n 4, 396, 546 n 4.
Bulgār, one of the sons of Gaz, the tenth son of Yāfis (Japhet), 61 n 5.
Bulgarians, the,—descended from Bulgār (q. v.), 61 n 5
Bu-l-Muzaffar, 77 and n 1, for Abu-l-Muzaffar Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī.
Būmah, the Owl,—the type of ill-omen, 58 n 1.
Burāq, the animal upon which Muhammad was mounted during

his ascent to heaven, 150, 292 and n 6, 293 n.
Burgess, *Sūrya Siddhānta*, 163 n 2.
Burhān, servant of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujarat, 533 and n 5.
Burhānābād, township, 388.
Burhān-i-Qāṭi', a Persian Dictionary, 79 n 1, 101 n 1, 102 n 5, 108 n 4, 109 n 4, 115 n 3, 117 n 2, 122 n 3, 137 n 6, 138 n 3, 143 n 2, 146 n 1, 152 nn 3 and 6, 153 nn 1 and 4, 154 n 5, 158 n 6, 159 n, 160 n 2, 166 n 1, 167 n 2, 171 n 2, 172 nn 2, 3 and 4, 173 n 2, 178 n 4, 182 nn 1 and 4, 192 n 3, 193 n 1, 314 n 1, 319 n 4, 321 nn 1, 2 and 4, 340 n 2, 352 n 1, 629 n 1.
Burhān Niẓām Shāh, ruler of the Dakkan, 624 n 6.
Burhānpūr, 455 n 4.
Burhānu-d-Dīn Balārāmī, Shaikh, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 314.
Buri Gangā river, the, 377 n 3, 384 n 4.
Burqa', a kind of veil, 508 and n 2.
Burton's *Pilgrimage to El-Medina and Mecca*, 97 n 4, 177 n 4.
Bushire, 572 n 1.
Bushkāl, the rainy season, from the Turkī *pushakāl* or *pushkāl*, 325 n 2.
Bust, capital of Zābulistān, 14 and n 3, 33, 34, 47, 48 n 4, 50. See under Bost.
Būstān of Shaikh Sa'dī of Shīrāz, 187 n 2, 467.
Būstān Afrūz, a red flower without odour, 629 and n 1.

C.

Cairo, 210 See also under the Dāru-l-Khilāfat of Egypt.
Cakra, the, 22 n 1. See also the Chakra.
Cakra svāmin, or owner of the *Cakra*, name of the idol of Taneshar, 22 n 1 See also Chakra-svāmin.
Calcutta edition of the *Kashshāf* of az-Zamakhsharī, 28 n 1.
Calcutta text of the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh* of Badāonī, 132 n 2, 187 n 1, 368 n 1.
Calcutta edition of the *Nafaḥātu-l-Uns* of Maulānā Jāmī, 609 n 5.
Calcutta edition of the *Shāh Nāma*, 88 n 2. [329 n 3.
Calcutta text of Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf,
Calcutta edition of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, 65 n 1, 84 n, 126 n 3, 131 n 4, 134 n 1.
Calcutta text of *Ẓiāu-d Dīn Barnī*, 306 n 1, 307 n 3, 310 n 1, 311 n 6.
Calendar of Julius Cæsar, 76 n
Camâl eddin, Kâdhi, one of the Qāẓīs of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh of Dihlī, 128 n
Cambay, in Gujerat, 256 n 4, 311 n 3, 454 n 6. See also under Kanbâyât, Khambhāt and Khambāt
Cambàhat, the Cambay of Europeans, a port of Gujerat, 256 n 4. See under Camba,. [29 n.
Canda, a place near Somnath, 28 n 4,
Cannia coubadj, name of Qanauj in ancient monuments, 23 n 2.
Carmate. See under Karmat or

Qarmat, founder of the Karmatian sect of heretics.
Carnal, town of, 21 n 4.
Carolī, town, 420 n 5.
Cathay, the country of Khatā, 143 n 4, 232 n 5.
Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire de Arabes*, 12 n 1, 46 n 5.
Cavalam, the town of Kūlam, 265 n 5.
Cave, Chapter of the,—*the Sūratu-l-Kahf*, in al-Qur'ān, 279 n.
Cawnpore, 408 n 5.
Celestial Empire, the, 147 n 1.
Central Asia, 362 n 2.
Central India, 298 n 7, 384 nn 2 and 3, 385 n 3.
Central Provinces, the, 433 n 4, 517 n 9.
Chāch, a town in Turkestān, 296 n 6. See also Shāsh
Chach Nāma, the,—a History of India in verse, 11 n 3.
Chādar, a garment worn by the women of India, 508 and n 1.
Chaghar Beg Saljūqī King of Khurāsān, contemporary of Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 49 n 4. Called also Chughz Beg or Chaghz Beg.
Chaghatai line of Mogul princes, 145 n 2, 464 n 8.
Chaghatai Khān, son of the Chingiz Khān, 145 n 2, 464 n 8.
Chaghatai tribe, Amīrs of,—adherents of Humāyūn, 464 and n 8, 472, 574 and n 6, 576, 582 n 7, 583 n 3, 593. See also under Chaghtā
Chaghtā, Ulūs-i-, 575 n 1. See also under the Chaghatai tribe
Chāhar Ajārī, independent Rājā of Narwar, contemporary of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh of Dihlī, 129 n 4. Called also Chāhar Deva and Jāhir Dev.
Chāhar Deva, Rājā of Narwar, 129 n 4. See Chāhar Ajārī.
Chaghz Beg Saljūqī, 49 n 4. See under Chughz Beg.
Chahār Khand, a place, 457.
Chahār pāi, charpoy, 494 n 11.
Chakarsūm, name of the idol of Thānesar, 21. See Chakrasvāmin.
Chakra, 22 n 1. See under Cakra.
Chakrasvāmin, or Lord of the Chakra, name of the idol of Thānesar, 22 n 1. See Cakrasvāmin.
Chaldī, a *Mughal* commander, in the time of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 249 n 5.
Chaman, Malik, Ghāzīu-l-Malk, Governor of Badāon,—one of the Amīrs of Muḥammad Shāh of Dihlī, 396 and n 1, 398.
Chambal or Chhanbal river, a river of Central India, the Charmanwatī of Sanskrit writers, 385 and n 3, 387, 419, 420 n 5.
Chambarkā, a roof, 593 n 9.
Chāmpānīr, fortress of,—in Gujrāt, 455 n 1. Called also Jānpānīr.
Chanbarkā, 593 n 9.
Chāndā, the heroine of a *Masnawī* in Hindī, mistress of Lūrak, 333. See under the next.
Chandāban, a *Masnawī* in Hindī relating the loves of Lūrak and Chāndā, 333 and n 6.
Chandan, the white sandal in Hindī, 484 n 1.
Chandawār district, 377. See also under Chandwār.

Chandērī, district and town of, 129, 237, 238, 297, 423, 424 and *n* 4, 435, 469, 475.

Chandol of silver, *i.e.*, the palanquin of honour for governors, 334

Chandrabhaga, name of the river Chenāb in Sanskrit, 23 *n* 3.

Chandragupta, King of Magadha or Behar, 18 *n* 1

Chandwār, district, 70 and *n* 3, 380, 387, 405. See also Chandawār

Chang, a musical instrument, 146 *n* 1

Changīz Khān. See under Chingīz Khān

Chanouā, in the Sarkār of Āgra, 70 *n* 3.

Chaptar, a town on the Ganges, 343 and *n* 3, 344 Called also Chītar

Charkh-i-Aflas, the highest of all the heavens, 246 *n* 3

Charmanwatī, Sanskrit name of the Chambal, a river of Central India, 385 *n* 3. See under the Chambal

Charpoy, description of, 494 and n 11, 495 *n*

Chartūlī, a dependency of Kol, 431 *n* 4.

Chashtgāhe, breakfast time, 488 and *n* 8

Chataldī, a Mughul commander, contemporary of Sulṭan 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 249 *n* 5.

Chatar La'l, district, 216.

Chaugān, game of,—origin of the modern game of polo, 79 *n* 1, 417 and *n* 8

Chaugān, a stick with a curved end, 79 *n* 1, 143 *n* 2

Chauhāns of Mainpūr, a tribe of Rājpūts, 414 *n* 13.

Chaul, a village on the route from Amarkoṭ to Jaisalmīr, 566 *n* 13, 567 and *n* 1. Called also Chore.

Chaund, country of, 468.

Chaurāsī, *pargana* of, in the district of Hānsī, 323.

Chausā, village of, 432 *n* 3. See under Jausā.

Chavica betle, 302 *n* 6, 303 *n*.

Chenāb, the,—one of the five rivers of the Panjāb, 23 *n* 3, 67 *n*, 355 *n* 1, 383 and *n* 1, 384 *n* and *n* 1, 503. Written also the Chināb, Chīnāb and Chhināb.

Chenar, town, 416 and *n* 4. See under Chunār

Chengīz Khān. See under Chingīz Khān

Chess, Bland, *On the Persian game of*, 103 *n* 1, 114 *n* 2, 115 *n*, 479 *n* 7

Chhāin, town, 379 and *n* 2.

Chhajū, Malik, Kishlū Khān, Khān of Karra, brother's son of Sulṭān Ghiyās-u-d-Dīn Balban, 221 and *nn* 1 and 3, 227, 229, 230, 231, 232, 238

Chhanbal, a river of Central India See the Chambal

Chhappar Khatta, a place, 555.

Chhapramau, township of, 540 and *n* 8

Chherāmau, township of, 540 *n* 8

Chhināb river. See under the Chenāb

Chhinār, town, 541 and *n* 2 See under Chinhār and also Chinār and Chunār

Chhota Jawār, small variety of millet, 549 *n* 14 [n 6.

Chigil, a city of Turkestān, 158 and

Childá, a Turkī word in the sense of *In'ām*, 596 *n* 6.

Chīn, country of, 143, 147, 156, 232 *n* 5, 307, 426, 634. See also China.

Chīn, Sea of,—the Indian Ocean, 153 *n* 1.

Chīn, son of Japhet the son of Noah, 147 *n* 1.

China, 145 *n* 2, 147 *n* 3, 232 *n* 5. See also under Chīn.

Chināb or Chīnāb, the. See under the Chenāb river.

Chinar tree, *Platanus orientalis*, 162 and *n* 3, 276, 494 and *n* 6.

Chinār, fortress, 415 *n* 2, 456, 459, 470, 471. See Chenār and also Chinhār and Chunār.

Chinese, the, 353 *n* 1.

Chinese Tartary, 145 *n* 2.

Chingiz Khān, Emperor of the Mughuls, 91, 93, 103 *n* 3, 123, 135 *n*, 145 *n* 2, 188 *n* 2, 230, 236, 259 *n* 1, 269 *n* 5, 353 *n* 1.

Chingizī line of Mogul Princes, 145 *n* 2.

Chinhār, town, 548, 555, 611. See Chhinār and also Chinār and Chunār.

Chirāgh, an open lamp with a naked flame, 550 *n* 17.

Chishtis, the,—descendants of Khwāja Mu'inu-d-Dīn Chishti, 416 *n* 13.

Chishti, Khwājā Mu'inu-d-Dīn Ḥasan, contemporary of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, 70 and n 2.

Chitar, town on the Ganges, 343 and *n* 3, 344. See Chaptar and also Chitrā.

Chitor, 257, 258, 297 *n* 1, 453, 458, 454, 470.

Chitrā, same as Jalesar, 346 and *n* 5. See also under Chitar.

Chorasmii, the, 23 *n* 1.

Chore, a village on the route from Amarkoṭ to Jaisalmīr, 567 *n* 1. Called also Chaul (*q. v.*)

Chroes I, son of Kobad, called Naushīrwān, of the Sassanide dynasty of Persia, 46 *n* 5.

Christians, the, 509 *n* 5, 577 *n*, 601 *n*.

Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi, Thomas's, 87 *n* 1. See under *Pathān Kings of Delhi*.

Chronology of Ancient Nations, Albīrūnī's, 104 *n* 2, 108 *n* 4, 166 *n* 1, 280 *nn* 3 and 4, 369 *n* 3, 627 *n* 1.

Chūbhā-i-Sāl, baulks of *sāl* wood, 599 and *n* 13.

Chughz Beg Saljūqī, King of Khurāsān, contemporary of Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 49 and *n* 4. Called also Chaghz Beg and Chaghar Beg.

Chūlī Bahādur, Uzbakī, one of the Amīrs of Mīrzā 'Askarī, 568.

Chūnā, lime, 302 *n* 6.

Chunāb river. See under the Chenāb.

Chunār, fortress of, 489, 541 and *n* 4, 542. See also under Chinār and Chinhār.

Chunhār, same as the fortress of Chunār (*q. v.*), 489.

Chun-ti, the ninth and last Emperor of the Mongol dynasty of China, 353 *n* 1.

Chuqmār, Turkī word, meaning of, 215 *n* 1.

Clisobora of Pliny, corresponds to the town of Kalikavartta or Vrindāvana of Sanskrit writers, 24 n 6.
Clouston's *Arabian Poetry*, 99 n 6.
Clysma,—or
Clysmon, town of, 169 n 1.
Cockscomb, the flower called *Tāj-i-Khurūs*, 639 n 1.
Coinage, First introduction of Muḥammadan—, 18 n 1.
Coins of Kings of Ghazni, Thomas's 16 n 2, 47 n 2.
Côl, fort of, 70 n 4.
Colebrooke, *Essays*, 332 n 4.
Colic, notes on, 49 n 2.
College of Fort William, Calcutta, 609 n 3.
Colombo, 308 n.
Commentaries of Bābar, the, 421 n 8. See the *Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburī*.
Commentary on the *Miftāḥu-l-'Ulūm* (q. v.), 428 and n 2.
Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad, 696.
Corah, town, 466 n 5.
Coromandel, 265 n 5.
Côtgangra, fortress of. See under Kot Kangra
Coupele, town, 344 n 7.
Courteille, de, 91 n 1, 145 n 2, 215 nn 1 and 5. See also under Pavet de Courteille.
Crow, the,—believed by the Arabs to be a bird of ill-omen, 7 n 2.
Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, 21 n 4, 22 n 5, 23 n 2, 24 n 6, 48 n 5, 66 n 3, 67 n 1, 69 nn 4 and 5, 80 n 1, 132 n 3, 265 nn 2 and 4 293 n 5, 294 n 4, 362 n 2, 363 n, 382 n 4, 389 n 2, 415 n 5.
Cureton's *Milal and Niḥal of Shahrastānī*, 22 n 3, 157 n 2.
Cyrene, town of,—the modern Kairwan in Tunis, 167 n 4.

D.

Dabarān, Ad-, the Hyades, in the constellation Taurus, 367 and n 3.
Dabho'i, a district of Gujrāt, 313 and n 5, 314.
Dabīr-i-Falak, the scribe of the sky, a name of Mercury, 195 n 5.
Dabsī, 584 n 4, for the poet Waisī, a poet of the time of Humāyūn.
Dacca, town, 186 n 6.
Dādbeg, Chief Justice, 230 and n 4.
Dadhyanch, the horse-headed monster of Indian Mythology, 294 n 4.
Daftarī, a scribe or clerk, 499 and n 9.
Dagger, first invented in Hindūstān, 529.
Dāgh, a brand, 496 n 8.
Dāghī system, instituted by Shīr Shāh, 496 and n 8.
Dagla or Dajla, the river Tigris, 394 n 5.
Dāhir, Rājā, contemporary of Muḥammad Qāsim the conqueror of Sind, 12 n 2, 13 n.
Dahra, a bill-hook or reaping hook, 102 n 5.
Dai, tenth month of the Persian year, 280 and n 4, 370 and n 1, 637 and n 1, 639.
Dailam, province of,—the Persian 'Irāq, 30 n 1.

Daityas, the,—of Hindū mythology, 163 *n* 2.

Dajjāl, *Anti-christ*, 278 and n 4, 279 *n*, 369 and *n* 3, 490 and n 5.

Dajla or Dagla, the river Tigris, 394 and *n* 5.

Ḍāk-chaukī, post-horses, 292.

Dāk-runners of the East, 621 *n* 2.

Dakhan, the, 433 *n* 3, 533, 534, 557. See also under Dakkan and Deccan.

Dakkan, the, 312, 318, 517, 625, 633, 635, 636 See also under Dakhan and Deccan.

Dalāil-i-Firūzī of 'Izzu-d-Din Khālid Khānī, a work on Astrology, 332 and *n* 2.

Dalāil-i-Firoz Shāhī, the, 332 *n* 2. See the *Dalāil-i-Firūzī*.

Dalla, a weasel or stoat, 158 *n* 4.

Dalmau', a town on the Ganges, 415 and n 7.

Dalmūr, district of, 349 *n* 2.

Dalpūr, town, 415 *n* 7

Damaghān, a city of Khurāsān, 34 *n* 3

Damascus, 12 and *n* 2.

Damascus, Mosque of, 12 *n* 2.

Damrela, district of, 217 and *n* 3.

Damyak, a village beyond the Indus on the road to Ghaznin, 72 and n 3.

Dandāngān, a town in the vicinity of Merv in Khurāsān, 43 *n* 3.

Dangay, a district of Bundelkhand, 25 *n* 5.

Dāniāl, son of Sulṭan 'Alāu-d-Dīn, King of Bangāla, contemporary of Sulṭan Sikandar Lodi, 417.

Daniel, Book of, 394 *n* 5.

Danūj or Dhanūj, Rāi of Sunārgānw, contemporary of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 186 and *n* 6.

Dace, the,—name of an ancient people of Central Asia, 23 *n* 1.

Dārā, one of the ancient Kings of Persia, 39.

Darius III, King of Persia, contemporary of Alexander the Great, 332 *n*.

Darmash Khān, Governor of Khurāsān under Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī, King of Persia, 449 and *n* 5.

Darra, a city of Hindūstān, 52 and *n* 1.

Darra Gaz, in Khurāsān, 582 *n* 7.

Dārū-i-Chashm (eye medicine), 52.

Dāru-l-Khilāfat of Egypt, Cairo, 328.

Darwāza-i-Baghdādī, at Dihlī, 397. See also under the Baghdād Gate

Daryā Khān, son of Ẓafar Khān, Governor of Gujrāt under Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 333 and *n* 11.

Daryā Khān Lodi, one of the Amīrs of Muḥammad Shāh of the Sayyid dynasty, 398.

Daryā Khān Luhānī, Governor of Bihār, under the Lodi dynasty, 435, 467 and *n* 12.

Daryā-i-Chīn, the Sea of China, *i.e.*, the Indian Ocean, 153 *n* 1.

Daryā-i-Maghrib, the Atlantic Ocean, 153 *n* 1.

Daryā-i-Rūm, the Mediterranean Sea, 153 *n* 1.

Das, a bill-hook or reaping hook, 102 *n* 5.

Datura, note on, 535 *n* 2.

Dā'ūd Afghān, Malik, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 335 *nn* 8 and 9.

Dā'ūd Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 439.

Dā'ūd, Maulānā, author of a Maṣnawī in Hindī, contemporary of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 333.

Dā'ūd, son of Naṣr, son of Shaikh Ḥamīd Lodī, the renegade ruler of Multān, contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 19 and *n* and *n* 5, 21.

Dā'ud, the Turkoman, contemporary of Sulṭān Mas'ud, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 37 *n* 7, 38, 47, 61 *n* 5.

Dā'ūd Za'ī Afghāns, the, 501.

Daulatābād, in the Deccan, 270 *n* 6, 271 and *n* 6, 272 and *n*, 274 and *n* 6, 303, 304, 305, 309, 310, 313, 314, 316, 318. Originally called Deogīr (*q v*), or Deogarh, capital of the Yadava kingdom.

Daulat Khān, the new Muslim, a protégé of the Lūhānī faction, one of the Amīrs of 'Adlī, 537. See Daulat Khān Lūhānī

Daulat Khān Ajyāra, son of Sazāwal Khān, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 527, 531, 532 and *n* 2

Daulat Khān, son of Budhū, one of the Chief Commanders of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 467 *n* 6.

Daulat Khān Lodī, Governor of Sāmāna, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty, 364, 365, 367 *n*, 375, 380.

Daulat Khān Lodī, one of the Maliks of the Lodī dynasty, 485, 486, 487, 488 and *n* 5.

Daulat Khān Lūḥānī, one of the Amīrs of 'Adlī, 539 and *n* 11. See Daulat Khān, the new Muslim.

Daulat Khān, Shāhzāda, Governor of the fortress of Rantanbhūr under Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Mālwa and Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 425.

Daulat Yār of Kanpila, Malik, 363.

Darveshpūr, town, 417.

David of Scripture, 5.

Da'wah, invocation of the attributes of God, 445 *n* 6, 459 *n* 2. See the next.

Da'watu-l-asmā, a system of incantation, 445 and *n* 6, 459 *n* 2. See the above.

Daz, the Brazen fortress of, in the story of Isfandiyār in the *Shāh Nāmah*, 321 *n* 1.

Debal, the modern Tattah, 67 *n* 1. Called also Dīwal (*q. v.*).

Debālpūr, district and town of, 229, 392, 398, 399. See also under Depālpūr, Dībālpūr and Dipālpūr.

Debi Chandan, the Red sandal, 484 *n* 1.

Deccan, the, 237, 256, 270 *n* 6, 271 and *n* 6, 309, 327. See also under the Dakhan and the Dakkan.

De Goeje, *Glossary on Muqaddasi*, 217 *n* 2.

Dehli. See under Dihlī.

Deipāl, the Hindū commander of the fortress of Sonpat at the time of Sulṭān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, 37 and *n* 4.

Deipūr or Dīpūr, town of, 46 and *n* 2.

Delhi. See under Dihli.

Denarius, a silver coin of the Romans, origin of the word *dinar*, 18 n 1.

Denarius aureus, a Roman gold coin, 18 n 1.

Deogarh, 429 n 2, for the fortress of Untgarh (*q. v.*).

Deogarh. See under Deogiri.

Deoghar. See under Deogir.

Deogir, district and town of, 237, 239, 240, 247 n, 251 n 7, 255, 256, 274, 283 and n 3, 284, 286 and n 1, 297, 302, 303, 309. Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq Shah gives it the name of Daulatabad (*q v.*), making it his capital.

Deo Gir, a rebel during the reign of Sultan Jalalu-d-Din Khilji, 237. See Ram Deo.

Deogiri or Deogarh, capital of the Yadava Kingdom, 271 n 6, 272 n See under Deogir.

Deo Kot, town of, 85.

Deorimal, son of Silhadi, one of the chiefs of Rai Sen, a contemporary of Shir Shah, 476 n 3.

Depalpur, district and town of, 249, 251, 263 n, 283 n 11, 289. See also under Debalpur, Dibalpur and Dipalpur.

Dewal Rani, one of the ladies of the harem of Rai Karan of Gujerat, heroine of the *'Ashiqa* of Mir Khusru, 256, marries Khizr Khan, son of Sultan 'Alau-d-Din Khilji, 266, 275, 276, 281.

Dhankob, town, 493 n 5, 498 n 1, See Dhankot.

Dhankot, town, 493 and n 5, 498 and n 1, 500.

Dhar, district and town of, 294, 261, 264 and n 2, 384 and n 5, 385 and n 3, 422 n 3.

Dharanagar, fortress of,—the citadel of Daulatabad (*q. v.*), 314.

Dhatura, note on, 535 n 2.

Dhanuj or Danuj, Rai of Sunarganw, contemporary of Sultan Ghiyasu-d-Din Balban, 186 and n 6.

Dhawa, a runner, from the Sanskrit, 302 and n 3.

D'Herbelot, 14 n 1, 16 n 2, 21 n 1, 40 n 1, 46 n 5, 51 n 2, 55 n 3, 56 n 1, 6? n 5, 73 n 1, 91 n 2, 143 n 4, 147 n 1, 148 n 1, 149 n, 158 n 3, 167 n 3, 191 n 2, 203 n 4, 210 n 2.

Dholpur, a Native state in Rajputana and Capital of the state, 385 n 3, 410, 419 and n 3, 420, 423, 437, 444, 445.

Dholpur State, in Rajputana, 419 n 3.

Dhopamau', a place, 407.

Dhor Samund,—or

Dhor Samundar, a place in the south of India, 265 and n 6.

Diarbakr, town of,—in Armenia, 61 n 5.

Dibalpur, district and town of, 187, 249, 401. See also under Debalpur, Depalpur and Dipalpur.

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, Smith's, 19 n, 29 n 5, 76 n, 367 n 3.

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Smith's, 46 n 5, 332 n.

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, Smith's, 23 n 1, 30 n 1, 35 n 2, 394 n 5.

Dictionary of Hindū Mythology, Dowson's, 168 n 2.

Dictionary of Islām, Hughes', 2 n 5, 97 n 4, 112 n 1, 150 n 2, 151 n 6, 156 n 1, 157 n 2, 176 n, 182 n 2, 191 n 4, 200 n, 205 n 1, 216 n, 303 n 4, 320 n 4, 356 n 4, 368 n 1, 369 n 3, 393 n 6, 420 n 8, 424 n 9, 445 n 6, 446 n 5, 459 n 2, 472 n 6, 480 n 5, 481 n 8, 485 nn 1 and 2, 488 nn 5 and 7, 510 n 4, 522 n 5, 571 n 1, 572 n 5, 601 n, 608 n and n 2, 612 n, 622 n 3, 623 n 1, 636 n 2.

Dictionary of Oriental Biography, Beale's 32 n 1, 33 n 1, 233 n 4, 272 n 1, 279 n 3, 624 n 6. See also under Beale and the *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*.

Dictionnaire de la Perse, Meynard's, 30 n, 35 n 2, 42 n 1, 43 nn 1 and 2, 46 n 1, 573 n 3

Dictionnaire Turk-Oriental, Pavet de Courteille's, 91 n 1, 145 n 2, 215 n 1, 325 n 2, 353 n 1, 439 n 4, 440 n

Diglito, name of the Tigris in the upper part of its course, 394 n 5.

Dihli, 14, 21 n 4, 25 n 5, 37 n 3, 64, 69, 70, 72, 77, 78, 81 n 2, 87, 88 and nn 1 and 3, 89, 90, 91, 92 and n 2, 93, 95 and n 7, 96, 98 n 3, 99 and n 2, 121 and n 8, 123 and n 6, 124, 125, 126 and n 3, 129 and n 2, 130, 131, 132, 133 n 2, 134 and nn 1 and 4, 135 n, 185, 188, 196, 218 n 3, 219, 220, 221 n 3, 222, 225, 227, 228, 231, 233, 237, 238, 239, 244, 247 and n and n 4, 248, 249, 250, 255, 256, 257 and n 7, 260 and n 7, 261, 266 n 1, 267, 268, 269 n 5, 271 and n 6, 272 n, 273, 274, 283, 284, 285, 286, 292, 293, 294 and n 4, 295, 297 n, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 309, 310, 312, 315, 316, 318, 322, 323, 324, 325 and n 3, 328, 330, 333 and n 1, 334, 335, 337 n 7, 338, 341, 342, 343, 344, 346, 347 and n 3, 349, 350 and n 3, 351 and n 10, 352, 354, 356 and n 1, 357 and nn 2 and 3, 358 n 6, 359, 361 and n 1, 362, 363, 364 and n 5, 365 and n 8, 366 and nn 1 and 3, 375, 377 n 4, 378, 379, 380, 381, 383, 384 and n 5, 385 and n 3, 386 and n 1, 387, 388, 390, 391, 396, 398, 399 and n 3, 400, 401 and n 4, 402 and n 1, 403, 404 n 2, 405, 406, 407, 410 and n 4, 411 and n 7, 412 n 2, 413, 418, 426, 427, 432 n 10, 433, 437, 438, 442, 455, 458, 462, 472, 492, 504, 505, 506, 521, 525, 526, 529, 542, 543, 548, 549, 557, 577 n, 594, 595, 596, 600, 609 n 5, 610 n 4. The name is also written Dehli, Dehli and Dilli.

Dijla. See under the Dajla.

Dik, district, 129 n 2.

Dilāwar Khān Lūhāni, one of the adherents of Bābar, 437.

Dilli, 464 and n 2, 466. See under Dihli.

Dimishqi, Yahyā ibn 'Abdu-l-Latif Qazwini, author of the *Lubbu-t-Tawārikh*, 34 n 9.

Din, town, 458 n 6.

Dinār, a gold and silver coin, 18 n 1, 19 n.

Dinār, value of the silver coin, 24 n 2.

Dinār *Harami*, Malik,—one of the Amirs of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Din Khilji, 259. Sultān Qutbu-d-Din Khilji

gives him the title of Ẓafar Khān and appoints him Governor of Gujrāt.
Dīndrī, a beverage, 31 *n*.
Dinpanāh, fortress of,—in Dihlī, 472, 500.
Dīnār, name of a place, 46 *n* 2, 47 *n* 2.
Dip, port of,—in Gujrāt, 454 and *n* 7. Called also Diu.
Dipūr, town of, 46 and *n* 2. Also written Deipūr.
Diqq, note on the fever so called, 316 and *n* 4.
Dirham, a silver coin, 18 *n* 1, 19 *n* and *n* 6, 24 *n* 2.
Dissertations, Gladwin's, 608 *n* 3.
Diu, port of, 454 *n* 7. See under Dip.
Diwal, town of, the modern Tatta, 66.
Dīwān of the Ustād Abu-l-Faraj Rūnī, the Poet, 54 and *n* 1.
Diwāna, 509 and *n* 1. See under Qambar Diwāna.
Dīwān-i-Ḥāfiẓ, 121 *n* 3, 487 *n* 6.
Dīwānkhāna, the Hall of audience, 455.
Dīwānkhāna-i-'Ālī, the royal camp, 568 and *n* 8.
Dīwāns of Amīr Khusrū of Dihlī, the famous poet, 197 *n* 1.
Dīwāns of Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, the Poet (q. v.), 55.
Djat, same as the Jats, 129 *n* 2.
Djenguis Khān. See under the Chingis Khān.
Djépour, 98 *n* 1, 129 *n* 2. See under Jaipūr.
Doāb, the, 81 and *n* 2, 123 *n* 1, 130, 185, 205, 316, 343, 346, 351, 354, 355, 359, 364, 365, 377 *n* 6, 378 *n* 1, 388 *n* 5, 395, 407, 427, 444.
Dobil, same as the town of Diwal or Debal, 67 *n* 1.
Dow's *History of India*, 326 *n*.
Dowson's *Dictionary of Hindū Mythology*, 163 *n* 2.
Dowson's *History of India*, 6 *n* 4, 8 *n* 2, 10 *n* and *n* 3, 11 *nn* 1 and 3 13 *n* and *n* 1, 19 *nn* 2 and 4, 20 *nn* 4 and 5, 21 *n* 1, 136 *n* 6, 215 *n* 4, 219 *n* 3, 222 *n* 1, 264 *n* 1, 265 *n* 5, 266 *n* 3, 267 *n* 1, 269 *n* 1, 450 *nn* 8 and 9, 457 *nn* 5 and 6, 459 *n* 5, 460 *n* 5, 461 *n* 9, 466 *nn* 5 and 7, 467 *n* 6 504 *n* 2, 569 *n* 4, 574 *nn* 1 and 9, 575 *n* 3, 579 *n* 7, 624 *nn* 8 and 9.
Dozy, *Suppléments aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, 44 *n* 5, 543 *n* 3.
Drachma, a silver coin of the Greeks, origin of the word *dirham*, 18 *n* 1.
Drury, *Useful plants of India*, 173 *n* 2, 303 *n*, 550 *n* 1, 637 *n* 2.
Duff, Mr. Grant, 265 *n* 4.
Dughlāt Kashmīrī, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 463 and *n* 6.
Duhal, a kind of drums, 143 *n* 2.
Dūl Chain, Rāo, Governor of Bhat, contemporary of Tīmūr the Great, 355 *n* 4.
Dūn, hill of, 438 and *n* 7
Dūnkar, a Brahman poet of the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 426 and *n* 5.
Durgāwatī, Rānī, ruler of the country of Kara Katanka, contemporary of 'Adlī, 554.

E.

Eagle, the constellation—, 630 and *n* 1.

Eastern Bengal, 345 *n* 2.

Eastern Rohtās, fortress,—Rohtāsgaṛh in the Shāhābād district of Bengal, 466 and n 6. See also under Rohtās-i-Sharqī

Ebony wood, notes on, 167 *n* 2

Echatana, the ancient name of Hamadān, the old capital of Persia, 30 *n* 1.

Egypt, 22, 94, 310, 311, 321 *n* 3, 327, 328

Egyptian Khalīfahs of the House of 'Abbās, 310 *n* 2, 315, 327 n 6.

Egyptians, the, 302 *n* 2

Elath, a port of the Red Sea, 169 *n* 1

Elements, the Four—, called *al-Arkān*, 102 *n* 1

Elements of Arabic and Persian Prosody, Ranking's, 607 *n*

Elias and Ross, *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, 69 *n* 5, 103 *n* 3, 145 *n* 2, 232 *n* 5, 236 *n* 1, 305 *n* 3, 353 *n* 1, 464 *n* 8, 572 *n* 8, 574 *n* 6, 575 *n* 1.

Elixir of life, *al-Iksīr*, 340 *n* 2.

Elk, notes on the, 171 *n* 2

Elliott, Dr, of Colombo, 303 *n*

Elliott's *History of India*, 16 *n* 2, 19 *n* 4, 20 *nn* 1 and 4, 23 *n* 4, 24 *nn* 1 and 5, 26 *n*, 27 *nn* 3 and 4, 29 *n* and *nn* 1, 3, 4 and 5, 31 *n*, 32 *n* 1, 33 *n* 2, 34 *nn* 5, 7 and 8, 36 *nn* 6 and 8, 44 *nn* 6 and 8, 45 *nn* 1 and 2, 48 *n* 4, 49 *n* 3, 55 *n* 2, 62 *n* 2, 63 *n*, 65 *n* 1, 66 *n* 2, 67 *n* 2, 75 *n* 2, 80 *n* 3, 91 *n* 2, 96 *n* 2, 121 *n* 6, 122 *n* 1, 127 *n* 2, 131 *nn* 2 and 5, 135 *n*, 184 *n* 4, 186 *nn* 5 and 6, 188 *nn* 2 and 5, 196 *n* 1, 197 *n* 1, 220 *n* 2, 222 *n* 2, 223 *n* 1, 247 *nn* 2 and 4, 248 *nn* 2 and 6, 249 *n* 5, 251 *n*, 252 *n* 1, 257 *n* 1, 259 *n* 5, 260 *n* 7, 265 *n* 4, 275 *n* 1, 296 *n* 3, 297 *n* 8, 298 *n* 8, 300 *n* 3, 307 *n* and *n* 4, 308 *n* 1, 310 *n* 1, 315 *n* 7, 320 *n* 5, 323 *n* 3, 324 *nn* 1, 2 and 6, 325 *n* 3, 326 *n*, 327 *nn* 1 and 5, 328 *nn* 1 and 6, 329 *nn* 1, 3 and 8, 331 *n* 4, 333 *nn* 2, 3 and 5, 344 *n* 7, 347 *n* 3, 355 *nn* 1, 4 and 6, 356 *n* 5, 357 *n* 2, 358 *n* 6, 360 *n* 3, 361 *n* 1, 366 *n* 1, 396 *n* 1, 399 *nn* 2 and 7, 400 *n*, 421 *n* 8, 433 *n* 3, 438 *nn* 3 and 7, 440 *n*, 448 *n* 4, 570 *n* 2, 580 *n* 5, 582 *nn* 4, 5 and 7, 583 *nn* 2 and 3, 585 *n* 7, 586 *n* 5, 592 *n* 4, 593 *n* 9 See also under Elliott and Dowson.

Elliott's *Races of the N W. Provinces of India*, 312 *n* 7, 384 *n* 3, 408 *n* 1, 415 *n*.

Elliott and Dowson, *History of India*, 6 *n* 4, 8 *n* 2, 10 *n* and *n* 3, 11 *nn* 1 and 3, 13 *n* and *n* 1, 19 *nn* 2 and 4, 20 *nn* 4 and 5, 21 *n* 1, 136 *n* 6, 215 *n* 4, 219 *n* 3, 222 *n* 1, 264 *n* 1, 265 *n* 5, 266 *n* 3, 267 *n* 1, 269 *n* 1, 450 *nn* 8 and 9, 457 *nn* 5 and 6, 459 *n* 5, 460 *n* 5, 461 *n* 9, 466 *nn* 5 and 7, 467 *n* 6, 504 *n* 2, 569 *n* 4, 574 *nn* 1 and 9, 575 *n* 3, 579 *n* 7, 624 *nn* 8 and 9.

Elphinstone's *History of India*, 20 *n* 4, 27 *n* 4, 28 *n* 2, 29 *n* and *nn* 1 and 5

Emperor Akbar, Beveridge's, 58 *n* 5.

Enteric fever, notes on, 320 *n*.

Ephesus, the seven sleepers of, 297 *n* 1.

Epiphanius, the Greek Geographer, 169 *n* 1.
Erdmann, Dr., 353 *n* 1.
Erskine's *Memoirs of Bābar*, 421 *n* 8, 437 *n* 7, 439 *nn* 4, 6 and 7, 440 *n*, 448 n 4, 570 *nn* 5 and 6, 609 *n* 5.
Esoterics, or *Bāṭiniyyah*, a sect of Shī'a Muslims, 22 *n* 3.
Essays, Colebrooke, 332 *n* 4.
Etah, district and town of, 185 *n* 1, 218 *n* 3, 377 *n* 4, 410 *n* 4.
Etawah, district and town of, 325 *n* 3, 378, 385 *n* 3. See also under Itāwa.
Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, Skeat's, 159 *n* 2, 543 *n* 3.
Euphrates, the, 205 *n* 1.
Europus, an ancient name of the town of Rai in Persia, 30 *n* 1.
Eve, the Mother of mankind, 200 *n*, 320 *n* 4
Evil-eye, the, 192 and *nn* 2 and 3.
Exodus, Book of, 108 *n* 4.
Ezekiel, Book of, 104 *n* 2.

F.

Fadak, an estate north of Medina which had belonged to Muhammad, 156 and n 5, 157 *n*, 631 and n 1.
Fāiq, one of the Amīrs of 'Abdu-l-Malik ibn Nūḥ Sāmānī, King of Khurāsān, 16 and *n* 2.
Faiẓi, a poet of Basāwar, contemporary of Shīr Shāh, 479 and *n* 5.
Fakhr, chief of the Bāzār at Dihlī, in the reign of Sulṭān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban, 184. [Humayun, 462
Fakhr 'Alī, Mīr, one of the Amīrs of
Fakhrī nāmah, popular name of the *Ḥadīqatu-l-Ḥaqīqat*, the most celebrated work of the famous poet Sanāī, 35 *n* 1, 56 *n* 2
Fakhru-d-Dīn 'Amīd Lūmakī, the poet of Gīlān, 138. See under 'Amīd Lūmakī.
Fakhru-d-Dīn Amīr Dād, Malik, Governor of Baran under Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 250.
Fakhru-d-Dīn Junā, Malik, son of Ghāzī Malik, one of the Maliks of the Khiljī Sulṭāns, 274, 290, 291, 292, 293,—receives the title of Ulugh Khān, 297 and *n* 4,—succeeds to the throne of Dihlī under the style of Sulṭān Muhammad 'Ādil ibn Tughluq Shāh (*q. v.*) See also under Ulugh Khān.
Fakhru-d-Dīn Kotwāl, the Maliku-l-Umarā or Amīru-l-Umarā, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d Dīn Kaiqubād, of the Balbanī dynasty, 229 *nn* 2 and 3, 227, 229, 238, 260 *n* 2.
Fakhru-d-Dīn Kūchī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 238, 243
Fakhru-d-Dīn Kūjī, Malik, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Shamsu-d Dīn Iyaltimish, 120 *n* 2.
Fakhru-d-Dīn Rāzī, Imām, a doctor

of the Shāfi'ite sect, contemporary of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn and Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām, 73 and nn 1 and 2.

Fakhru-d-Dīn Silāḥdār, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 308, 309.

Fakhru-l-Mulk 'Amīd Lūmakī, Maliku-l-Kalām, 99 and n 4. See under 'Amīd Lūmakī.

Fakhru-l-Mulk Khwāja 'Amīd-u-Dīn, 99 n 4, 138 n 1. Same as the above.

Fa'l, a good omen, 412 n 1.

Fallon's *Hindustānī Dictionary*, 528 n 1.

Fals, a coin of small value, from the Latin *follis*, 18 n 1

Fanak, weasel or stoat, 168 n 4

Fanākatī, the Historian, 16 n 1.

Faqār, vertebræ of the back, 74 n 2

Faqāra, a vertebra of the back, 74 n 2.

Faqāra, a sort of waving ornament on the blade of a sword or else a notch on its edge, 75 n

Faqīrs, various religious orders of, 510 n 4

Far', one of the two chief divisions of *'Ilmu-l-Fiqh*, 5 n 4 [and n 9

Farah, town of,—in Biluchistan, 420

Farah, a town at a distance of ten *krohs* from Agra, 542.

Farakhābād district, N.-W. P., 185 n 1. See also under Farukhābād.

Fara'ūn (Fir'aun), the Pharaoh of Egypt, 137, 501.

Farazdaq, Abū Firās Hammām ibn Ghālib, the celebrated Arab poet, 286, 287 and nn 1 and 2.

Farhād, the lover of Shīrīn, in the romance of *Khusru-o-Shīrīn*, 279 and n 3.

Farhang-i-Anandrāj, a Persian dictionary, 596 n 6.

Farḥatu-l-Mulk, Malik Mufarriḥ Sulṭānī, Governor of Gujrāt, under Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 334 and n 3.

Farīd Ganj-i-Shakkar Shaikh, the famous Muḥammadan Saint, 223, 460 See under Farīdu-d-Dīn.

Farīd Khān, son of Ḥasan Khān Sūr, original name of Shīr Shāh, 461 and n 5, 466, 467 and n 5.

Farīd Khān, infant son of Sulṭān Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 289.

Farīd Khān ibn-i-Masnad-i-'Ālī Khiẓr Khān (q v.), 395, 400 n 1.

Farīd Tāran, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh Sūr, 497.

Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakkar, Shaikh, grandson of Farrukh Shāh of Kābul,—a famous Muḥammadan saint of Hindūstān, 132 and n 6, 133 n, 135 n, 355 n 1, 362 n 2. See also under Farīd.

Farīdu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakkar, 132 n 6. Same as the above.

Farīdūn, an ancient King of Persia, 166 n 1, 435 n 2, 595.

Fārighī, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 616, 617. See under Abu-l-Wāḥid.

Farmalī, Khān-i-Khānān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Buhlūl and also of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 411 and n 7, 412 n 2, 414, 418.

Farmalī, Khān-i-Khānān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 434.

Farrukhī, Ḥakīm, a famous Persian

poet, contemporary of 'Asjadi, Ansari and Firdausi, 17 *n* 3.

Farrukh Shāh of Kābul, grandfather of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakkar, 183 *n* 6.

Farrukh Zād, Sulṭān, ibn Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawi, 51.

Farshūr, old name of Peshāwar, 66 *n* 6.

Farukhābād district, N.-W. P., 377 *n* 3 See also under Farakhābād.

Fārūq, *or the Discerner*, a name of 'Umar, the second Khalīfah, 59 and *n* 3.

Fāryāb a town of Mawarāu-n-Nahr (Transoxiana), 389 *n* 4.

Farz, prayers enjoined in the Qur'ān, 488 *n* 7. ['Ali, 557 *n*.

Fāsiq, immoral man, one who opposes

Fateḥgarh, town in Farukhābād district, N.-W. P, 377 *n* 3, 384 *n* 4

Fateḥpur, 325 *n* 3 See under Fathpur.

Fatepour, 80 *n* 5, for Fatḥpūr (*q. v.*).

Fatḥ Khān, son of A'ẓam Humāyūn Shirwāni, one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Ibrāhim Lodi, 433

Fatḥ Khān, son of Sulṭān Buhlu' Lodi 418.

Fatḥ Khān, son of Sulṭan Firoz Shāh, of the Tughlaq dynasty, 324 and *n* 2, 328, 334.

Fatḥ Khān Harawi, of the Amirs of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqi of Jaunpur, 403 and *nn* 2, 3 and 4 See also the next.

Fatḥ Khān, of Herāt, Shahzada, of the Amirs of Sulṭan Mubārak Shāh of Jaunpūr, 361. Same as the above (*q. v.*)

Fatḥābād, founded by Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawi, 47 and *n* 1.

Fatḥābād, founded by Sulṭān Firoz Shāh, of the Tughlaq dynasty, 324 *n* 2, 325 *n* 3, 365.

Fatḥpūr, otherwise known as Sikri, one of the dependencies of Multān, 80 *n* 5, 97, 325 *n* 5, 363, 365, 366, 375, 433, 442, 445, 446, 486, 508, 535, 600.

Fatḥpūr District, N.-W. Provinces, 486 *n* 6.

Fāṭimah, daughter of the Prophet Muḥammad and wife of 'Ali, 151 *n* 5, 156 *n* 5. 303 *n* 4, 622 *nn* 3 and 4, 631 *n* 1.

Fatwas, legal decisions by a Mufti (*q v.*), 317 *n* 6, religious or judicial rulings, 507 and *n* 7.

Faẓiḥat, Qāẓi, *or Qāzi Ignominy*, 474 and *n* 6. See under *Qāẓi* Faẓilat.

Faẓilat, Qāẓi, the Qāẓi of the army of Shir Shāh, popularly known as Qāẓi Faẓiḥat (*q. v.*), 474 and *n* 4.

Faẓlu-llāh Balkhi, Malik, styled Qutlugh Khān, one of the Amirs of the Tughlaq Shāhi dynasty, 351 and *n* 2.

Faẓlu-llah Khān's *Turkish Persian Dictionary*, 482 *n* 2, 483 *n* 2, 497 *n* 1, 575 *n* 1, 580 *n* 5, 592 *n* 5, 596 *n* 6.

Fazz, the first arrow in the game of *maisir*, 369 *n* 1.

Ferishta. See under Firishta.

Fidāis, the,—disciples of the chief of the Mulāḥidah heretics, 73 and n 2, 122 and n 3.

Filband, a stratagem in the game of chess, 114 *r* 2

Fiqār, vertebræ of the back, 74 *n* 2.

Fiqh, the two chief divisions of, 5 *n* 4.

Firangis, the, 458 and *n* 6. See also under the Franks.

Firāqī, *takhallus* or poetical name of Khwājā Aiyūb ibn Khwājā Abu-l-Barakāt (*q. v.*), 633, 634.

Firāqnāmah, one of the poetical works of Salmān Sāwajī, 571 *n* 9

Firdausī, the celebrated author of the *Shāh-nāmah*, 17 and *nn* 1 and 3, 32 and *n* 1, 88 *n* 2, 461 *n* 6.

Firdūsī, Ḥakīm, 17 *n* 3. See under Firdausī.

Firishta, 10 *n*, 13 *n* 1, 16 *nn* 1 and 2, 19 *n* and *nn* 1, 2 and 6, 20 *nn* 1, 2, 4 and 5, 21 *n* 3, 22 *n* 7, 23 *nn* 2 and 4, 24 *nn* 1, 2 and 5, 25 *nn* 2 and 4, 26 *n* and *n* 1, 27 *nn* 3 and 4, 28 *nn* 2 and 4, 29 *nn* 1 and 5, 30 *n* and *n* 2, 31 *n* and *n* 1, 33 *nn* 2 and 3, 34 *nn* 1 and 7, 36 *nn* 1 and 9, 37 *nn* 5 and 6, 43 *nn* 2, 5 and 7, 44 *nn* 1, 2, 6, 7 and 8, 47 *nn* 3 and 7, 48 *nn* 1, 2, 3 and 4, 49 *n* 1, 50 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 51 *nn* 1 and 3, 52 *nn* 1, 2 and 4, 55 *n* 2, 56 *n* 1, 63 *n* 1, 66 *nn* 2, 4, 5 and 6, 67 *n*, 69 *n* 1, 72 *n* 2, 77 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 95 *n* 8, 122 *nn* 2 and 3, 123 *n* 2, 133 *n* and *n* 2, 184 *n* 4, 185 *nn* 2 and 3, 186 *n* 3, 188 *nn* 1 and 5, 190 *n* 2, 205 *n* 2 228 *n* 3, 230 *n* 1, 247 *n* and *n* 4, 248 *n* 2, 249 *nn* 5 and 7, 250 *nn* 1 and 10, 251 *n* 7, 257 *n* 7 258 *nn* 4, 5 and 7, 259 *n* 5, 260 *n* 7, 261 *n* 5, 264 *n* 4, 265 *nn* 3, 4 and 6, 268 *n* 1, 273 *n* 4, 274 *n* 1 298 *n* 8, 300 *n* 8, 302 *n* 1, 304 *n* 1, 306 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 307 *n* and *n* 2, 308 *n* 2, 325 *n* 2, 326 *n* 2, 327 *nn* 1 and 3, 329 *nn* 5 and 9, 330 *nn* 6 and 7, 331 *nn* 6 and 9, 332 *n*, 333 *n* 11, 334 *nn* 3, 4, 5 and 7, 335 *nn* 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10, 336 *n* 7, 337 *nn* 2 and 3, 338 *n* 1, 339 *n* 2, 342 *nn* 1, 2 and 4, 343 *n* 3, 344 *nn* 1, 2 and 7, 345 *n* 2, 346 *n* 5, 347 *n* 2, 348 *nn* 1, 3, 6, 7, 9 and 10, 349 *nn* 3, 4, 10, 11 and 12, 350 *nn* 3 and 4, 351 *nn* 2, 6 and 7, 352 *nn* 6, 7 and 10, 353 *nn* 2, 3, 5, 8 and 9, 354 *nn* 1, 5 and 8, 355 *nn* 1, 3 and 4, 356 *n* 5, 357 *n* 2, 359 *nn* 2 and 3, 360 *nn* 3 and 5, 361 *n* 2, 363 *n* 2, 364 *n* 6, 365 *nn* 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7, 366 *nn* 4 and 5, 375 *n* 2, 379 *nn* 1 and 2, 380 *nn* 2, 3, 4 and 5, 381 *nn* 3 and 5, 382 *nn* 1, 2, 5 and 6, 383 *nn* 3, 6, 10 and 11, 384 *nn* 2 and 5, 385 *nn* 1 and 3, 386 *nn* 1, 3, 5 and 7, 387 *nn* 1, 2, 3 and 4, 388 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 389 *nn* 3, 4 and 8, 390 *n* 4 391 *n* 2, 392 *n* 5, 393 *nn* 1, 3, 5, 6 and 7, 395 *n* 3, 396 *nn* 1 and 2, 398 *n*, 399 *nn* 1, 3, 4 and 6, 400 *n*, 401 *nn* 2 and 4, 402 *nn* 1, 4 and 5, 403 *nn* 4, 5 and 8, 404 *nn* 2 and 5 405 *nn* 1 and 4, 406 *nn* 1, 3, 5, 6, 9 and 13, 407 *nn* 1 and 4, 408 *nn* 2, 4, 6 and 7, 409 *nn* 2, 5, 7 and 8, 410 *nn* 1, 3, 4 and 6, 411 *nn* 2 and 3, 412 *n* 2, 413 *nn* 8, 13 and 15, 414 *nn* 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 11, 415 *nn* 2, 3, 7 and 9, 416 *nn* 3, 9 and 12, 417 *nn* 4, 5 and 9, 418 *nn* 9 and 11, 419 *nn* 4, 6 and 11, 420 *nn* 4 and 6, 421 *nn* 3 and 4, 422 *nn* 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6, 423 *nn* 2, 5, 6 and 11 12

nn 2, 3, 5, 6 and 7, 425 nn 2, 3 and 6, 431 n 4, 432 nn 2, 3, 5, 7 and 10, 433 nn 3 and 6, 434 nn 5 and 8, 435 nn 6, 7 and 9, 438 nn 3 and 5, 461 n 3, 466 n 5, 471 nn 1 and 4, 478 nn 7 and 8, 484 n 4, 488 n 5, 490 n 4, 537 n 2, 544 n 1, 559 nn 6 and 8, 560 nn 2 and 8, 561 n 2, 564 nn 6, 7, 8 and 9, 565 nn 1 and 5, 566 n 13, 567 nn 2 and 9, 573 n 3, 579 n 8, 583 n 3, 598 n 10, 601 nn 2 and 5, 609 n 5, 624 n 6, 625 n 3.

Fīrozābād, a town on the banks of the Jamna, at ten miles from Dihlī, built by Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh of the Tughlaq dynasty, **325** and n 3, 342, 343, 344, 345, 350, 351, 354, 356, 359, 366 Written also Fīrūzābād.

Fīrozābād, a fortress at the village of Gāwīn on the banks of the Jamnā, built by Fīroz Shāh, 327 and n 5

Fīrozābād, later name of the town of Panduah, 325 n 3

Fīroz 'Alī, Malik, son of Malik Tāju-d-Dīn, one of the Amīrs of Fīroz Shāh, called also Khān-i-Jahān the Wazīr, 342 and n 2.

Fīroz Khān, one of the Afghan Amīrs under Babar, 444.

Fīroz Khān, son of Islem Shāh Sūr, succeeds his father under the title of Fīroz Shāh, **535**, 537.

Fīroz Khān ibn Yaghrash, the Khiljī, styled Shayista Khān (q. v.), eventually becomes Sulṭān Jalālu-d Dīn Khiljī (q. v.), 226, **230**.

Fīroz Koh, capital of Ghūr. See under Fīrūz Koh

Fīroz, Malik, son of Malik Rajab, same person as Fīroz Shāh of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty (q. v.), 309, 315, 322.

Fīroz Nāib Barbak, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 312.

Fīroz, Rāi, a contemporary of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh, of the Saiyyid dynasty, 382, 390.

Fīroz Shāh, son of Islem Shāh Sūr, [**535**, 537.

Fīroz Shāh, Sulṭān, ibn Malik Rajab, of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty of Dihlī, 301, 302, **321**, 322 and n 9, 323 and n 3, 324 n 6, 325 n 3 326 n, 327, 328 n 6, 329 n 2, 331 332, **338**, 339 and n 1, 341 n 1 344 and n 7, 347 n 3, **366**, 376, 411, 412 n 2 Written also Fīrūz Shāh.

Fīroz Shāh, canal of, 325 n 3, 326 n.

Firozshāhī See under the *Tārīkh-i-Fīroz-Shāhī*

Fīrūza, fortress of, 364 n 6, 375, 378. See under Hissar Fīruzah

Fīruzabad, on the Jamna. See under Fīrozābad

Fīrūzī Amīrs, the,—partisans of the House of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh (q. v.), 337, 345, 350, 351, 352

Fīrūz Koh, capital of the country of Ghūr, 60 n 2, 63 and n 1, 68, 78.

Fīrūzpur, fortress of, built by Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh in Sihrind, **331**, 334, 378, 489 Written also Fīrozpūr.

Fīrūzpur, town of, 336. Called also Akhirinpur as the *Last* city built by Fīroz Shāh.

Fīruz Shāh, Sulṭan. See under Fīroz Shāh

Fisq, immorality, does not exclude *Imān* (faith), 577 *n*.

Follis, a Roman coin, origin of the word *fals*, 18 *n* 1.

Forty Slaves of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 184.

Franks, the, 542. See also under the Firangis.

Freytag, *Arabic Dictionary*, 509 *n* 5.

Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, 157 *n* 1 458 *n* 3, 507 *n* 3, 580 *n* 1.

Freytag, *Hamāsah*, 287 *n* 1.

Freytag, *Meid. Prov.*, 157 *n* 1 See also under *Arabum Proverbia*.

Fūlād, a Turkbacha slave, servant of Saiyyid Sālim of Tabarhindah (*q. v.*), 388 and *n* 2, 389, 390, 391, 393.

Fu-mā, in Chinese, equivalent to the Mongol *Gurgān*, which means "Son-in-law," when applied to princes, 358 *n* 1.

Furruckābād, N.-W. Provinces, 318 *n* 3. Properly Farrukhābād.

Furū', one of the two chief divisions of *'Ilm-i-Fiqh*, 5 *n* 4.

Futūḥu-l-Buldān of al-Bilāẕurī, 11 *n* 3.

Futūḥu-s-Salāṭīn, an historical work. 314 and *n* 9.

G.

Gabriel, the Angel, 58 and *n* 2, 93, 106 *n* 5, 111 *n*, 151 *n* 6, 374 *n* 5, 614.

Gajpatis, or "the Lords of Elephants," title of the Lion Dynasty of Jājnagar, 125 *n* 3.

Gakkhars, the,—a tribe of the Hindūs, probably the same tribe as the Khūkhars, 67 and *n* 3

Gandaba, fortress of, 28 *n* 4, 29 *n* Called also Kandama

Gandak river, the,—in the Gorakhpur District, 409 *n* 5

Ganes, Rāi,—or

Ganesh, Rāi, the Rājā of Patiālī, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 413 and *n* 8, 419.

Ganges, the, 70 *n* 1, 71 *n* 2, 81, 82 *n* 1, 84 and *n*, 125 *n* 1, 130, 132 *n* 3, 185, 218 and *n* 3, 221 *n* 3, 231, 241, 312, 343, 356, 358 *n* 3, 360 and *n* 3, 363, 364, 377, 379, 380, 384 and *n* 2, 396, 402, 404, 406 and *n* 10, 408 and *n* 5 415 *n* 7, 416 and *n* 3, 459, 463, 464, 472, 541, 546.

Ganj-Bakhsh, surname of Shaikh Aḥmad Khattu, contemporary of Sulṭān Aḥmad Gujrātī, 357 *n* 3.

Ganj-i-Shakkar, Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd, a famous Muḥammadan Saint of Hindūstān, 132 and *n* 6, 133 *n*, 135 *n*, 233, 362 *n* 2, 416 *n* 13

Garcin de Tassy, *Rhétorique et Prosodie des langues de l'Orient Musulman*, 428 *n* 2, 605 *nn* 8 and 9, 606 *n* 2, 607 *n* 4, 608 *n* 3.

Gardaiz, a district lying between Ghazna and Hindūstān, 66 *n* 1 Called also Kardīz.

Garha-Katanka, name of a country north of the Dakhan, 433 n 3.

Garhi, a narrow pass separating the countries of Bihār and Bangāla, 457 and n 5.

Garmsīr, a province of Khurāsān, 48, 65 and n 1, 81, 86, 573.

Garshasp, Shāh, of the first dynasty of Persian Kings, 84 and n 2, 85.

Gaster's translation of the "*Sword of Moses*," 141 n 4.

Gate of Paradise, a narrow opening in a wall near the shrine of Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakkar at Pākpattan, 362 n 2.

Gatila, Sanskrit name of the Indian Spikenard or nard, 374 n.

Gatwarās, the,—a tribe of the Jāts, 122 n 1.

Gaur, old capital of Bengal, 82 nn 3 and 4, 83 and n 2. 458. Name changed to Jannatābād by Humāyun.

Gauria. See under Muhammad Khān Gauria and also Khizr Khan Gauria

Gaus Ahmad, of Guzarate, 357 n 4. Same as Sultān Ahmad Shah, the ruler of Gujarāt.

Gawārs, the,—a race of gypsies in India, 312 and n 7.

Gāwin, village of,—on the banks of the Jamnā, 327 n 5.

Gayômarth, the Adam of the Persians, 280 n 3. [of, 330 n 8.

Gaz, a measure of length, three kinds

Gaz, tenth son of Japhet, son of Noah, 61 n 5

Gazetteer of the Countries on the North-West of India, Thornton's, 567 nn 1 and 9.

Gelaleddin, 91 n 3, for Jalālu-d-Dīn Mangburnī (*q. v.*).

Gemini, the, 39.

Genesis, Book of, 144 n 2, 154 n 2, 182 n 1, 302 n 2, 394 n 5.

Geo, one of the heroes of the *Shāh-nāmah*, 116 n 5.

Geography of Ancient India, Cunningham's. See under *Ancient Geography of India*.

Gersiwāz, one of the attendants of Afrāsiyāb, in the *Shāh-nāmah* of Firdausī, 180 n 2.

Gesenius, *Thesaurus of the Hebrew Language*, 104 n 2, 394 n 5.

Ghaggar river, the, 326 n. See also the next.

Ghaghar river, called also the Gogra and Ghāgra (*q. v.*), 223 n 3, 327, 438. See also the Ghaggar.

Ghāgra river, the, 185 n, 223 n. See under the Ghaghar.

Ghakkars, the,—a Hindū tribe, 491, 498, 499, 500.

Ghālib Khan, Governor of Sāmāna under the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty, 338, 352, 360. [465 n 6.

Ghalla-i-jawārī, the smaller millet,

Ghānim ibn 'Ulwān, one of the three chief lords of Shaddād ibn 'Ād, 262 n.

Ghari Jū, village of, 503 n 5. Called also Ghari Khū (*q. v.*).

Ghari Khū, village of, on the bank of the river Behat, 503 and n 5.

Gharjistān, a country between Herāt, Ghor and Ghaznin, 13 n 1. 22 n 2, 63 n 1. Called also Gharshistān.

Gharshistān, 22 n 2. See under Gharjistān

Ghāt-i-Sākūn, name of a place, 282 *n* 5. Called also Badra-i-Sakūn.

Ghaur, a province lying between Herāt and Gharjistān, 43 and *n* 4. See also under Ghūr and Ghor.

Ghauṣu-l-'Ālam Ḥaẓrat Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyāī, the Multānī, 133 and n 2. See under Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyāī. [6 *n* 4.

Al-Ghāyatu fi-l-Fiqh of Qāẓī Baiẓāwī,

Ghazal, ode, 612 and *n* 2.

Ghāzī Khān, son of Daulat Khān Lodī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 435 *n* 9, 436, 437, 438 and *n* 5.

Ghāzī Khān Sūr, one of the Amīrs of the Sūr dynasty of Afghāns, 549, 550, 553, 558, 597, 598.

Ghāzī Maḥallī, one of the confidential servants of Islem Shāh Sūr, 487, 488.

Ghāzī Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, succeeds to the throne of Dihlī under the style of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 291, 292, 293, 294 and *n* 4, 295, 296 and *n* 3. See Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh and also Tughlaq Khān.

Ghāzī, one who fights in the cause of Islām, 356 n 4.

Ghāzīs, the, 18. See under *Ghāzī*.

Ghāzīu-l-Mulk, Malik Chaman of Badāon, one of the Amīrs of Muḥammad Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 396 and *n* 1, 398.

Ghazna. See under Ghaznīn.

Ghaznavide dynasty, the. See under the Ghaznivide dynasty.

Ghaznī, House of, 13 *n* 1. See under the Ghaznivide dynasty.

Ghaznī, *town* of, 13 *n* 1. See under Ghaznīn.

Ghaznīn, 14 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 15 and *n* and *nn* 1 and 2, 16 and *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 17, 19, 21, 22 and *n* 2, 23, 25 and *n* 4, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34 and *nn* 4 and 5, 35 and *n* 1, 36, 37, 43, 44, 45 and *n* 2, 46 and *n* 1, 47, 48, 49, 50 and *n* 1, 51, 52, 53 *n*, 56, 60 and *n* 2, 61, 62 and *n* 3, 63, 64, 65, 66 and *n* 1, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72 and *n* 2, 74 *n* 1, 77 *n* 1, 78 and *n* 3, 79, 80, 81, 88 *n* 1, 89, 90, 167 *n* 3, 187, 256, 280, 312, 328, 464 and *n* 5, 567, 579, 580, 587. See Ghaznī and Ghazna.

Ghaznivide dynasty, the,—founded by Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Sabuktigīn, 13 *n* 1, 14, 62 and n 4, 63, 64 and n 1.

Gheias-ood-Deen, grandson of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 338 *n* 1. See under Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh II.

Ghibṭa, unusual use of the word by Badāonī, 508 *n* 3, 543 *n* 4.

Ghilz'ai Afghāns, the, 542, 544, 546.

Ghiās Vazīr, Khwāja,—Salmān Sāwajī's *Qaṣīdah* in his honour, 605

Ghiyāṣī Amīrs, the,—of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 223, 224, 231, 232, 233. [Mughulpūr, 236.

Ghiyāṣpūr, commonly known as

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Abu-l-Fatḥ Muḥammad ibn Sām Ghorī, Sulṭān of Ghor and Ghaznīn, 62, 63 and *n* 1, 64 and *nn* 2 and 3, 65, 68, 71, 72 and *n* 1, 77 and *n* 1.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, Sulṭān, of the Slave dynasty of Dihlī, 97, 121 and n 7, 124 and n 4, 126, 127, 135, **183**, 184 and nn 1 and 4, 186, 187, 189 n 1, **219**, 220 n 2, 221 and n 1, 222, 223, 224, 227, **228**, 231, 232, 233. Before his accession he was called Ulugh Khān (q v.)

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Ḥasan Chishtī, father of the famous saint Khwājā Mu'ī-nu-d-Dīn Chishtī, 70 n 2.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn 'Iwaz, the Khalj, Sulṭān of Lakhnautī and the last of the Mu'izzī Sulṭāns (q. v), 86, 87 and n 4. See also the next and under Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn 'Iwaz.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Khiljī, Sulṭān, 91. Same as the above.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, Sulṭān of Ghūr and Ghaznīn, 77 and n 1.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khiljī of Mālwā, 399.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 324.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Muḥammad, Ghorī, Sulṭān. See under Ghiyāṣu d-Dīn Abu-l-Fatḥ.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Muḥammad, the Makhdūmzāda-i-Baghdādī, a prince of the House of 'Abbās, the Khalifs of Baghdād, 311 and n 4.

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, the ruler of Oudh, son of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 98

Ghiyāṣu-d Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, Sulṭān, first of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty of Dihlī, **296**, 298, 299, **300**, 301, 304, 321. Before his accession he was called Ghāzī Malik (q. v.).

Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh II, ibn Fatḥ Khān ibn Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh, 338 n 1, **341**.

Ghiyāṣu-l-Lughāt, a lexicographical work, 60 n 3, 108 n 4, 142 n 1, 145 n 1, 152 n 2, 163 n 1, 321 n 2, 617 n 1, 621 n 5, 628 n 1, 635 n 5.

Ghor, country of, 18 n 1, 22 n 2, 60, 61 n 4, 63, 64 and n 2, 65 n 2, 68, 71, 77 n 1, 81 and n 2. The name is also written Ghūr and Ghaur

Ghor, Kings of, 60, 61 n 4, 63. See also under the Ghorī dynasty.

Ghorī, fortress of,—in Ghaznīn, 21 and n 3.

Ghorī dynasty of Dihlī, 64, 68, **228**. See under Kings of Ghor.

Ghūl, centre of a Turkish army, 439 n 4. Also called Qūl.

Ghūr. See under Ghor.

Ghurjistān, same as Gharjistān (q. v.), 22 and n 2, 63 n 1, 68.

Ghurratu-l-Kamāl of Mīr Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 134, 197 and n 1, 216

Ghuzz, tribe of,—a tribe of Turks 61 and n 5, 65, 167 n 3, 291.

Gīlān, a province of Persia, 99 n 4.

Gilaurī, note on, 303 n.

Gīlī, town, 250 and n 4. Called also Kīlī.

Gīr, Malik, son of Malik Qabūl Khalīfatī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 315.

Girūī, one of the poets of the time of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 266

Girat Singh, Rāi, Governor of Gwāliār, contemporary of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 408.

Girgīn-i-Milād, one of the chief warriors of Kai Khusrau in the *Shāhnāmah* of Firdausī, 116 and *nn* 4 and 5, 180 *n* 2

Gisi, a place, 548 *n* 3.

Gladwin's *Dissertations*, 608 *n* 3.

Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words, Yule and Burnett's, 495 *n*, 548 *n* 3.

Glossary on Muqaddasi, De Goeje's, 217 *n* 2

Gobind Chand, Raja,—one of the Rājās of Hindūstān at the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 25.

Godī river, the, 222 *n* 3. Called also the Gumtī and the Kowah (*q. v.*).

Goeje, de, *Glossary on Muqaddasi*, 217 *n* 2.

Gog and Magog, Wall of, 191 *n* 2. Commonly known as the rampart of Sikandar.

Gogra, the, 222 *n* 3 Called also the Ghāghar and Ghāgra.

Gohana, a district of the N.-W. Provinces, 122 *n* 1

Gokultāsh, one of the Amirs of Bābar, 441.

Golius, Dictionary of the Arabic Language, 509 *n* 5

Gonds, the,—a tribe of Hindūs, 433 and n 4.

Gonor, a place at 24 miles from Dihlī, 21 *n* 4.

Gorakhpūr District, 409 *n* 5

Gorgang, the capital of Khwārazm, called Jurjān by the Arabs, 23 *n* 1. See under Gurgān

Gour, country of, 456 Read Gaur, a name of Bengal from its capital.

Goyā, or Kanhaiyā, minister and agent of Rāi Māldeo, contemporary of Shīr Shāh, 478 and *n* 7. See also under Kanhaiyā.

Grand Trunk Road, the, 396 *n* 3.

Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, 265 *n* 4.

Great Larās, town, 326 *n*, 327 *n* 1. Called Rās by Badāonī.

Grecian Emperor, the, 18 *n* 1.

Greece, 119 *n* 5.

Greeks, the, 18 *n* 1, 41 *n* 2, 75 *n* 2, 76 *n* 1, 104 *n* 2, 182 *n* 1.

Greenhill, Dr., 30 *n* 1.

Griffith's *Yūsuf and Zuleikha*, 272 *n* 1.

Gūgird-i-Aḥmar or Sulphur, notes on 340 and *n* 2.

Gujarāt. See under Gujrāt

Gujerāt See under Gujrāt

Gujrāt, 9 *n* 2, 13, 17 n 4, 27 *n* 4, 28, 66, 71, 89, 255, 256 *n* 4, 257, 267, 274, 282, 283, 284, 285, 287, 313, 314, 315, 324, 333, 334, 337, 346, 354, 357 and *nn* 3 and 4, 379, 389, 450, 452, 454, 456, 472, 533, 534, 539 and *n* 3, 567, 597, 635 The name is also written Gujarāt, Gujerāt and Guzerāt

Gulangabīn, confection of rose and honey, 148 and *n* 4.

Gulbarga, town, 311 and *n* 6.

Gulistān of Shaikh Sa'dī of Shīrāz, 187 *n* 2, 467.

Gulistāna Saiyyids, the,—a family of Saiyyids, 584 *n* 3.

Gul-i-Yūsuf, a red flower without odour, 629 *n* 1

Gulnār tree, called also *Nārwan*, 172 *n* 3.

Gulqand, confection of roses, 452 and *n* 2.

Gulrukh, the pseudonym of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 426.

Gumtī, the, 222 *n* 3, 329 n 2. Called also the Godī and the Kowah.

Gungūna, fortress of, one of the dependencies of Malot, 437 and *n* 7.

Gardāspūr, town, 383 *n* 8

Gurgān, town of,—the Jurjān of the Arabs, 37 *n* 7, 38, 117. See under Gorgang.

Gūrgān, a surname of the great Tīmūr and a title applied to the sons-in-law of a Mughul Emperor, 103 *n* 3, 353 and *n* 1.

Gurgāon, a district of Mīwāt, 134 *n* 1, 366 *n*

Gurgīn-i-Milād, one of the chief warriors of Kai Khusrau in the *Shāh-nāmah* of Firdausi, 116 and *nn* 4 and 5, 180 *n* 2

Guriz-gāh, a term of Prosody, 627 and n 4.

Gurjistān, 43 *n* 4, for Gharjistan (*q v*)

Gurkān, a Mongol title, 103 *n* 3. See under Gurgān

Gūrkhān, or universal king, hereditary title of the Kings of Kara Khiṭāī, 103 *n* 3.

Gūrkhān of Qarā Khiṭā, the contemporary of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh, 71 *n* 7.

Gushtāsp, an ancient King of Irān, 35 *n* 2.

Gūshwāra, a term of Prosody, 609 and *n* 1.

Guzarate. See under Gujrāt.

Guzerāt, town of, 28 *n* 2, 71 *n* 3.

Guzerāt, province of. See under Gujrāt.

Guzerāt, peninsula of, 27 *n* 4.

Guzīda. See under the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda*

Guzr-i-Ganjīna, a ford on the Jamna, 406 *n* 6

Gwāliār, 26, 81, 83, 94, 129, 238, 239, 246, 248, 268, 272, 273, 275, 277, 283, 349, 361, 362, 377 and *n* 4, 378, 379, 381, 384, 385, 386, 387 and *n* 3, 391, 398 408, 410, 414 and *n* 5, 419 and *nn* 3 and 6, 422 *nn* 2 and 3, 423 *n* 5, 427, 432, 433, 443, 445, 459, 474, 489, 490, 491, 493, 498, 499, 512, 529, 530, 538, 540 542 The fortress of Gwāliār is called also Kālewar

H.

Ḥabīb Badāonī, Shaikh, one of the notable men of Badāon at the time of Humāyūn, 600

Ḥabīb Khān Taghuji or Taghūchī, one of the Afghān Amīrs under Sikandar Khān Sur (*q.v.*), 542, 593

Ḥabību llah, Mīr, grandson of Mīr Saiyyid Jamālu-d-Dīn the traditionist, 589.

Ḥabshī, original name of Sulṭān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Muhammad Sām Ghūrī, 65 *n* 2

Habūlī, Rāi, of the *Amīrs* of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 388 *n* 3.

Hadah, Shaikh, a learned physician of Bihār in the time of Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh, 521 *n* 4.

Ḥadāyan, a *Maṣnawī* in Hindī relating the loves of Lūrak and Chandā, 333 *n* 6.

Hādī, son of al-Mahdī, the 'Abbāside Khalīfah of Baghdād 75 *n*.

Hādī Sabzwārī, Hājī Mullā, author of the *Sharh-i-Manẓūma*, 181 *n* 2.

Hadīqatu-l-Ḥaqīqat wa Sharī'atu-ṭ-Tarīqat, otherwise known as *Fakhri-nāmah*, the most celebrated work of the famous poet Sanāī, 35 *n* 1, 56 *n* 2, 57 and *n* 1, 60.

Ḥāfiẓ, the famous Persian poet, 100 *n* 5, 101 *n* 1, 121 *n* 3, 151 *n* 6, 412 *n* 1, 487 *n* 6.

Ḥāfiẓ Niẓām of Badāon, *Imām* of Islem Shāh, 535.

Haft andām, the seven members of the body, 165 *n* 2

Haft Aurang, a series of seven poems by Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī, 272 *n* 1.

Haft Jūsh, seven metals melted together, 321 and *n* 2.

Haft Khwān, the seven great labours of Isfandiyār in the *Shāh-nāmah* of Firdausī, 116 *n* 3, 321 and *n* 1

Haft Paikar, a poem of Shaikh Niẓāmī Ganjawī, 298 *n* 4.

Haft rang, a variety of the Khīrī flower, 173 *n* 3.

Ḥayātu-l-Ḥaiwān, a work on natural history, 108 *n* 1, 157 *n* 1, 171 *n* 2, 178 *n* 4, 191 *n* 3, 352 *n* 1.

Ḥayātu-l-Qulūb of Āghā Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī, 110 *nn* 3 and 4, 149 *n*.

Haibat Khān A'ẓam Humāyūn of Lāhor, 490. See under A'ẓam Humāyūn Haibat Khān.

Haibat Khān Jilwānī, a subordinate of Sulṭān Sharq of Baiāna, 414.

Ḥaidarābād, town,—capital of Ḥaidarābād Deccan, the Niẓām's dominions, 299 *n* 3.

Ḥaidarābād Deccan, the Niẓām's dominions, 299 *n* 3

Haidar 'Alī, a common name among the Shī'ah, 604

Ḥaidar-i-Karrār, a name of 'Alī ibn-Abī Ṭālib, 93 *n* 4, 207.

Ḥaidar Khān Chaghta, 553. Same as Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān Ākhta Begī (*q v*).

Ḥaidar Khān the Amīr of Oudh, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban, 184 *n* 4.

Ḥaidar, Mīrzā, the Mughūl, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 463, 465.

Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān Ākhta Begī, an old servant of Humāyūn, 597 and n 5, 598. See under Ḥaidar Khān Chaghta.

Ḥaidar Sulṭān Osbak-i-Shaibānī, 592 *n* 9

Ḥaidar Tūnī,—or

Ḥaidar Tūniā'ī, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 622, 623, 624.

Haimūe Baqqāl, 500 *n* 11. See under Himūn Baqqāl.

Haimūn Baqqāl, 500 *n* 11. See under Himūn Baqqāl.

Haiyāra, 532 *n* 2, for Daulat Khān Ajyāra (*q. v.*).

Ḥayātu-l-Ḥaiwānāt. See under the *Ḥaiātu-l-Ḥaiwān.*

Ḥajaru-l-Ḥaiyyah, the Bezoar stone, 117 *n* 4, 118 *n*.

Ḥājī Barqa'ī, a court officer of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, of Dihlī, 311, 316.

Ḥājī Ilyās, ruler of Lakhnautī, contemporary of Sulṭān Muḥammad and Sulṭān Fīroz Tughlaq, assumes the title of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn, 309, 324, 327.

Ḥajī Khalfa,—or

Ḥājī Khalīfa, author of the *Kashfu-z-Ẓunūn fī Asmā'ı-l-Kutubı wa-l-Funūn,* 5 *n* 4, 33 *n* 1, 34 *n* 9, 35 *n* 1, 49 *n* 3, 56 *n* 2, 73 *n* 1, 181 *n* 2, 197 *n* 1, 221 *n* 2, 222 *n* 1, 270 *nn* 1 and 4, 272 *n* 1, 427 *n* 1, 428 *nn* 2, 3 5 and 6, 467 *n* 2, 521 *n* 5, 533 *n* 1, 571 *n* 9, 624 *nn* 8 and 9.

ajī Khān Alwarī, 553. Same as Ḥājī Khān Sulṭānī, Governor of Alwar (*q. v.*).

ājī Khān Sulṭānī, Governor of Alwar, one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shāh and his successors, 475, 542, 543, 546, 547. See under Ḥājī Khān Alwarī.

Ḥājī, Khwāja, a general of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khıljī, 265 *n* 6

Ḥājī Maulā, one of the slaves of Malıku-l-Umarā Kotwāl (*q v*), 260 and *n* 2, 261.

Ḥājī Mullā Hādī Sabzwārī, author of the *Sharh-ı-Manẓūma,* 181 *n* 2.

Ḥājı Nāıb, Malık, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 286.

Ḥājī Sa'īd Ṣarṣarī, the envoy of the Egyptian Khalīfah to Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, of Dıhlī, 310 and *n* 1.

Ḥājıb-ı-Buzurg, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, 43 and *n* 5.

Ḥājib Shaibānī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, 43 *n* 5.

Ḥājıpūr, a district of Bangāla, 469.

Ḥajj, the Pılgrimage to Mecca, 175, 176 *n*, 480 *n* 5, 623 and *n* 5.

Ḥajjāj ıbn Yūsuf as-Ṣaqafī, Governor of 'Irāq and Khurāsān under the Umayyad Khalīfahs, 12 and nn 1 and 2, 490 and *n* 6.

Ḥakīm Abū Naṣar 'Abdu-l-'Azīz ibn Manṣūr, the celebrated poet 'Asjadī, 17 *n* 3.

Ḥakīm Ansurī, a famous Persian poet, contemporary of Fırdausī, 17 *n* 3.

Ḥakīm Farrukhī, a famous Persian poet, contemporary of Fırdausī, 17 *n* 3

Ḥakīm Firdausī, the celebrated author of the *Shāh-nāma,* 17 *n* 3. See under Firdausī.

Ḥakīm Khāqānī Shīrwānī, the famous Persian poet, 339 *n* 4

Ḥakīm Sanāī, a celebrated poet of Ghaznī, 35 *n* 1, 56, 57.

Ḥākım bı-amrı-llāh, Abu-l-'Abbās Aḥmad ıbnu-l-Mustakfī billāh, Egyptıan Khalīfah of the House of 'Abbās, 310 and *n* 2. See the next.

Ḥākım bi-amrı-llāh, Abu-l-Fatḥ Abū Bakr ıbn Abıl Rabī' Suleimān, sixth of the Egyptian Khalīfahs of the House of 'Abbās, 327 and n 6. See the above.

Halajun, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 309.

Halākū Khān, grandson of the Chingīz Khān, 145 and *n* 2, 236.

Haldī, township of, 409 and *n* 7

Halghāt, a place, 387 *n* 3.

Halīn, the,—a river of the Panjāb, 356 *n* 1.

Ḥalka of elephants, or a hundred elephants, 541

Halkhāyat, town, 423 *n* 6.

Hamadān, a city of Persian 'Irāq, anciently called Ecbatana, 30 *n* 1, 533 *n* 1.

Hamadān, a district of Persian 'Irâq, 30 *n* 1.

Hamal, the sign Aries, 195 *n* 3, 626 and *n* 7.

Hamāsah, Freytag's, 287 *n* 1.

Ḥāmī Tambūn, or Jāhī Yatmām of Bukhārā, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 618 and *n* 5

Hamid ibn 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān a Traditionist, 139 *n* 5

Ḥamīd of Balkh, Qāẓī, a celebrated writer and poet, contemporary of Sultān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muhammad Sām Ghūrī, 76 and n 1.

Ḥamīd Khān, the *Khāṣṣ-i-Khail* of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 439

Hamid Khān, *Wazīr-i-Mamlakat* of Dihlī, under the Saiyyid dynasty 401 and *nn* 2 and 4, 402 and *n* 4

Ḥamīd Lawīkī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 302.

Hamid Lodī, Shaikh, first ruler of Multān, 19 *n* 5

Hamīd of Sanbal, Shaikh, the commentator, contemporary of Humāyūn, 604

Ḥamīda Bānū Begam, the Queen-consort of Humāyūn and mother of Akbar, 560, 566, 568.

Ḥamīdu-d-Dīn, the Amīr of Koh, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 261.

Ḥamīdu-d-Dīn 'Umar ibn Maḥmūd Balkhī, 76 *n* 1. See *Qāẓī* Ḥamīd of Balkh.

Hamīn, Malik, Governor of Badāon under the Saiyyid dynasty, 396 *n* 1.

Hamīr Dev, Rāi of Rantanbhor, grandson of Rāi Pithora and contemporary of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 257 and *nn* 3 and 7, 263.

Hamra, Malik, Governor of Rāpari under Masnad-i-'Ālī Khizr Khān (*q v*), 377.

Hamza of Iṣufat, remarks on, 545 and *n* 10, 546 *n*

Hamza, Malik one of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 387.

Hamzah, son of 'Abdu-llah ibnu-z-Zubair, 287 *n* 2.

Handā, a Hindu *Masnawī*, 333 *n* 6 See Chandāban.

Handāl, Mīrzā See under Hindāl.

Handiya, a town on the Narbadā in the Central Provinces, 517 and n 9, 521 Called also Hindiya.

Hanafite sect of Sunnī Muslims, founded by Abū Hanīfah, 57 *n* 1, 514

Haukayat, town, 423 *n* 6.

Hānsī, district and town of, 37 and n 2, 70 and *n* 1. 98 and *n* 2, 248, 322, 323, 324, 326, 364 *n* 5, fortress of, 131, 133

Hansū Bhatī, Rāī, one of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 388 and *n* 3.

Hanwantgarh, fortress of, 422 *n* 6, 424 *n* 2.

Haqāiqi, *takhalluṣ* or poetical name of the poet Khāqānī, 583 *n* 4.

Ḥaramain-i-Sharīfain, the two sacred cities of Mecca and Medina, 585 *n* 6.

Haran ibn Muḥammad al-Khākī ash-Shīrāzī, author of a *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh*, 11 *n* 1.

Ḥarand, a country of Hindūstān, 445 and *n* 10

Harawī, a native of Harāt, 35 *n* 2.

Harcaran, a Hindū Prince, founder of Banghar, 71 *n* 2

Hardat, Governor of the fortress of Mīrath at the time of Sulṭan Maḥmūd Ghaznawī's invasion, 24 *n* 1.

Hardwār, city of, 88, 344 *n* 7

Harī, another name of the city of Harāt or Herāt in Khurāsān, 35 and *n* 2

Harīd, a country of Hindustān, 445 *n* 10.

Harīrī, the celebrated author of the *Maqāmat*, 348

Harpāl Deo, Rāi of Deogīr, contemporary of Sulṭan Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 283. 286 *n* 1

Harsana, a town in the province of Mīwāt, 129 *n* 2

Har Singh Dev,—or

Harsingh Rāi, Rajā of Itawa and Kaithar, contemporary of Khizr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty, 316 and *n* 4 359 and *n* 4, 361 and *nn* 2 and 3, 377, 379

Harumān, a fortress on the frontier of Egypt, 321 and *n* 4.

Hārūn ar-Rashīd, the 'Abbāsī Khalīfah, 74 *n* 2, 75 *n*, 286.

Hasan, son of 'Alī ibn-Abī Ṭālib, second of the twelve Imāms of the Shī'ah, 151 *n* 5

Ḥasan 'Alī Kharās, Maulānā, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 587.

Ḥasan of Bangāla, Shaikh, father of Shaikh 'Alāī Mahdī of Baiāna, 507.

Ḥasan Barāwar-bacha, favourite of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī who gives him the title of Khusrū Khān, 274, 290 See under Khusrū Khān.

Ḥasan Barwabacha, 290. Same as the above (*q v*)

Ḥasan Dihlavī, Mīr, a famous poet of Dihlī, contemporary of Mīr Khusrū, 115 *n*, 187, 188, 245, 269, 270 and n 6.

Hasan Ghaznavī, Saiyyid, a poet of the time of Sulṭān Bahrām Shāh Ghaznawī, 56 and n 3.

Hasan Jalāyer, Shaikh, King of Khurāsān, 6[illegible]3 *n* 1

Hasan Kāṅkūī Saiyyid generally known as Hasan Kāngū, afterwards 'Alāu d Dīn Bahman Shāh, Sultān of the Dekkan 309 See under Hasan Kāngū

Hasan Kāngū contemporary of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 309, 310, 314, 327 See under Ḥasan Kāṅkūī

Hasan Kāṅk [illegible] 310 Same as Hasan Kāngū [illegible]

Hasan Khān Mewātī, of the Khān-[illegible] of Mewāt [illegible] of the Amīrs

of the Lodī dynasty, 398, 443, 444, 447, 470.

Ḥasan Khān, an impostor of Mīwāt who pretended to be the Ḥasan Khān Mīwātī mentioned above, 447.

Ḥasan Khān, Governor of Rāparī under Masnad-i-'Ālī Khiẓr Khān (q. v.), 377, 387.

Ḥasan Khān Sūr, father of Shīr Shāh, 461 and n 5, 466 and n 7, 467

Ḥasan, Kotwāl of Ghaznīn under Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 48. See also under Abū 'Alī Ḥasan.

Ḥasan Maimandī, Vazīr of the Ghaznavides, 35, 47 n 6.

Ḥasan, Maulānā, a learned man of the time of Bābar, 449.

Ḥasan, Mīr, son-in-law of Sulṭān Fīroz Tughlaq Shāh, 338

Ḥasan, Shaikh, a famous surgeon of Pānīpat, 366 n 3

Ḥasan Zinjānī, Shaikh, Shaikhu-l-Mashāikh, a famous Saint of Lāhor, 383 and n 6.

Hashf, the last and most severe stage of the fever called Diqq, 320 n.

Hasht Bihisht of Mīr Khusrū Dehlavī, the famous poet, the first poem in his *Khamsa*, 134 and n 3, 142 n 3, 269 n 5

Hashw, a term of Prosody, 606 n 4.

Hastināwar, town, 266 n 4

Ḥatānpur, district, 267 n 1.

Ḥātim Khān, Malik Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Sanbal, one of the Amīrs of the Khiljī dynasty, 272, 291.

Ḥātim Sanbalī or Sambhalī, Miyān, a learned Doctor, 428, 506, 545

Ḥātim of Taiy, the type of Arab generosity, 127

Hatkān, town, 423 n 6.

Hatkānt,—or

Hatkānth, chief town of the Bhadāwar district, 408 n 1, 423 and n 6.

Hatkānt, tribes of, a clan of the Bhadaurīs, 406 and n 1.

Hatnāpūr, town, 266 and n 4, 267 and n 1.

Hatnāwar, town, 266 n 4, 267 n 1.

Ḥauẓ-i-'Alāī, an artificial lake at Dihlī, constructed by Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 294 n 3.

Hauẓ-i-Khāṣṣ, a reservoir at Dihlī constructed by Sulṭān Fīrūz Tughlaq Shāh, 294, 339, 344, 347 and nn 2 and 3, 348 n 1, 356 and n 5.

Hazaj-i-Muṡamman, a kind of metre, 606 nn 4 and 5.

Hazār Dīnārī, a name of Malik Mānik, the slave of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 251 and nn 3 and 7, 256. Called also Kāfūr Naib.

Hazār Sutūn palace, at Dihlī, 273, 285, 288, 289, 290.

Hazīra, Mausoleum, 397 and n 4.

Haẓramaut, a province of Arabia, 262 n.

Ḥaẓrat A'lā, Tāj Khān Karrānī, ruler of Bengal, 540. See under Tāj Khān Karrānī.

Ḥaẓrat-i 'Ālī, a title assumed by Shīr Shāh, 461 n 10

Ḥaẓrat-i-Muqaddas Saiyyid Rafī'u-d-Dīn Ṣafwī, of Balkh, 445.

Heavens, Nine, 142 n 1.

Helmund, called also the Hendmand, a river of Sijistān, 15 n

Hendmand, called also the Helmund, a river of Sijistān, 15 n

Heraclea, 386 n.

Herāt, district and town of,—in Khurāsān, 17, 22 *n* 2, 23 *n* 2, 34 and *nn* 2 and 4, 35 and n 2, 36 and *n* 4, 42, 43 *n* 4, 71 *n* 4, 73 *n* 1, 361, 609 *n* 5.

Herb of grace, a name of rue from its supposed efficacy in exorcism, 617 *n* 1.

Herbelot. See under D'Herbelot.

Herodotus, the Greek Historian, 23 *n* 1.

Heröopolis, Gulf of,—the modern Gulf of Suez, 169 *n* 1

Hesydrus, the,—the river Sutlej, 23 *n* 3.

Hidāyah-i-Fiqh, the, 428 and *n* 5.

Hidāyat, spiritual guidance, 507 and *n* 5.

Hiddekel, the river Tigris as called in the Bible, 394 *n* 5

Ḥijāz, province of Arabia, 287 *n* 2, 508, 512.

Ḥikmatu-l-Ishrāq, *Philosophia illuminationis*, 181 *n* 2.

Hils, name of the fifth arrow in the game of *maisir*, 369 *n* 1.

Himāchal, mountain of,—between the country of Chīn and Hindūstān, 307 and n 3, 316 See the Himālaya.

Himālaya, the, 70 *n* 1. See also the above.

Ḥimār Kachhan, Malik, 226. See under Itimar Kachhan.

Ḥimār Surkha, Malik, 227. See under Itimar Surkha.

Himān Baqqāl, the Hindū General of 'Adli, 500 and *n* 11, 501, 537, 541, 548, 549, 551, 552, 553, 555, 592 *n* 9. Called also Humūn, Haimūn and Haimūe.

Hind, 36 *n* 9, 70, 496, 591. See under Hindūstān and India.

Hindāl, Mirzā, 453, 458, 459, 462, 464, 465, 559, 560, 567 and *n* 10, 574, 578, 579, 580, 586, 587.

Hindāl Muḥammad Shāh, 587. Same as Mirzā Hindāl.

Hindaun, town of,—in the Jeypore State, 395 *n* 3.

Hindawiya, town on the Narbadā, 517 *n* 9

Hindīya or Handīya, a town on the Narbadā, 517 and n 9, 521.

Hindū Beg Qūchīn, Amīru-l-Umarā, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 455, 457, 471.

Hindū Castes, Sherring's, 312 *n* 7. See under *Hindū Tribes and Castes*.

Hindū dynasties of Mālwa, 384 *n* 5.

Hindū Mythology, Dowson's *Dictionary of*, 163 *n* 2.

Hindū Tribes and Castes, Sherring's, 312 *n* 7, 384 *n* 3, 433 *n* 4, 557 *n* 9

Hindūn, town in the Jeypore State, 395 *n* 3, 541, 553.

Hindūs, the, 19, 21 *n* 4, 22 and *n* 1, 24, 34, 76 *n*, 79 *n* 2, 95, 120, 122 *n* 1, 125 *n* 3, 163 *n* 2, 209, 235, 236, 256, 291, 302 *n* 2, 306 *n* 2, 309 *n* 1, 356, 359, 374, 384 *n* 5, 404, 432, 443, 476, 478 and *n* 7, 484 *n* 1, 522 *n* 5, 549, 564, 565, 635 *n* 6

Hindūstān, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20 and *n* 1, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 36, 37, 42 *n* 2, 44, 47, 48, 51, 52 and *n* 1, 53, 56, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66 *n* 1, 69, 70, 72 and *n* 4, 77, 78, 79, 81, 84 and *n*, 87, 88 *n* 1, 96, 98, 141, 187, 191, 195, 197, 205 *n* 2,

219, 232, 233, 236, 249, 250, 252, 254, 255, 272, 297, 305, 307, 310, 316, 321, 327, 330 *n* 8, 333, 343, 345, 351, 358, 359, 375, 377, 378, 384 *n* 3, 385, 420, 421, 427, 436, 443, 445, 448, 455, 456, 464, 466, 468, 474, 475, 477, 479, 480, 481, 482, 486, 489, 495, 496, 498, 499, 504, 507, 521, 522, 524, 527, 529, 533, 534, 539, 543, 547, 549, 559, 562, 584 *n* 3, 588, 591, 595, 596, 604, 611, 617, 618, 622, 624, 632, 637. See under Hind.

Hindūstānī Amīrs, 444

Hindūstānī models of poetry, 426 and *n* 1

Hindūstānī Muslims, 356.

Hindwān, town in the Jeypore State, 395 and *n* 3. Called also Hindun.

Hishām ibn 'Abdu-l-Malik, of the Umayyad dynasty of Khalīfahs, 13 *n* 1.

Hishām ibn al-Kalbī, an Arab Historian, 74 *n* 2.

Hiṣār Fīrozah,—or

Hiṣār Fīrūzah, a fortress and town founded by Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 325 *n* 3, 326 *n*, **327**, 364, 410, 439, 466, 594, 596, 597. Called also Hissār or Hissār Fīrozah.

Hiṣār-i-Nau, fort of, 186

Hissār, town of, 37 *n* 2, 325 *n* 3, 326 *n*. See under Hiṣār Fīrūzah

Hissār Fīroza. See under Hiṣār Fīrūza

Histoire des Arabes, Caussin de Perceval, 12 *n* 1

History of the Caliphs, Jarrett's, 15 *n* 4, 17 *n* 2, 18 *n* 1, 29 *n* 2, 571 *n* 2. See under *Tārīkhu-l Khulafa*

History of Gujerat, Bayley's, 17 *n* 4, 71 *n* 3, 264 *n* 6, 313 *n* 5, 357 *n* 3, 452 *n* 6, 454 and *nn* 1 and 7, 455 *n* 1, 458 *n* 6.

History of India, Elphinstone's, 20 *n* 4. See under Elphinstone.

History of Kashmir, 8. See under *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*.

History of the Mahrattas, Grant Duff's, 265 *n* 4.

Hizabru-d-Dīn Ẓafar Khān, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 247 *n* 2.

Hodal, township of, 547 and *nn* 4 and 5.

Honey, notes on, 148 *n* 4, 585 *n* 10, 586 *n*

Hoshang, Sulṭān of Mālwa, otherwise called Alp Khān, contemporary of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 363 *n* 2, 384 *n* 5, 385 *n* 3, 393, 394 and *n* 1.

Hoshangābād District, in the Central Provinces, 517 *n* 9.

Hoshiārpur, town, 380 *n* 2, 391 *n* 5.

House, People of the,—descendants of the Prophet's family, 632 *n* 1

Hūd ibn Khālid, the prophet sent to the tribe of 'Ād, 263 *n*

Hudūth, explanation of the term 1 n 4, 2 *n* 1, 153 *n* 7

Hudūth Dhāti, explanation of the term 2 *n* 1

Hudūth Zamani, explanation of the term 2 *n* 1

Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, 2 *n* 5, 97 *n* 4, 113 *n* 1, 150 *n* 2, 151 *n* 6, 156 *n* 1, 157 *n* 2, 176 *n*, 183 *n* 2, 191 *n* 4, 200 *n* 205 *n* 1, 216 *n*, 303 *n* 4, 320 *n* 4, 356 *n* 4, 368 *n* 1, 369 *n* 3, 372 *n* 2, 392 *n* 6, 420 *n* 8, 424 *n* 9,

445 *n* 6, 446 *n* 5, 459 *n* 2, 478 *n* 6, 480 *n* 6, 481 *n* 8, 485 *nn* 1 and 2, 488 *nn* 5 and 7, 510 *n* 4, 522 *n* 5, 571 *n* 1, 572 *n* 5, 601 *n*, 608 *n* and *n* 2, 618 *n*, 622 *n* 3, 623 *n* 1, 636 *n* 2

Humā, a fabulous bird of good omen, 57 *n* 2, 58 *n*, 60 and **n 3**, 77, 177, 571 and *n* 8.

Humāyūn, Emperor of India, 82 *n* 3, 449 *n* 3, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461 and *n* 3, 462, 463 464, 465, 471, 472, 474, 530, **559**, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564 and *n* 6 565 *n* 1, 566 and *n* 13, 567, 568 and *n* 6, 569, 570, 571 and *n* 8, 572, 573 and *n* 1, 574, 575, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582 and *n* 7, 583 and *n* 3, 584 *n* 3, 585, 587, 588, 589, 591, 592, 593, 594 and *n* 6, 595 and *n* 8, **596**, 597 *n* 5, 598, 600, **601** and *n* 9, 602 and *n* 2, 604, 606 *n* 3, 608 and *n* 5, 613, 618, 619, 622, 623, 626

Humāyūn, name of a palace at Dihlī, 344, 345.

Humāyūn Khān, son of Muḥammad Shāh son of Sulṭān Fīroz Tughlaq, 343, **347**. Succeeds to the throne under the title of 'Alāu-d-Dīn Sikandar Shāh

Humūn Baqqal, 500 and *n* 11, 501 See under Himun

Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 82 *n* 1, 83 *n* 2, 89 *n* 4, 95 *n* 4, 121 *n* 8, 125 *n* 1, 134 *n* 1, 185 *n* 1, 256 *n* 4, 257 *n* 7, 265 *nn* 2 and 4, 266 *n* 4, 293 *n* 6, 299 *nn* 2 and 3, 311 *n* 3, 313 *n* 5, 325 *n* 3 330 *n* 7, 346 *n* 5, 355 *n* 1, 360 *n* 3, 362 *nn* 1 and 2, 364 *nn* 2, 3 and 4, 365 *n* 8, 366 *n* 3, 377 *nn* 3, 5 and 6, 380 *n* 2, 382 *n* 4, 383 *n* 8, 384 *n* 5, 385 *n* 3, 386 *nn* 3 and 6 389 *n* 2, 408 *n* 5, 409 *n* 5, 410 *n* 4, 419 *n* 3, 422 *n* 3, 423 *n* 5, 433 *n* 4, 437 *n* 8, 445 *n* 2, 454 *n* 6, 466 *n* 6, 486 *n* 6, 546 *nn* 3, 4 and 5, 547 *n* 5, 559 *nn* 5 and 7, 560 *n* 8, 598 *n* 10 635 *n* 6.

Hunter's *Indian Empire*, 32 *n* 1.

Ḥūris, the women of Paradise, 281, 485 and **n 3**.

Ḥusain, son of 'Alī ibn-Abī Ṭālib, third Imām of the Shī'ah, 151 *n* 6, 200, 205 and *n* 1, 481 and *n* 8, 622 and **n 3**, 623 and **n 1**.

Ḥusain ibn 'Alī ibn Maikāl, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mas'ud Ghaznawī, 36, 37 *n* 7, 38

Ḥusain Arghūn. See under Shāh Husain Arghūn.

Ḥusain Baṣrī the Wazīr, Khwāja, of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban, 220 *n* 2

Husain Farmalī, Mīyān, of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty, 435

Ḥusain Jilwānī, Rāi, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh Sūr, 494, 495, 541, 542 and *n* 14, 546

Husain Khān Ghilzāī, one of the Amīrs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 542, 544

Husain Khān, son of Khān-i Jahān, of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Bahlūl Lodī, 406

Husain Khān, son of Maḥmūd Sharqī, of Jaunpūr, 404 *n* 5, 405 See under Husain Sharqī.

Ḥusain Khān, Mirzā, one of Amīrs of Humāyūn, 574

Ḥusain Khān, son of Qāsim Khān, of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 589

Ḥusain Khān, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 481 and n 1.

Ḥusain Khān, 'Umdatu-l-Mulk, of the Amīrs of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn of the Saiyyid dynasty, 401, 402.

Ḥusain Kharmīl, one of the Amīrs of the Ghorī dynasty, 67 and n.

Ḥusain, Malik, Tāju-l-Mulk, uncle of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 229, 231.

Ḥusain Niẓāmu-l-Mulk, son of Amīr Mīran, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Fīroz Tughlaq, 333 n 2.

Ḥusain Qudsī of Karbalā, Mīr,—a poet, 623 and n 6.

Ḥusain, son of Shāhbeg Arghūn, 560 n 3. Same as Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn (q. v.).

Ḥusain Sharqī, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Jaunpūr, contemporary of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 404 and n 5, 405, 406, 407, 408 and n 6, 409 and n 3, 415, 416.

Ḥusain Zargar of Qandahār, Qāẓī, 420.

Ḥusainu-d-Dīn 'Iwaz, Malik, 86 and n 3 See Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn 'Iwaz.

Ḥusainu-d-Dīn Ughal or Ughul Beg, ruler of the Doāb at the time of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 81 and nn 2 and 3.

Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn Abūrija, the *Mustaufi*, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 308.

Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn Barāwar, Malik, of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 285, 290.

Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn 'Iwaz,—or

Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn Khiljī, Malik, 86 and n 3. Eventually becomes Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn 'Iwaz (q. v.).

Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn al-Muwaẓẓini, Maulā, author of a commentary on the *Miftāḥu-l-'Ulūm*, 428 n 2.

Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn Tarmadī, Shaikh, 133 n 2.

Hushyār, Malik, of the Amīrs of the Saiyyid dynasty, 396, 398.

Ḥūt, the Zodiacal sign Pisces, 195 n 2.

Huwa, name of the Almighty, 603 n 6.

Huẓail, a tribe of the Arabs, 23 n 1.

Hwen Thsang, the Chinese Traveller, 382 n 4.

Hyades, the, *ad-Dabarān*, 367 n 3.

Hyarotis, the,—the river Rāvī in the Panjāb, 23 n 3.

Hydaspes, the,—the river Jhelam, 23 n 3.

Hyderābād of the Deccan, 271 n 6. See Ḥaidarābād.

Hydraotes, the,—the river Rāvī in the Panjāb, 23 n 3

Hypanis, the,—or

Hyphasis, the,—the river Biah in the Panjāb, 23 n 3.

I.

Ībak, sobriquet of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn of the Slave dynasty of Dihlī, 77 n 2. See Aibak.

Ībak, slave of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak or Ībak of Dihlī, 89

Ibn 'Abbās, uncle's son of the Prophet, 199 n 3.

Ibn Arsalān, a relative of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 33 and n 2

Ibn Aṡīr [Aṯhīr] Jazarī, the Arab Historian, author of the *Kāmilu-t-Tawārīkh*, 27 n 3, 624 and n 8.

Ibn Baiṭār, author of the *Mufradāt*, 146 n 6, 172 n 2, 178 n and nn 2 and 3, 182 nn 1 and 4, 550 n 1, 627 n 2.

Ibn Baṭūṭa, *Travels*, 67 n 1, 127 n 4, 221 n 3, 223 n 1, 265 n 5, 272 n, 307 n 4, 311 n 5.

Ibn Ḥauqal, the Arab Geographer, 30 n 1.

Ibn Khaldūn, the Arab Historian, 151 n 4, 157 n 1, 181 n 2, 191 n 2, 217 n 5, 244 n 6.

Ibn Khallikān, the Arab Historian, 6 n 3, 12 n 1, 30 n 1, 35 n 1, 38 n 3, 42 nn 1 and 3 51 n 2, 55 n 3, 59 n 1, 73 n 1, 74 n 2, 149 n, 151 n 6, 152 n 2, 167 n 3, 198 n 2, 287 nn 1 and 2, 352 n 1, 481 n 6.

Ibn Kulṡūm, one of the poets of the *Mu'allaqāt*, 109 n 4.

Ibn Mākūla, the Historian, 6 n 3.

Ibn Muljim, the assassinator of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 207 n 6.

Ibn Kutaibah [Qutaibah], an Arab author, 287 n 1.

Ibn Sa'īd, the Arab Geographer, 17 n 4.

Ibn Serapion, the Arab Geographer, 571 n 2.

Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), 533 n 1.

Ibn 'Umar, the island of,—an island of the Tigris above Mosul, 624 n 8.

Ibnu-l-'Amīd, a celebrated Arabic writer, 198 n 2.

Ibnu-l-Ḥājib, author of the *Kāfiyah*, a famous treatise on Grammar, 428 n 6, 467 n 2.

Ibrāhīm, Abraham of the Scriptures, 392 n 6. See under Abraham.

Ibrāhīm, one of the guards at the palace of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī of Dihlī, 280.

Ibrāhīm Khān, son of Quṭb Khān, one of the Amīrs of the Wālī of Bangāla, 470.

Ibrāhīm Khān, son of Ghāzī Khān Sūr, one of the cousins of Sher Shāh, 539, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547. Assumes the title of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm (*q. v.*).

Ibrāhīm, Malik, son of Saiyyid Ḥasan Kaitbalī, feofee of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 309.

Ibrāhīm Lodī, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 430, 431 n 1, 433 434, 436, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 467 and n 6, 468, 470.

Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, son of Suleimān Mīrzā of Badakhshān, 581

Ibrāhīm, the Saiyyidu-s-Salāṭīn, ibn Sulṭān Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 51, 52, 53 and n, 54 and n 1.

Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī, Sulṭān of Jaunpūr, 361, 363 and n 2, 364 and n 3, 375, 386 n 2, 393, 398, 403.

Ibrāhīm Sharqī, Sulṭān of Jaunpūr. See the above.

Ibrāhīm Sūr, grandfather of Sher Shāh, 466.

Ibrāhīm Sūr, Sulṭān, 542, 548, 549, 550, 552, 553, 554, 592, 597. See under Ibrāhīm Khān, son of Ghāzī Khān.

Ibtidā, a term of Prosody, 606 n 4.

Idrīs, Malik, Governor of Rohtak for Maḥmūd Shāh of the Tughlaq dynasty 365 n 5, 375.

'Īdu-l-aẓḥā, the festival of Sacrifice, the chief of the Muḥammadan festivals, 392 n 6.

'Īdu-l-Fiṭr, the festival following the fast of Ramaẓān, 392 n 6.

'Īdu-l-Qurbān, same as 'Īdu-l-aẓḥā (q. v.), 392 and n 6.

'Īdu-l-Kabīr, or the great festival, a name for 'Īdu-l-aẓḥā (q v.), 392 n 2.

'Īdu-ṣ-Ṣaghīr, a name for 'Īdu-l-Fiṭr (q v.), 392 n 6.

Ignorance, Time of, the ages preceding the advent of Islām, 441 n 2

Ihdād, special ceremony of mourning by widows, 302 n 2.

Ihānat, miracle contrary to the intention of a prophet, 626 n.

Īj, town of, 476 and n 5.

Ijmā', theological term, 636 n 2

Īk, town of, 476 n 5

Ikdāla, a fortress of Bangāla, afterwards called Āzādpūr, 324 and n 6, 329 and n 1.

Ikdāla, the islands of, 329 n 1. Same place as the fortress of Ikdāla (q v)

Ikhlāṣ, name of a *Sūrah* in the Qur'ān See under Sūratu-l-Ikhlāṣ

Ikhrājāt, in the sense of taxes, 316 and n 1.

Ikhtiyār Khān, one of the Amirs of Maḥmūd Shāh of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty, 366, 380

Ikhtiyār Khān, grandson of Malik Daulat Yār of Kanpila, of the Amirs of the Tughlaq dynasty, 363

Ikhtiyār Khān, Governor of Sāmāna under Khiẓr Khān of the Saiyyids, 365 n 4

Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn, a servant of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī 243.

Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Altūnīyah, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 121 and nn 5 and 7, 122 and nn 1 and 2.

Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Beg Birlās, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-u-d-Dīn Balban, 186 and n 5.

Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Ītkīn, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 122, 123 n 1.

Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Sanbal, Malik, one of the Amirs of the Khiljī dynasty, 272, 291.

Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn, son of Shāyista Khān, otherwise Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 227.

Ikhtiyāru-d-Dīn Tangras, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 186 n 5.

Iksīr, the Elixir of life, 340 n 2

Ilāhābās, the modern Allahabad, otherwise called Prayāg, 415 and n 5

Ilāhpūr, one of the dependencies of Rantanbhūr, 410 and n 3

Īlak Khān, son of Bughra Khān, called Īlak-i-Naṣr, King of Māwarāu-n-Nahr, 16 n 2, 20 and nn 2 and 4

Īlak-i-Naṣr, King of Māwarau-n-Nahr, 16 n 2 See the above

Īlāq Sūrtaq, name of a place, 560 n 8.

Ildighiz, first of the Atābaks of Āẕarbaijān, 158 n 3.

Ilhanpūr, town of, 410 n 3.

Illichpūr, town of, 237

Illuminati, a sect of philosophers called Ishrāqiyah, 181 n 2.

'Ilmu-l-ma'ānī wal bayān, 426 n 2

Ilmās Beg Ulugh Khān, brother of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 232, 239, 240, 241, 242, 247. See also under Ulugh Khān.

'Ilmu-l-bayān, 428 *n* 2.

'Ilmu-l-Fiqh. See under Fiqh.

Īl shudan, to become submissive, 574 *n* 5.

Ilyās Ḥājī, Malik, contemporary of Sulṭān Muḥammad and Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, assumes the title of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn as ruler of Lakhnautī, **309**, 324, 327.

Ilyās, Khwāja, contemporary of 'Adlī, 541.

Ilyās, Malik, of the slaves of Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 352 and *n* 6

'Imād Khān Karrānī, of the Afghān Maliks of Bangāla, 540, 541

'Imādu-d-Dīn, Maulānā, translator of the *Rājā-taranginī* into Persian, 8 *n* 3.

'Imādu-l-Mulk, a court-servant of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 239

'Imādu-l-Mulk, one of the Maliks of Abū Bakr Shāh of the Tughlaq dynasty, 343, 344

'Imādu-l-Mulk, Malik Maḥmūd Ḥasan, of the Amirs of Mubārak Shāh, **387**, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392. See also under Maḥmūd Ḥasan

'Imādu-l-Mulk Sartez-i-Sulṭānī, Malik, of the Amirs of Sultan Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 302, 314 and *n* 2.

Imām, Priest, 368 *n* 2, 472 and *n* 7, 572 *n* 5.

Imam Bukhārī, the celebrated author of Ṣaḥīḥu-l-Bukhārī, a collection of authentic traditions, 6 and *n* 3.

Imāmiyah, a sect of Shī'ah Muslims, 572 *n* 5.

Imāms of the Shī'ah, Twelve, 572 and *n* 5, 625 *n* 2.

Imāms and Saiyyids of Omān, Badger's, 157 *n* 2.

Imān, Faith, 577 *n*, 636.

Imānābād, town of, founded by Sulṭān Ibrāhim Ghaznawī, 52.

Imperial Gazetteer of India, Hunter's, 36 *n* 10, 82 *nn* 1, 3 and 4, 83 *n* 2, 89 *n* 4, 95 *nn* 4 and 7, 121 *n* 8, 125 *nn* 1 and 3, 134 *n* 1, 185 *n* 1, 218 *n* 3, 221 *n* 3, 256 *n* 4, 257 *n* 7, 265 *nn* 2 and 4, 266 *n* 4, 293 *n* 5, 299 *nn* 2 and 3, 311 *nn* 3 and 6, 313 *n* 5, 325 *n* 3, 330 *n* 7, 331 *n* 3, 346 *n* 5, 355 *n* 1, 360 *n* 2, 362 *nn* 1 and 2, 364 *nn* 2 and 3, 365 *n* 8, 366 *n* 3, 377 *nn* 3, 5 and 6, 380 *n* 2, 382 *n* 4, 383 *n* 8. 384 *n* 5, 385 *n* 2, 386 *nn* 3 and 6, 389 *n* 2, 408 *n* 5, 409 *n* 5, 410 *n* 4, 419 *n* 3, 422 *n* 3, 423 *n* 5, 437 *n* 8, 445 *n* 2, 454 *n* 6, 466 *n* 6, 486 *n* 6, 517 *n* 9, 546 *nn* 3, 4 and 5, 547 *n* 5, 559 *nn* 5 and 6, 560 *n* 8, 598 *n* 10, 635 *n* 6.

In'ām, reward, 596 *n* 6.

Indarī, town, 305.

Indarpat, township of, 325 *n* 3. See under Indrapath.

India, 12, 13, 17 *n* 4, 20 *n* 4, 28, 43, 84 *n*, 141 *n* 1, 256 *n* 4, 265 *n* 2, 301, 312 and *n* 7, 362 *n* 2, 411 *n* 1, 420 *n* 8, 494 *n* 11, 590 *n* 5. See also under Hind and Hindūstān.

India, Map of, in Keith Johnson's Atlas, 419 *n* 6, 420 *n* 5.

Indian Atlas, the, 81 *n* 4

Indian Empire, Hunter's, 32 *n* 1.

Indian Medical Gazette, the, 586 *n*.
Indor, fortress of, 385.
Indra, the Hindū god, 294 *n* 4.
Indrapath, a township outside Dihlī, 294 and *nn* 4 and 5, 295 and *n* 9. See also Indarpat.
Indraprastha, original name of the township of Indrapath (*q. v.*), 294 *n* 4
Indrī Karnāl, *pargana* of, 424 and *n* 3.
Indus, the, 20 *n* 1, 23 *n* 3, 67 *n* 1, 72 *n* 2, 128 and *n* 3, 249, 320 *n* 5, 353, 358 *n* 6, 436, 465, 529, 560 *n* 8, 567, 591, 592, 593.
Infidelity, the origin of *'adāwat* in religious matters, 576 *n* 5, 577 *n*
Introduction to Ancient Arabian Poetry, Lyall's, 99 *n* 6.
Iqbāl Khān, chief cavalry commander under 'Aẓam Humāyūn Shirwānī, 434
Iqbāl Khān Malloo, one of the Maliks of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 129 *n* 2, 351 and *n* 6, 354, 356 and *n* 5, 357, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363 and *n* 1 See also under Malloo Khān.
Iqbāl Khān, called Raḥmatu-llāhi, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 527.
Iqbālmand, the Mughul, invades Multān in the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 252 and *n* 3.
Iqbāl Mudbir, the name which Mīr Khusrū gives to Iqbālmand, the Mughul, (*q v*), 252 *n* 3.
Iqlīm Khān, one of the Maliks of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 365 *n* 7.
Iqṭā' grants of land, 587 and *n* 7, 597.
'Irā, name of a certain piece at the game of chess, 479 and *n* 7.
'Irāk. : See under 'Irāq.
Iram of the Columns, a fabulous city in Arabia, 261 *n* 6, 262 n, 263 *n*.
Irān, the native name of Persia, 86, 180 *n* 2.
'Irāq, country of, 12 *n* 1, 15 *n*, 51, 64, 91, 205 *n* 1, 279 *n*, 287 *n* 2, 310, 443, 455, 456, 466, 481, 504, 505, 568, 571 *n* 2, 572, 575, 576, 624, 632.
'Irāq, Persian, 30 *n* 1.
Iravatī, name of the Rāvī in Sanskrit, 23 *n* 3.
Irshād, spiritual guidance, 507 and *n* 5.
Irshād-i-Qāẓī, the, 521 and *n* 5.
'Isā, Jesus Christ, 207, 369, 372, 628.
'Isā Khān Ḥajjāb, one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shāh, 472, 485, 489, 513.
'Isā Khān Lodī, Governor of Paṭiālī, a cousin of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 412 *n* 2, 413
'Isā Khān Niyāzī, one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shāh, 486, 487, 488, 489, 492, 493, 494, 541.
'Isā Khān Sūr, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 495.
Isaac of the Scriptures, 488 *n* 5.
Iṣābah, the,—a biographical dictionary of the *Ṣaḥābah* or Companions, 572 *n* 1.
Isaiah, Book of, 474 *n* 1.
Iṣfahān, district and town of, 30 and *n* 1, 86, 173 *n*, 279 *n*. See also under Ispahān.
Isfandiyār, of the first dynasty of Persian Kings, 103 *n* 2, 116 *n* 3, 175, 321 *n* 1.

Isfrāïn, a town of Khurāsān in the neighbourhood of Nishāpūr, 50 *n* 2.
Isfrār, a city of Khurāsān, 50 and *n* 2.
Isḥāq, one of the palace guards of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 289.
'*Ishq-Nāmah*, one of the poetical works of Ḥakīm Sanāï, 56 *n* 2.
Ishrāqī philosophy, the, 181 and *n* 2.
Iskandar Sulṭān Osbak, of the Amirs of Humāyūn, 463, 592 and *n* 1, 594.
Iskandar Sūr, Sulṭān, 543, 596, 597 See under Sikandar Sūr.
Islām under the Arabs, Osborn's, 157 *n* 2.
Islām Khān, son of A'ẓam Khān Humāyūn Shirwānī, of the Amirs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 433, 434
Islām Khān Lodī, called also Sultan Shāh, Governor of Sihrind under Khiẓr Khān of the Sayyid dynasty, 380 *nn* 3 and 4, 383 *n* 11.
Islām Khān, Mubashir Chap, the Vazīr, one of the Maliks of Muḥammad Shāh ibn Fīroz Shāh, 345, 346.
Islām Khān (Islem Shāh) Sūr, son of Shīr Shāh, 493 and *n* 12
Islam Shāh, son of Shīr Shāh, called also Islem Shāh (*q. v.*), and Salīm Shāh (*q. v.*), 456, 477 and *n* 5
Islands of the Blest, the, 130 *n* 1.
Islem Khān Sūr, afterwards Islem Shāh (*q. v.*), 485.
Islem Shāh, son of Shīr Shāh, of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493 and *n* 2, 495, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 504, 505, 506, 513, 514, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 532, 533, 534, 535 and *n* 7, 536, 537, 538; 541, 542, 583, 588 and *n* 1, 593. See also under Salīm Shāh
Ismā'īl (Ishmael), 139 *n* 5, 392 *n* 6.
Ismā'īl Fatḥ, one of the Amīrs of hundreds of Daulatābād, rebels against Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 314.
Ismā'īl Khān Lūhānī, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 413 and *n* 3.
Ismā'īl Khān, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 431 and *n* 1.
Ismā'īl Malik, one of the Maliks of Mubārak Shāh of the dynasty of the Saiyyids, 391
Ismā'īl, son of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Subuktigīn, 16 and *n* 1.
Ismā'īl Ṣafawī Ḥusainī, Shāh of Persia, 449, 570, 572 *n* 8.
Ismu-l-a'ẓam, the most holy name of God, 603 *n* 6.
Isnā 'Asharīyah, called also the Imāmiyah, a sect of the Shī'ah, 572 *n* 5.
Ispahān, same as Iṣfahān (*q. v.*), 30 *n* 1, 34 *n* 1, 582 *n*.
Israel, 302 *n* 2
Israelites, the, 169 *n* 1, 302 *n* 2.
Isrāïl-i-Beghū, chief of the Turkomāns at the time of Sulṭān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, 28 and *n* 3.
Istidrāj, miracles performed by infidels, 625 and *n* 6, 626 *n*.
Istighfār, formula of, 551 and *n* 2.

Istiḥẓār, power of recollection, 427 *n* 6.

Iṣṭilāḥātu-l-Funūn, the, 4 *n* 1, 5 *n* 4, 31 *n*, 142 *n* 1, 145 *n* 1, 162 *n* 4, 163 *n* 1, 193 *n* 1, 374 *nn* 5 and 7, 614 *n* 2, 625 *n* 6, 626 *n*. Full name *Kashshāf Iṣṭilāḥāti-l-Funūn*.

Istiqāmat, a term of Astronomy, 374 *n* 7.

Itāwah, district and town of, 334 and *n* 4, 346 and *n* 4, 347, 359 *n* 4, 360, 362, 379, 380, 381, 386, 391, 403, 405, 410 and *n* 4, 413, 431, 443, 444, 463, 547, 556, 592 Called also Etāwah (*q v.*).

Itimar Kachhan, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban, 220, 226.

Itimar, the Mughal, one of the Generals of Chingīz Khān, 188 and *n* 1, 189, 221

Itimar Surkha, Malik, one of the Balbanī Amirs, 227, 228

Iyal-timish, Sulṭan Shamsu-d-Dīn Abu-l-Muẓaffar, of the Slave dynasty of Dihlī, 70 *n* 1, 88 *n* 3, 89, 96, 121 and *n* 4 See under Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish

Iyal-timish, origin of the name, 88, 89 and *n* 1

Īzad Yār, fifth son of Sulṭān Mas'ud, son of Sulṭan Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 44 *n* 2

Iẓhār-i muẓmar, 605 and *n* 9.

'Izzu d-Dīn Balban, Malik, one of the Maliks of the Shamsiyah Sulṭans, 124 and 3, 125, 130. Called also 'Izzu d-Dīn Balban-i-Buzurg (*q. v*), and 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban-i-Kashlū Khān (*q. v.*).

'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban-i-Buzurg, or the elder, 124, 125, 129. See the above.

'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, one of the Maliks of the Shamsīyah Sulṭāns, 124 *n* 3, 130. See under 'Izzu d-Dīn Kashlū Khān.

'Izzu d-Dīn Iyās, one of the Maliks of the Shamsīyah Sulṭāns, 120 and *n* 8. Called also 'Izzu-d-Dīn Kabīr Khān Ayās (*q v.*).

'Izzu-d-Dīn Jānī, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 87 and *n* 3.

'Izzu-d-Dīn Kabīr Khān Ayās, Malik, 98 and *n* 2. See under 'Izzu-d-Dīn Iyās.

'Izzu d-Dīn Kashlū Khān, Malik, 131, 132 and *n* 4, 133. See under 'Izzu-d Dīn Balban-i-Kashlū Khān.

'Izzu-d-Dīn Khālid Khānī, one of the poets and *munshīs* of the time of Fīroz Shāh, 332 and *n* 2.

'Izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sālārī, one of the Maliks of the Shamsiyah Sulṭāns, 98 *n* 2.

'Izzu-d-Dīn Tughā Khān, one of the Maliks of the Shamsiyah Sulṭāns, 125.

'Izzu d-Dīn Yaḥyā, *A'ẓamu-l-mulk*, one of the Maliks of Sulṭan Muḥammad Tughlaq Shah, 302, 308.

'Izzu-l Mulk, Malik 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khafī or Jānī, one of the Maliks of Sulṭan Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 94 and *n* 3.

J.

Jabal Şaur, a hill near Mecca, 149 *n*, 158 *n* 1.

Jabhān, town, 358 *n* 6.

Jacob, the Patriarch, 302 *n* 2.

Jacut. See under Yāqūt.

Jāegīr, land held in fief, 120 *n* 8.

Ja'far, the Barmecide, Wazīr of Hārūn ar-Rashīd, 286.

Ja'far Khwāndī. See under Shāh Ja'far Khwāndī.

Ja'far Şādiq, one of the Imāms of the Shī'ah, 110 *n* 4.

Ja'far, son of Sulaimān ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abdu-llah ibn al-'Abbās, a prince of the 'Abbāsides, 74 *n* 2.

Jāfī, a tribe of the Arabs, 6 *n* 3.

Jaghar Beg Saljūqī, contemporary of Sulṭān Maudud Ghaznawī, 49 *n* 1

Jahāngīr Beg the Mughūl, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 459

Jahāngīr Qulī Beg, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 461.

Jahān Numa, a palace and a fortress at Dihlī, 348, 345 and *n* 1, 354 and *n* 1, 361 and *n* 1, 386 and *n* 1.

Jahānpanāh, one of the three cities of Dihlī, 361 *n* 1, 366 *n* 1.

Jahān Shāh, Amīr, one of the generals of Timūr, 358 *n* 6.

Jāhī Yatmān, of Bukhārā, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 618 and *n* 5, 620, 622.

Jāhī Yātmiyān, 618 *n* 5. Same as Jāhī Yatmān (*q. v*).

Jāhī-i-Yatmināu, 618 *n* 5. Same as Jāhī Yatmān (*q. v.*).

Jāhiliyat, or time of Ignorance, the pre-Islāmic age, 99 *n* 6, 441 *n* 2

Jābir Dev, the Rājā of Narwar, 129 and *n* 4. See under Chāhar Ajarī.

Jāhiriyā, uncle of Khusrū Khān Barāwar, the favourite of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 289.

Jahjar, town, 351.

Jahjar river, the, 325 *n* 3, 326 and *n*.

Jahtara, name of a place, 414 and *n* 3.

Jai Chand, a *Zemīndār* of Chartūlī, at the time of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 431 *n* 4.

Jai Chand of Jaunpūr, 364 *n* 3.

Jai Chand, Rāi, Governor of Qanauj, contemporary of Sulṭān Shihābu-d-Dīn Ghūrī, 70

Jaihūn, the,—or Oxus, 27 and *n* 1, 37 *n* 7, 38, 71, 570 *n* 7. Called also the Jihūn (*q v*)

Jain architecture. 635 *n* 6

Jaipāl I, ruler of Hindustān, contemporary of Sulṭān Mahmūd Ghaznawī, 15, 18, 19 and *n* 2, 20 and *n* 4, 22 *n* 6.

Jaipāl II, son of Anandpāl, grandson of Jaipāl I, the ruler of Hind, 21, 22 and *n* 6, 26.

Jaipūr, district and town of Rājputāna, 93 *n* 1, 120 *n* 4, 129 *n* 2, 299 *n* 2. See under Jeypore.

Jaisalmir, district and town of Rājputāna, 298 and *n* 7, 465, 562, 563, 567 *n* 1.

Jājarmī, one of the poets of the time of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 245.

Jājnagar, called also Jājpūr, capital of Orissa, 86, 125 *n* 3, 186 and *n* 6, 299 and *n* 2, 329 and *n* 6, 330, 348

Jājpur, on the Baitaranī in Orissa, 125 *n* 3 Same as Jājnagar (*q. v*)

Jalā, baldness of the fore part of the head, 516 and *n* 2.

Jalālābās, called also Arail, a town near Allahabad, 415 *n* 4.

Jalāl, greatness, 515 and *n* 6, 516

Jalāl of Badāon, Mīrān Saiyyid, one of the learned men of the time of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 427.

Jalāl Bhīm of Agra, Mulla, contemporary of Shaikh 'Alāī, 515 and *n* 3, 516

Jalāl Khān Jalū, one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shāh, 486 *n* 7, 489 *n* 9

Jalāl Khān Jilwānī, one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shāh, 486 and *n* 7, 489 and *n* 9

Jalāl Khān Lodī, son of Mahmūd Khān of Kālpī, one of the Aimrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 422 and *nn* 4 and 5, 437

Jalāl Khān Lūhānī, son of Sultān Muhammad of Bihar, 468, 469, 470

Jalāl Khān, son of Sulṭān Mahmūd Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 404 *n* 5, 405

Jalāl Khān Miwātī, contemporary of the Saiyyids of Dihlī, 375, 391

Jalāl Khān, son of Shīr Shāh, original name of Islem Shāh Sūr, 456 457

Jalāl Khan, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 423 and *n* 2, **430**, 431 and *n* 1, 432, 433

Jalāl Thim of Agra, Mulla, 515 *n* 3 516 See Jalal Bhim

Jalālī, township of, 411, 412 *n* 2

Jalālu-d-Daulat, title of Amīr Muhammad, younger son of Sultān Mahmud of Ghaznin, 29, 33

Jalālu-d-Dīn Fīroz Shāh, Sultan, 507, 525 Same as Sultan Jalālu d-Dīn Khilji, (*q v*)

Jalālu-d-Dīn Jānī, Malik, one of the Maliks of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh of Dihlī, 182.

Jalālu-d-Dīn Kāsānī, Qāẓī, one of the Amirs of the Shamsiyah dynasty, 125 *n* 2 See the next

Jalālu-d-Dīn Kāshānī, Qāẓī, 128, 234 See the above.

Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, Sultān, whose name was Malik Fīroz and his title Shāyista Khān (*q v*), 185, 226, **230** and *n* 1, 231, 239, 240, **243**, 244, 245, 247 and *n*, 248, 249, 507, 525

Jalālu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Dīwan, Khwāja, one of the Amirs of Humāyūn, 585 and *n* 4

Jalālu-d-Dīn Mangburnī, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh, 91 and *nn* 1 and 2.

Jalālu-d-Dīn, son of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal timish, 124 125, 131

Jalālu-d Dīn, Sulṭān, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, 430 See under Jalāl Khān, son of Sultān Sikandar

Jalālu-d-Dīn, Sulṭān, title assumed by Muhammad Khān Sur, Governor of Bangāla (*q. v.*), 552

Jalālu-l Haqq wa-sh Shar' wa-d Dīn al-Bukhārī, Shaikh, a famous Saiyyid, 376

Jalāmukhi, idol temple of, in Nagarkot, 331 *n* 9

Jālandhar, town of, 342, 382 and n 4, 390, 391 and *n* 5, 592 and *nn* 6 and 7 593

Jālesar, town of 343 *n* 3, 346 n 5, 377 and n 6, 407 *n* 1

Jalan Bhati, Rāi, Governor of the fort of Bhat, at the time of Timur's invasion, 355 and *n* 4.

Jālor, fort of, 262, 265.

Jalwur, town, 379 *n* 2.

Jām, a town of Khurāsān, 32 *n* 2, 272 *n* 1.

Jām, the ruler of Thatha, 332 and *n* 6, 333 and *n* 4, 592 *n* 9.

Jamā'at, technical sense of, 626 and *n* 2.

Jamāl Khān of Dihlī, one of the learned men of the time of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 427.

Jamāl Khān Muftī, Miyān, one of the learned men of the time of Islem Shāh, 506.

Jamāl Khān Sārang-Khānī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 470.

Jamāl Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 466, 467.

Jamāl, Shaikh, a poet of the time of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 426 and *n* 2. See the next.

Jamālī, Shaikh,—or

Jamālī Kanbawī of Dihlī, Shaikh, one of the greatest of the 'Ulamā of the time of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 411 and *n* 10, 429, 455 and *n* 9.

Jamālu-d-Dīn Abī 'Umar 'Usmān bin 'Umar, commonly known as Ibnu-l-Ḥājib (*q.v.*), 428 *n* 6, 467 *n* 2.

Jamālu-d-Dīn of Hānsī, Shaikh, a celebrated saint, 322.

Jamālu-d-Dīn Iṣfahānī, the poet, contemporary of Khāqānī, 339 *n* 4.

Jamālu-d-Dīn, Mīr, the traditionist, contemporary of Bābar, 449.

Jamālu-d-Dīn Muḥammad, surname of Salmān Sāwajī, the poet, 571 and n 9, 633 *n* 1.

Jamālu-d-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ufī or 'Aufī, author of a *Tazkira* and other works, 33 *n* 1.

Jamālu-d-Dīn Ṣadr Astarābādī, Mīr, contemporary of Humāyūn, 625.

Jamālu-d-Dīn Yāqūt, the Abyssinian, Chief Amīr under Sulṭān Raẓẓīyah, 120, 121 and *n* 2

Jāmī, Mullā Nūru-d-Dīn 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, the celebrated author and poet, 32 and n 2, 270 *n* 4, 272 and n 1, 429, 588. Called also by the title of Maulawī Makhdūmī 'Ārif'

Jāmi'u-l-Akhbār of Shaikh Ṣadūq, 139 *n* 5.

Jāmi'u-l-Ḥikāyāt of Muḥammad Ufī of Merv, 29 n 1, 33 *n* 1, 220.

Jāmi'u-r-Rashīdī, 8 *n* 2 See the *Jāmi'u t-Tawārīkh* of Rashīdu-d-Dīn.

Jāmi'u-t-Tawārīkh of Rashīdu-d-Dīn, 8 *n* 2, 73 *n* 2 307 *n* 4. See the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*

Jamna, the, 343, 354, 355, 356 and *nn* 1 and 5, 357, 360 *n* 3, 364, 377 *n* 6, 385 *n* 3, 386, 387, 393, 396, 406, 408, 439, 444, 551, 555, 610 See also under the Jumna and Jamuna.

Jamshīd, ancient king of Persia, 108, 176, 201, 405, 454, 559, 613

Jammoo. See under Jamūn.

Jammū See under Jamūn.

Jamū, kingdom of See Jamūn.

Jamū, river of,—the Jhelum, 355 *n* 1.

Jamūn, country of, 19 *n* 2, 349, 355 *n* 1, 358 *n* 6, 383, 384 *n* 1. Called also Jammoo, Jammu and Jamū

Jamuna the, called also the Jaun or Jon and the Yamunī, 23 *n* 3 See under the Jamna and the Jumna.

Jandī (Junaidī), the Wazīr Niẓāmu-l-Mulk, of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 90, 98, 120 and n 1.

Janhār, fortress of,—in Jaunpūr, 415 and n 2, 416 n 4.

Janjūhah, one of the two tribes inhabiting the Jūd hills, 128 n 3

Jannat Āshiyānī, invades Hindustān, 547

Jannatābād new name of Gaur the capital of Bangāla, so called by Humāyūn, 82 n 3, 458

Jānoha, a tribe of the Hindūs, 500

Jārpānīr, fortress of, 455 and n 1

Jānūr, town, 379 n 2

Japhet, son of Noah, 61 n 5, 147 n 1, 231

Jārin Manjhūn, the country of Sīwistān, 249 and n 7.

Jarrett's *Āīn i-Akbarī*, 13 n 1, 14 n 3, 17 n 4, 23 n 3, 25 n 5, 27 n 4, 28 n 2, 34 n 5, 36 n 10, 48 n 1, 52 n 3, 62 n 2, 65 n 1, 69 nn 2 and 5, 71 n 3, 72 n 4, 76 n, 81 n 2, 82 nn 3 and 5, 84 n 2, 87 n 1, 91 n 2, 92 n 2, 95 n 5, 124 n 4, 128 n 3, 129 n 2, 130 n 1, 133 n and n 2, 142 n 1, 193 n 1, 236 n 2, 248 n 2, 249 n 5, 264 n 6 265 nn 2 and 5, 266 n 4, 304 n 4, 330 n 8, 332 n 6, 357 n 3, 380 n 2, 384 n 3, 410 n 4, 415 n 7, 416 nn 3 and 13, 417 n 7, 420 n 5, 422 n 3, 425 n 2, 439 n 2, 536 n 6, 546 n 7, 557 n 3, 573 n 3, 587 n 7, 588 n 4, 590 n 5

Jarrett's *History of the Caliphs*, 12 n 2, 15 n 4 17 n 2, 18 n 1, 29 n 2, 571 n 2

Jartauli, a famous city of Mawās, 386 and n 5

Jasrat Khakar,—or

Jasrat Khūkar, son of Shaikhā Khūkar, contemporary of the Saiyyids, 381 and n 5, 382 and nn 2 and 5, 383 and n 3, 384 n, 390 and n 4, 391, 399.

Jasrat Shaikhā, 382 and n 5. Same as the above (q v)

Jatāmānsī, Sanskrit name of the *nard* or Indian Spikenard, 374 n.

Jāts, the,—a tribe of the Hindūs, 29 and n 4, 121, 122 n 1, 129 n 2.

Jauhar, essence, 397 n 3

Jauhar or *Jūhar*, a rite of self-sacrifice, 397 and nn 1 and 3.

Jauhar, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 314.

Jauharan, a term of Muslim theology, 614 n 2.

Jaun, the,—a name of the river Jumna, 23 n 3, 24 n 4. Called also the Jon (q v).

Jaunān, original name of Sulṭān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh, 329 n 2.

Jaunānpūr, origin of the name Jaunpūr 329 n 2

Jaunpūr, town of, 185, 329 and n 2, 348 n 10, 359, 361, 363 and n 2, 364 and n 3, 387 n 2, 400, 403 and n 7, 404 and n 2, 408, 409 and n 8, 411 n 2, 413, 414, 415, 417, 420 and n 8, 430, 444, 445, 446, 451, 456, 457, 459, 467, 471 and n 1, 477, 508, 552.

Jausā,—or

Jausah, a village on the bank of the Ganges, 459 and n 4, 462 and n 3.

Jauz, 535. See under *Jauzu māṯil*.

Jauzhar, the head and tail of Draco, 162 and **n 4**, 193 and *n* 1.

Jauzu māṯil, or Datura, a narcotic and intoxicant, 535 and **n 2**.

Java, 303 *n*.

Jawahiru-l-Khamsa, the,—name of a book, 459 *n* 2.

Jawālamukhī, an idol temple of Nagarkot, 331 and *n* 9.

Jawālāpūr, for the ford of Miāpūr on the Ganges, 131 *n* 1.

Jawānghār,—or

Jawāngul, left wing of a Turkish army, 439 *n* 4

Jawārī, the small variety of millet, 549 and *n* 14

Jawzahr, the head and tail of Draco, 162 and **n 4**, 193 and *n* 1.

Jazari, Ibn Aṣīr, author of the *Kāmilu-t-Tawārīkh*, 624 *n* 8.

Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar, an island of the Tigris above Mosul, 624 *n* 8

Jerusalem, 105 *n* 2, 151 *n* 2, 368 *n* 1, 613 *n*.

Jesuits, the 130 *n* 1

Jews, the, 30 *n* 1, 279 *n*, 600 *n* 9.

Jeypore State, the, 395 *n* 3. See under Jaipūr.

Jhāban, town, 379 *n* 2. Probably Jhāin (*q. v.*) is intended.

Jhāin, a city near Rantanbhor, better known as Naushahr, **257** and *n* 1, 259, 283, 379 and *n* 2. Called elsewhere Chhāin (*q v.*).

Jhajhar, town of, 325 *n* 3.

Jhālawān, a district of Balūchistān, 48 *n* 4.

Jhelam; the,—or

Jhelum, the, one of the rivers of the Panjāb, 19 *n* 4, 23 *n* 3, 44 *n* 6, 89 *n* 5, 128 *n* 3, 355 *n* 1, 392. Called also the Jhilam.

Jhilam, river, the, 44 *n* 6 See the Jhelum.

Jhīlam, town of, 389, 390

Jhīlam, a District of the Panjāb, 437 *n* 8

Jhosī, a town near Allahabad, 415 *n* 4

Jhunjhnū, a town in Rājputāna, 69 *n* 2

Jidjer, the,—the river Jahjar, 325 *n* 3.

Jiglī, Abū Muḥammad 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, the Khaṭīb of Samarqand, 159 *n*

Jihād, holy war in defence of Islām, 293 and **n 4**, 356 *n* 4.

Jihāds, the two—, 191 *n* 4

Jihādu-l-Akbar, or the greater warfare, 191 *n* 4.

Jihādu-l-Aṣghar, or the lesser warfare, 191 *n* 4

Jīhūn, the,—the Oxus 38 *n* 2, 165 and *n* 1, 203. Called also the Jaiḥūn (*q v*)

Jī Jī Anāgah, wet-nurse of Prince Akbar, 568 *n* 6

Jilaudār, an attendant to run beside the horse, 503 and *n*.

Jildu, a Turki word in the sense of *in'am* or reward, 596 *n* 6.

Jin, 593 *n* 9

Jirm, the separate members of the body, 630 *n* 6

Jirm-i-Qamar, rays of the moon, 630 and *n* 6.

Jital, an imaginary division of the *dām*, 499 *n* 3.

Job, Book of, 198 *n* 2, 630 *n* 4.

Jodhpūr, a city of Rājputānā, 379 n 1, 512, 563.
Jodhpūr State, in Rājputānā, 379 n 1.
John, St., the Gospel of, 146 n 6.
Jomanes, the,—a name of the river Jumna, 24 n 6.
Jon, the,—a name of the river Jamuna or Jumna, 24 and n 4, 25, 541. See also the Jaun.
Jones, Sir William, 76 n.
Joseph, the Patriarch, 89, 115 and n 2, 217.
Joshua, the son of Nun, 373 n.
Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 186 n 6, 191 n 3, 324 n 6, 325 n 3, 326 n, 516 nn 1, 3 and 7, 609 n 3
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 16 n 2, 33 n 1, 47 n 2, 59 n 1, 87 n 1, 103 n 1, 109 n 4, 115 n and n 3, 141 n 4, 330 n 7, 479 n 7, 571 n 2
Jūd hills, the, 128 and n 3, 185, 186, 221. See also under the Koh-i-Jūd
Jūd tribe, the,—one of the two tribes inhabiting the Jūd hills, 128 n 3.
Juhar or *Jauhar*, a rite of self-sacrifice, 397 n 1, 422, 476.
Jukī Bahādur Uzbakī, one of the Amīrs of Mirzā 'Askarī, 568 n 1.
Jūlāha, a weaver, 528 n 1.
Juldū, a Turki word in the sense of *in'ām* or reward, 596 n 6.
Jūlga, a dale, 438 n 7.
Julius Cæsar, 76 n.
Jumlatu-l-Mulk, chief finance-minister of the State, 625.
Jumna, the, 24 nn 4 and 6, 122 n 1, 220, 227, 228, 231, 235, 244, 325 and n 3, 326 and n, 327 n 5 See also under the Jamna.
Jūnā Khān, or Jūnān Khān, Governor of Shamsābād under Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī, 403 and nn 4 and 5, 404 n 2.
Jūnā Shāh, or Jūnān Shāh, *Khān-i-Jahān*, son of Malik Qubul, one of the Maliks of Sultān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 333, 336 n 5, 337 n 7
Junaid, the famous Muḥammadan Saint, 59 n 1.
Junaid Birlās, Sulṭān, of the Amīrs of Bābar, Governor of Karra and Mānikpūr, 439, 446, 468, 469.
Junaidī, the Wazīr Niẓāmu-l-Mulk, of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 90, 98, 120 and n 1.
Jundī (Junaidī), the Wazīr, 120 and n 1 See the above.
Junūbī,—or
Junūnī Badakhshī, Maulānā, the enigmatist, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 605 and n 5
Jupiter, notes on the planet, 78 and n 2, 151 n 4, 154 n 4, 630 n 2
Jureah canal, the,—a canal leading from the Sutlej, 325 n 3
Jurjān, the capital of Khwārazm, 23 n 1, 34 n 2, 52 n 5. Called also Gargang.
Jurjān, Sea of,—the Caspian, 153 n 1.

K.

Ka'bah, the, 12 n 2, 97 n 4, 368 n 1, 584, 585, 612, 613 n, 624.

***Kabak*, 623 and n 1.**

Ka'batain, the Temples of Mecca and Jerusalem, 151 n 2.

Kabīr, Amīru-l-Umarā Malik Mubārak, of the Amīrs of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty, 342 and n 1.

Kabīr Khān Sulṭānī, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 98 and n 2.

Kābul, territory and town of, 13 n 1, 14 n 3, 46 n 1, 49, 132 n 6, 359, 388, 390, 435, 436, 443, 446, 448, 465, 466, 500, 501, 530, 559, 567, 568, 573, 575, 576, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582 and n 7, 584 and n 3, 585, 590, 591, 604, 617, 618, 632.

Kachha, one of the fords of the Jamna, 406 n 6 Called also Kicha

Kachhan, Malik, called Itimar or Himār, one of the Amīrs of Sultan Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban, 220, 226.

Kadba name of a country, probably Garha-Katanka, 433 n 3.

Kāothar, the district of Rohilkhand, 131 n 4. Called also Kāithar (q v), Katihar, and Kaithal (q v).

***Kāf*, 615 n 5.**

***Kāfir*, a Non-Muslim, 576 n 5, 577 n.**

***Kāfiyah* of Ibnu-l-Hājib, a famous treatise on Grammar, 428 and n 6, 437 and n 2.**

Kafsh 'Alī, a common name among the Shī'ah, 604.

***Kaftan*, cutting or cleaving, 615 n 5**

Kāfūr Hazār Dīnārī, name of Malik Mānik, slave of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 251 and nn 3 and 7, 256. Called also Kāfūr Nāib (q. v.).

Kāfūr Nāib, called Hazār Dīnārī, name of Malik Mānik, slave of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 251 and nn 3 and 7, 265 and n 1.

***Kahf, Sūratu-l-*, name of a Chapter in the Qur'ān, 207 n 1.**

Kahfu-d-Daulat wa-l-Islām, one of the titles of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 29

Kāhī, Maulānā Qāsim, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 584 and nn 1 and 3, 601.

Kāhī Kābulī, Miyān, 584 n 2. Same as Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī, *see* the above.

Kahwar, town of,—now known as Shamsābād, N.-W. P., 377 and n 8.

Kaikāūs, one of the ancient Kings of Persia, 43 n 1, 216.

Kai Kāūs, son of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kai-Qubād of the Balbanī dynasty, 227, 230 n 1. Same as Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Kai Kāūs.

Kai Khusrau, one of the ancient Kings of Persia, 116 n 4

Kai Khusrū, son of sulṭān Muhammad, son of Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban, 213, 219, 220 n 2, 222, 224 He was called by the title of Khusrū Khān.

Kai Qubād, Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn, son of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān, of the Balbanī dynasty, 185 n and n 1 213, 219, 220 and n 2, 221 224, 230 n 1

Kaiqubād, one of the ancient Kings of Persia, 595

Kaiqubād, son of Sulṭān Muhammad, son of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 218.
Kairwān or Qairawān, the ancient Cyrene, in the province of Tunis, 167 *n* 4.
Kaithal or Katilal a village in the neighbourhood of Dihlī, 121 *n* 8, 181 and *n* 5, 294 *n* 6.
Kaithal, the country of Kaithar (*q. v.*), 335 and *n* 9.
Kaithar country, the district of Rohilkhand, 185 and *n* 2 335 and *nn* 5 and 9, 359 and *n* 4 365 375, 377, 379, 380, 384, 385, 387 Called also Kāethar (*q v.*), Katībar or Kateher and Kaithal.
Kaithar, the river of, 387
Kaitharis, the, 185 and *n* 3.
Kaiumours (or Kaikāūs), son of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād of the Balbanī dynasty, 230 *n* 1.
Kaiwān, the planet Saturn, 582 *n* 1
Kajak, the hook in the game of *qabac andâzī*, 621 *n* 5.
Kajwi Khatrī, a *protégé* of the Mubārak Shāhī family, 393 and *n* 3, 394
Ka'k, or Cakes, origin of the name of Ka'kī (*q v.*), 92 *n* 2.
Ka'kī, a name of the famous saint Khwāja Quṭbu-d-Dīn Ūshī, 92 *n* 2
Kālā Bhār Shaikh Muḥmmad Farmalī, nephew of Sulṭān Buhlul Lodī, 411 *n* 2, 413 *n* 13
Kālā Bhār, or Kālā Pahār, brother of Sikandar Sūr (*q. v.*), 544 and *n* 1.
Kalān Beg, Khwāja, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 439, 448 453, 455, 456, 462, 465.
Kalānor or Kālānor, fort of, 305, 324, 383 and *n* 8 See also Kalānūr.
Kalānūr, town of, 436, 437. See also under Kalānor.
Kalān want,—or
Kalāwat-wat, a Hindī word meaning a singer or musician, 557 and *n* 1.
Kālā Pahār. See under Kālā Bhār, brother of Sikandar Sūr.
Kālāpānī, the,—a river lying between the Jumna and Ganges, 360 and *n* 3, 386 *n* 8 Called also the Kālī Nadī or Kālinī (*q v.*).
Kalārchal, mountains of,—the mountains of Sirinor, 307 *n* 4.
Kalāwant, a singer or musician, 557 *n* 1. See *Kalān-wat*.
Kal Chandar, governor of the fortress of Mahāwun on the Jon, at the time of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn's invasion, 24 and *n* 5.
Kālewar, fortress of, 95, 258 *n* 4, Same as the fortress of Gwalior.
Kālī, the goddess, 484 *n* 1.
Kālichar, for the fortress of Kalinjar, 461 *n* 4.
Kālidāsa, the famous poet, 95 *n* 6
Kālī Kābulī, Miyān, 584 *n* 3. See under Kāhī Kābulī.
Kalikavartta, town, 24 *n* 6.
Kalilah and *Damnah*, the famous book of Fables, 56.
Kalimah, the Muḥammadan creed, 446 and *n* 5, 447.
Kālī Nadī, the, 360 *n* 3, 378 *n* 1. Called also the Kālāpānī (*q v.*), and the Kālinī (*q. v.*)
Kālindī, the, 378 *n* 1. Same as the Kālī Nadī (*q v.*).
Kālinī, the,—a river between the Jumna and Ganges, 360 *n* 3, 378 *n* 1, 386 and *n* 8. See the Kālī Pānī

Kālinjar, fortress of, 25 and n 5, 26, 35, 36, 451, 471 and n 3, 481 n 5, 482, 486.

Kālī Pānī, the,—a name of the river Biāh, 251, 386 n 8. See the Kālinī.

Kali-Sind, the,—a tributary of the Chambal river, 385 n 3.

Kālpī, district and town of, 375, 393, 394, 408, 409, 411 n 2, 414, 422 n 4, 423, 430, 431, 443, 446, 463, 526, 541, 548, 549, 552, 555

Kamāl Khān, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh of the dynasty of the Saiyyids, 384.

Kamāl, Rāi, governor of Talarndī 382 n 1. Same as Kamālu-d-Dīn Mubīn (*q. v.*).

Kamālu-d Daulah Sherzād, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Mas'ūd, son of Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, 55 and n 2.

Kamālu-d-Dīn, a *protégé* of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 338

Kamālu-d-Dīn 'Alī Shāh Quraishī, grandfather of Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyā, 133 n 2.

Kamālu-d-Dīn Garg,—or

Kamālu-d-Dīn Kark, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 265, 267, 282

Kamālu-d-Dīn Mubīn, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 352, 362, 382, and n 7.

Kamālu-d-Dīn Nāib-i-Lashkar, 393 and n 1. See under Kamālu-l-Mulk.

Kamālu-d-Dīn, Qāẓī,—one of the Qāẓīs of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh of Dihlī, 128 n

Kamālu-d-Dīn Ṣadr-i-Jahān, Qāẓī,—one of the Qāẓīs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 318.

Kamālu-d-Dīn Ṣūfī, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 291.

Kamālu-d-Dīn Sulaimān, son of Farrukh Shāh of Kābul, 182 n 6.

Kamālu-l-Mulk, Maliku-sh-Sharq, the *Nāib-i-Lashkar*, one of the Maliks of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 393 and n 1, 395, 396, 397, 398.

Kamāngar, Maulānā Zainu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd, of the Naqshbandī Shaikhs, 583 and n 4

Kāmil fi-t-Tārīkh,—or

Kāmilu-t-Tawārīkh of Ibn Asīr Jazarī, a general History, 624 and n 8.

Kamkhāb, 588 n 4.

Kāmrān, country of, 83.

Kāmrān Mīrzā, brother of Humāyūn, 453, 456, 462, 464, 465, 494, 500, 501, 502, 503, 567, 574, 578, 579, 580, 581 and n 3, 582 and n 7, 583 and n 3, 584 and n 3, 585, 586, 588, 606 n 3.

Kāmrān Mīrzā, grove of,—outside Lāhor, 494

Kāmrūd, country of, 84 and n and n 1, 86, 87, 135.

Kanbhāyat (Cambay), in Gujarāt, 311 n 3, 454 and n 6.

Kanbū, Shaikh Samā'u-d-Dīn, one of the Ulamā of the time of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 411 and n 9

Kandama, fortress of, called also Gandaba, 28 n 4

Kandarkhī, township of, 545.

Kandhū, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 416 n 9.

Kāngra, town, 331 *n* 3

Kāngū Khatrī, a *protégé* of the Mubārak Shāhī family, 393 and *n* 3, 396.

Kanhaiyā, one of the names of Krishna, 478 *n* 7.

Kanhaiyā, minister and agent of Rāi Māldeo, the ruler of Nagor and Jaunpūr, 478 and *n* 7, 479 and *n* 6

Kanhar Dev, governor of the fort of Jālor in the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 265

Kānī, a coin, 87 *n* 1.

Kanī, name of a place, 548 *n* 3.

Kanjūī Khatrī, 393 *n* 3. See under Kajwī Khatrī

Kanpilah, town of, 81 and *n* 4, 185 and *n* 1, 363, 377 and *n* 4. 384, 407.

Kansa, Rājā, of Mathra,—the enemy of Krishna, 24 *n* 6.

Kānt, town in the Shāhjahānpūr District, N.-W P, 546 and *n* 8.

Kānthar, country of, 185 *n* 2. See Kaithar

Kan'it, one of the fords of the Ganges, 416 and *n* 3.

Kānt-o-Golah, country of, 546 and *n* 8, 598 and *n* 8

Kanyā, or Kanhaiyā, minister of Rāi Māldeo, 479 and *n* 6

Kanz-i-Fiqh, the,—a work on Muhammadan Law, 515

Kapak, the Mughal, invades Multan in the reign of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 252 and *n* 3

Kapanak, a felt garment, 628 *n* 1.

Kapisthala, the village of Kaithal (*q v*), 121 *n* 8

Karāchī, 67 *n* 1.

Karāchī district, 560 *n* 8.

Karāchil, mountains of,—the mountains of Sirinor, 307 *n* 4.

Kara-Kanka, or Garha-Katanka, country of, 433 and *n* 3.

Kara-Katanka, country of, 433 and *n* 3, 554. Called also Garha Katanka (*q v*)

Kara Khiṭāī, the, 103 *n* 3.

Karamanians, the,—a sect of false religionists, 30

Karamat, a miracle performed by a pious person, 625, 626 **n.**

Karan, Rāi, of Gujerāt,—contemporary of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d Dīn Khiljī, 255, 256

Karāsu river, the, 360 *n* 3, 386 *n* 8 Same as the Kālā Pānī or Kālinī (*q v*)

Karīwān, a province of Central Asia, 43 *n* 4.

Karbalā, town of, 205 and **n 1**, 481 *n* 8, 622 *n* 3, 623 *n* 6

Kardiz, a district lying between Ghazna and Hindustān, 66 and *n* 1.

Karimu-l Mulk Auhadi, Malik, brother of Shams Khan Auhadi of Baiāna, 378

Karmat (Qarmat), founder of the Karmatian sect of Muslim heretics, 21 *n* 1.

Karmatians, the,—an heretical sect founded by Karmat (Qarmat), 21 and **n 1**, 66.

Karnāl, town of, 121 *n* 8 325 *n* 3, 326 *n*, 327 *n* 3.

Karnama, record of deeds, 605.

Karnāmah-i-Balkh, one of the works of Hakim Sanāī, the famous poet, 56 *n* 2.

Karpattar town of, 85 *n* 1.

Karra, district and town of,—on the river Ganges, 125 and n 1, 129, 221 and n 3, 229, 231, 232, 236, 237, 238, 239, 241, 243, 247 n, 249, 258, 328, 329 and n 3, 330, 335, 341 n 1, 349, 411 n 2, 415 and n 7, 432, 433, 434, 468

Karra Mānikpūr, district of, 411 n 2.

Karrānī Afghāns in Bangāla, the, 541.

Kas, fortress of, 570 n 7. See under Kash.

Kasam Kūr, same as the town of Shamsābād, 232.

Kash, fortress of, otherwise known as Nakhshab in Māwarāu-n-Nahr, 570 and n 7.

Kashghar, country of, 443, 448.

Kāshif, enigma on this name, 450.

Kashlū Khān, title of Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn Balban-i-Buzurg (*q v*), 130

Kashmir, 8, 20, 22, 26, 36 and n 1, 381, 383 n 2, 465, 495, 498, 500, 530 and n 5, 589.

Kashmir pass, the, 22.

Kashmir *Shāls* (Shawls), 589 and n 7.

Kashmiris, the, 22, 465, 495, 500.

Kashshāf, a celebrated commentary on the Qur'ān by az-Zamakhsharī, 28 n 1.

Kashshāf Iṣṭilāḥāti-l-Funūn, 4 n 1, 5 n 4, 31 n, 142 n 1, 145 n 1, 162 n 4, 163 n 1, 193 n 1, 374 nn 5 and 7, 614 n 2, 625 n 6, 626 n.

Katah, a bamboo shaft, 537 n 2.

Kaṭauba, one of the dependencies of Patna, 415 n 3.

Kateher, the district of Rohilkhand, 185 n 2, 359 n 4, 408 n 4. See under Kaithar.

Katehr, country of, 408 n 4. See the above.

Kath, catechu, 302 n 6.

Katiba-bāgh, 587 and n 2.

Kātibī, a poet of the time of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 245.

Katībal, a village in the vicinity of Dihlī, 121 and n 8.

Kaṭihar, country of, 121 n 4. See under Kaithar.

Katit, one of the fords of the Ganges, 416 and n 3.

Katlū, original name of Khān-i-Jahān Malik Maqbūl or Qubūl (*q v.*), 337 n 7.

Katoch, the Rājput kingdom of, 382 n 4.

Kausar, name of a river in Paradise, 3 n 1, 485 and n 2.

Kawīl Khān Ghakkar, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 490, 491.

Kawārān, the,—or

Kawāra, the,—a tribe of the Hindūs, 122 and n 1, 231 and n 5, 493.

Keith Johnson's *Royal Atlas*, 417 n 7, 419 n 6, 420 n 5, 567 n 1, 570 n 7.

Kelardjek, mountains of,—the mountains of Sirmor, 307 n 4.

Keraulī, town, 420 n 5.

Kerbelā, town of, 205 and n 1, 481 n 8, 622 n 3, 623 n 6.

Kesh, a town in Bokhārā (Māwarāu-n-Nahr), 570 n 7.

Ketu, one of the Daityas in Hindū mythology and in astronomy the descending node, 163 n 2.

Khaberān, a district of Khurāsān, 43 n 2.

Khāf.—or

Khāf, a district and town in Khurāsān, called also Khawāf, 609 n 5.
Khāfī, Shaikh Zainu-d-Dīn, one of the poets of the time of Bābar and Humāyūn, 609 and n 5
Khāfī, Zainu-d-Dīn, a famous saint, 609 n 5
Khaibaris, the, 214.
Khairābād, a town built by Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, 52
Khairu-d Dīn Khān, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Khiẓr Khān and Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 380, 390
Khairu-d-Dīn Tuhfa, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh, of the Saiyyid dynasty, 386
Khaizurān, a cemetery at Baghdād, 59 n 1
Khajand, a town in Khurāsān, 38 n 4
Khākī, author of a *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh*, 11 n 1.
Khalīfa, Amīr, prime minister of Bābar, 451.
Khalīfahs, the Four rightly-guided 3 and n 6, 128, 151 n 3, 156 and n 2, 626 n 1
Khalīfahs of Baghdād, the, 17
Khalīl, Shaikh, of the descendants of Shaikh Farīd Ganj-i-Shakkar, contemporary of Sher Shāh, 460, 482.
Khāliṣkol, town of, 355 nn 1 and 3.
Khāliṣ Kotalī, town, 355 n 1.
Khalj, etymology of the name, 230 and n 4
Khalj, son of Yāfis, son of Nūḥ (Noah), 231.
Khalj, tribe, See under Khilj.
Khallikān. See under Ibn Khallikān.
Khamārtāsh, commander-in-chief of Khwārazm at the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 28.
Khambāt (Cambay), 454 n 6. See Khambhāt.
Khambha, the pool of Mahadeva, 256 n 4, 454 n 6.
Khambhāt, a port of Gujerāt, 256 n 4, 454 n 6.
Khamsa of Amīr Khusru, a collection of five of his works, 269 and n 5.
Khamsa of Shaikh Niẓāmī, 269 n 5, 298 n 4.
Khamūsh, Malik, a name of Malik Asadu-d-Dīn ibn Yaghrash Khān, uncle's son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 283.
Khān, title of the subordinate princes of the Chaghatai and other Chingīzī lines, 145 n 2
Khānazād, a slave born in the house, 334 n 1
Khandhār, fortress of, 445
Khandī Rāī, brother of Rāī Pithūra, the ruler of Ajmīr, 69, 70
Khān-i-'Ālam, governor of Mīwāt,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 419 and n 2.
Khān-i-A'ẓam, title of Saiyyid Khān, son of Saiyyid Sālim—one of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 396.
Khān i-Buzurg, Qāān-i-Mulk, Sulṭān Muhammad, son of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 217
Khān-i-Ghāzī, Sulṭān Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu d-Dīn Balban, 191.
Khān-i-Jahān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 406, 407.

Khān-i-Jahān, Ḥusain Khān, ibn-i-Khān-i-Jahān, one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 407, 411, **416**. Called Khān-i-Jahān Lodī.

Khān-i-Jahan Jūnā or Jūnān Shāh, son of Malik Qabūl or Maqbūl,—one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 333, 336 and *n* 5, **337** and *n* 7.

Khān-i-Jahān Lodī,—one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 407, 411, **416**.

Khān-i-Jahān Lodī,—one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 435.

Khān-i-Jahān Lūhānī, Governor of Rāprī,—one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 430 and *n* 7.

Khān-i-Jahān, Malik Firūz 'Alī, the Wazir, son of Malik Tāju-d-Dīn,—one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Firoz Shāh, 342 and *n* 2.

Khān-i-Jahān, Malik Qabūl or Maqbūl, the Vazir,—one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Firoz Shāh, 324, 328, 333, 337 *n* 7.

Khān-i-Jahān, Malik Sarwaru-l-Mulk,—one of the Amirs of the Saiyyid dynasty, 395. See under Sarwaru-l-Mulk.

Khān-i-Jahān, Malik Shāhik Bārbak, one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Kaiqubād Balbanī, 221.

Khān-i-Jahān, the Vazir, 336. See under Khān-i-Jahān Jūnā Shāh.

Khān-i-Jahān, the Vazir, 333. See Khān-i-Jahān Malik Qubūl.

Khān-i-Jahān, the Wazir,—one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Firoz Shāh, 342 and *n* 2.

Khān-i-Khānān Bairām Khān, one of the great Amirs of Humāyūn, 447. See under Bairām Khān.

Khān-i-Khānān, son of Daulat Khān Lodī, 485 and *n* 9, 486, 487

Khān-i-Khānān-i-Dihlī, one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 411 *n* 7.

Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī, one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 411 and *n* 7, 412 *n* 2, 414, **418**.

Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī, one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 434.

Khān-i-Khānān Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn Barāwar, brother of Khusrū Khān Barāwarbacha, 290, 293, 296.

Khān-i-Khānān, son of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 231, 232, 233.

Khān-i-Khānān Lūhānī, one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 419.

Khān-i-Khānān, Malik Buhlūl Lodī, afterwards Sulṭān Buhlūl, 402.

Khān-i-Khānān Mun'im Khān, one of the great Amirs of Humāyūn, 562.

Khān-i-Khānān Sarwānī, Governor of the fort of Ranthanbūr, 475.

Khān-i-Shahīd, Sulṭān Muhammad ibn Sulṭān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban, 187, 188 and *n* 2, 199 *n* 3, 205 *n* 2, 219, 220 and *n* 2.

Khān-i-Zamān 'Alī Qulī Shaibānī, son of Haidar Sulṭān Osbak-i-Shaibānī, one of the Amirs of Humāyūn, 592 and *n* 9. See under 'Alī Qulī Khān.

Khaupal, a township in the Doāb, 407 *n* 1.

Khans, a Chinese Emperor, 353 *n* 1.

Khānwah, a township in the vicinity of Baiāna, 549.

Khānzāda race, the rulers of Miwāt, 366 n, 398, 447.

Khāqān, title of the supreme sovereign of the Moguls, 145 n 2, 232 and n 5.

Khāqān Manūchihr, Shirwān Shāh, patron of the poet Khāqānī, 583 n 4.

Khāqānī, the famous Persian poet, 137, 339 n 4, 583 and n 4, 584 n.

Khāqānī Shirwānī, Ḥakīm, 339 n 4 See the above.

Khārā, brackish water, 345 n 2.

Kharābābād, City of Ruin, 393.

Kharās, Maulānā Ḥasan ʻAlī, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 587.

Kharazat, shell for polishing, 620 n 1.

Khārī, brackish water, 345 n 2.

Khār-i-ʻAqrab, a name of the planet Mars, 195 n 1.

Khārijis, a sect of Muḥammadan heretics, 157 and n 2

Khār-i-Mughailān, a thorny tree, 624 n 1.

Kharisur, country of, 468 n 2.

Kharkū, the chief of Kaithar at the time of Sultān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 335 nn 5 and 7

Khartang, a villege near Samarqand, 6 n 3.

Khas, a fragrant grass, 411 n 1.

Khas Khas tatties, 411 n 1.

Khaṣṣ-i-Khail, Chief of Cavalry, 439

Khatampūr See under the township of Kūra Khātampūr.

Khatā See under Khiṭā

Khatanī musk, 426.

Khathai, the country of Khiṭā (Cathay), 143 n 4, 147 n 1.

Khaṭīb, Al-,—the Historian of Baghdād, 17 n 2.

Khaṭībpūr, town of, 389 n 3.

Khaṭiru-d-Dīn, Khwāja-i-Jahān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Kaiqubād Balbanī, 220, 222.

Khatra, country of, 408 n 4

Khatrī family, the,—protégés of the Mubārak Shāhī family, 393 and n 3, 397.

Khaṭṭ, meanings of the word, 615 n 5.

Khaṭṭ-i Bābarī (the Bābarī script), invented by Emperor Bābar, 450.

Khaṭṭu, a village near Nāgor, 357 n 3.

Khaulah, wife of ʻAbdu-llah ibnu-z-Zubair, the Khalīfah of al-Ḥijāz, 287 n 2.

Khawāf, a district and town in Khurāsān, 609 n 5.

Khawāfī, Zainu-d-Dīn. See under Khāfī

Khawārij, the,—a sect of Muḥammadan heretics, 157 n 2.

Khawāriqu-l-ʻĀdat, meaning of the expression, 424 n 9

Khawāṣpūr, a dependency of Rohtās, 466, 468, 512.

Khawāṣṣ Khān, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 418, 419.

Khawāṣṣ Khān, servant of Sher Shāh of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 457, 468, 474, 486, 487, 488, 489, 492, 493, 494, 495, 512, 525, 537.

Khāwind Naqshbandī, Khwāja, contemporary of Bābar, 446.

Khazāinu-l-Futūḥ, known also as the *Tārīkh-i-ʻAlāī*, 252 and n 1, 266.

Khili, the betel in the form it is offered for sale, 303 *n*.

Khilj, the,—a Turkish tribe of Ghūr, 81 *n* 2, 86, 88 *n* 1, 191, 230 *n* 1, 231.

Khilji, son of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Din Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, 69.

Khilji, Rāo, Governor of the fort of Bhaṭ at the time of Tīmūr's invasion, 355 *n* 4

Khiljī Sulṭāns, the, 475

Khiljis, the. See under the tribe of Khilj

Khing bud, or the white idol, one of two enormous images in Bāmiān, 46 *n* 1.

Khirad Nāma, one of the works of Maulānā Jāmī, 272 *n* 1

Khiri, a flower, 173 and *n* 3.

Khiṭā (Cathay), country of, 125, 143 and *n* 4, 170, 172 *n* 2, 232 *n* 5.

Khiṭāb, the Afghān, Malik,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 335

Khiṭai Kings of Turkistān, 71 and *n* 7

Khiẓr, the Prophet, 92 *n* 2, 267, 282, 372 and *n* 3 373 *n*, 485 and **n 1.**

Khiẓr Khān, son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Din Khilji, 256, 258 266, 267 and *n* 1, 268 272, **275**, 276, 281, 283, 284

Khiẓr Khān, Masnad-i 'Ālī, ibn Malik-u-sh Sharq ibn Malik Suleimān,—first of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihli, 335, 343, 352, 358, 359, 360, 362, 363, 364, 365 and *n* 4, **375**, 376 378, 379 and *n* 2, 380, 381 and *n* 3, 384, 388 and *n* 1, 395 400 *n*, 400.

Khiẓr Khān, Saiyyid, son of Malik Mubārak,—one of the Amīrs of Masnad-i-'Ālī Khiẓr Khān, of the Saiyyid dynasty, 378.

Khiẓr Khān, son of Muḥammad Khān Gauria, Governor of Kor, assumes the title of Sulṭān Muḥammad Bahādur, 556.

Khiẓr Khān Sarak, one of the commanders of Shir Shāh, 474.

Khiẓr Khwāja Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyun, 591.

Khiẓrābād, a name of Chitor, 258.

Khocares, the, 129 *n* 1. See the Khūkhars

Khondī, Shāh Ṭāhir, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 626 *n* 6. See under Shāh Ṭāhir.

Khoozdār, town of, 48 *n* 4. See under Kusdar.

Khor, otherwise known as Shamsābād, 384 and *n* 4

Khorāsān. See under Khurāsān

Khudādād, name of an elephant of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 25 and *n* 3

Khudādād, brother of Jalāl Khān Jilwānī, one of the Afghān Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 490.

Khudāwanda-i-Jahān, title of Shāh Turkān, mother of Ruknu-d-Din Fīroz Shāh, son of Sulṭān Shamsu d Din Iyal timish, 98 *n* 1

Khudāwandzāda Qiwāmu d Din, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 314.

Khūkhar Rāi, Chief of Kaithar, contemporary of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 335 and *n* 5.

Khūkhars, the,—a tribe of the Hindus, 67 and **n 3**, 72, 89, 121, 129 and **n 1**, 335.

Khulafā-e-Rāshidīn, the rightly-guided Khalīfahs, 3 and n 6
Khul Gāuw, one of the dependencies of Lakhnauti, 416.
Khulāf, signification of the word, 176 n 1.
Khumak, meaning of, 155 n 3.
Khūnzā, Bībī, Malika-i-Jahān, chief wife of Sulṭān Husain Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 409 and n 2
Khuran, Shaikh, one of the Hindūstānī Amīrs of Bābar, 444, 445.
Khurāsān, 12 n 1, 13 n 1, 14 n 1, 15, 16 and n 2, 27 n 1, 29 and n 6, 32 n 1, 34 n 2, 35 nn 1 and 2, 42 n 1, 45 n 2, 49, 51, 52 n 1, 55 n 3, 59 n 1, 62, 64, 65 n 2, 132, 167 n 3, 250, 272 n 1, 305, 310, 320, 321, 353, 443, 449, 569, 588, 609 n 5, 632
Khurram, Malik, the Vakīldar,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Jalālu-d Dīn Khiljī, 242.
Khurram, Malik, Ẓahīru-l-Juyūsh, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muhammad Toghlaq Shāh, 302
Khushanjar, Malik, 390 n 3. See Malik Khushkhabr.
Khushkhabr, Malik, the slave of Malik Sikandar, the Governor of Lāhor under the Saiyyids, 390 and n 3.
Khusrau Ghāzī, Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muhammad Sām Ghūrī, 75.
Khusrau Malik, son of Khusrau Shāh, the last of the Ghaznevide dynasty, 14, 62 and n 3, 63 and n and n 1, 64 n 1, 66, 67.
Khusrau Shāh, son of Bahrām Shāh, Ghaznawī, 61, 62 and nn 3 and 4, 63 n 1, 64 and n 1, 67.
Khusrū, an ancient king of Persia, 136, 216.
Khusrū, Amīr,—one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 437.
Khusrū, Amīr—or,
Khusrū, Mīr, the famous poet of Dihlī, 96 and n 2, 134 and n 4, 137, 187 and n 2, 188 n 5, 196 and n 1, 197 n 1, 205 n 2, 216, 221, 222, 223, 232, 245, 247 n, 251, 252 and n 3, 256, 264, 266, 267 n 1, 269 and n 5, 270 and nn 1 and 6, 271 and n 4, 273 nn 3 and 4, 274 n 1, 275 and n 1, 298, 301, 339, 340, 455, 610 n 4, 611 n.
Khusrū Dehlavī, Mīr, the poet. See the above
Khusrū Khān, Hasan Barāwar bacha, the favorite of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d Dīn Khiljī, 274, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 269, 297
Khusrū Khān, son of Sulṭān Ghiyāsu-d Dīn Balban, 219, 220 and n 3, See under Kaikhusrū
Khusrūābād, town of, 389
Khusrū-i-Shā'irān, Prince of Poets, title of Mīr Khusrū the famous poet of Dihlī, 269
Khusrū-o Shīrīn of Shaikh Niẓāmī the poet, being one of his Khamsah 298 n 4
Khusūf, an eclipse of the moon, 163 n 1.
Khuṭbah, public prayer in the name of the sovereign, 3 n 3, 15 and n 3, 83 and n 3
Khutpur town, 389 and n 3, 390 and n 5
Khutīā, Bībī, chief wife of Sulṭān Husain Sharqī, of Jaunpūr, 409 n 2.

Khuzā'a, a tribe of the Arabs, 28 n. 1.
Khuzdār, the capital of Jhālawān in Bilūchistān, 42 n 4.
Khwāja Amīr, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 446.
Khwāja Bāyazīd, eldest son of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 401 n 4, 410 n 1, 414.
Khwāja Ghiyās Vazīr, Salmān Sāwaji's *Qaṣīdah* in his honour, 605.
Khwāja Ḥājī, one of the Generals of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 265 n 6.
Khwāja-i-Jahān, Malik Aḥmad Aiyāz, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 304, 309, 313, 315, 323 and n 3, 328.
Khwāja-i-Jahān, Malik Khaṭīru-d-Dīn, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād of the Balbanī dynasty, 220, 222.
Khwāja-i-Jahān, Sulṭānu-sh-Sharq, one of the Maliks of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty, 348 and n 9, 359.
Khwāja Khiẓr, a ford on the river Jumna, 220.
Khwāja Khiẓr. See under Khiẓr, the Prophet
Khwāja Mu'aẓẓam, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 568.
Khwāja Rashīd Vazīr, Mīr Saiyyid Zu-l-fiqār Shirwānī's *Qaṣīdah* in his honour, 605.
Khwandgār, title of the Sulṭān of Rūm, 480.
Khwāndu, Shāh Ṭāhir, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 624 and n. 6. See under Shāh Ṭāhir.
Khwāndī family, the, 624.
Khwārazm, a country on both banks of the Oxus, 23 and n 1, 27 nn 1 and 2, 29, 71, 90, 133 n 2.
Khwārazm, Sea of,—the Lake Aral, 153 n 1.
Khwārazmians, the, 71, 90.
Khwārazm Shāh, 'Abbās ibn Māmūn, ruler of Khwārazm at the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 23.
Khwārazm Shāh Altūn Tāsh, an officer of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn whom he appoints governor of Khwārazm, 23.
Khwārazm Shāhī dynasty, the 23 n 1, 91 n 1.
Khyrābād, or Khairābād, in the Province of Multān, 389 n 4, 402, 548.
Kibār, an enigma on this name, 615 and n 5.
Kicha, fort of, in the vicinity of Dihlī, 364. See the next.
Kichā, a ford on the banks of the Jamna, 396, 406 and n 6 See the above.
Kīkar, the *Acacia Arabica*, 235 n 10, 550 n 1.
Kilan Rāī, the Rājā of Patiālī, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 413 n 8.
Kilī, town of, 250 nn 4 and 5, 311 and n 5.
Kilūghari or Kilūkhari, a suburb of Dehlī, 98 and n 3.
Kilūghari, Palace of, on the banks of the Jumna, called also the Mu'izzī palace, 220, 227, 228, 229, 231.
Kilūkhari. See under Kilūghari.
Kīmiyā, Alchemy, 244 and n 6.
Kings of Ghaznī, the, 16 n 2.
Kings of Lahore, of the Ghaznivide Dynasty, 13 n 1
Kīnja, a huge elephant, 364 n 1.

Kinkatah, fort of, one of the dependencies of Malot, 437 n 7.

Kinū, 411 n 9. See under Shaikh Samā'u-d-Dīn Kaubū.

Kiran, Rāi, ruler of Bhūnganw, contemporary of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 403 and n 5, 404 n 2.

Kirī, fortress of, 44 and n 8.

Kirmān, province of, 78 and n 3, 91.

Kisā'ī, Al-,—the celebrated Grammarian and Reader of the Qur'ān, 30 n 1.

Kishan, son of Basudev,—worshipped by the Hindūs as a divinity, 24, 28.

Kishan Rāi, the Rājā of Patiālī, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 413 n 8.

Kishlī Khān, title of Malik Chhajū, brother's son to Sulṭān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban, 227, 229, 230, 231. See also under Chhajū

Kishlū Khān, title of Bahrām Iba (q v), the adopted brother of Sulṭān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 297, 323 n 3

Kishwar Khān, son of Kishlū Khān Bahrām one of the servants at the Court of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 323 n 3

Kisrā, the Chosroes, title of the Kings of Persia, 145 and n 2

Kisti, fort of, 548 and n 3.

Kitābu-l-Milal wa-n-Nihal, Cureton's 22 n 3

Kittah Beg, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 458

Kizil Arslan, son of Ildigiz, one of the Atābaks of Āzarbaijān, 158 n 3.

Knight of the Seven Places, the seven labours of Isfandiyār, 108 and n 2.

Koela, called also Kola, country of, 231

Koh, town of, 261.

Koh-i-Jehoud,—or

Koh-i-Jūd, the mountainous region between Ghazna and Lahore, 15 and n 1, 128 n 3. See also under the Jūd hills.

Koh-i-Qāf, a fabulous mountain round the world, 485.

Kohpāya-i-Sanbūs, the Kumāon hills, 186 n 1.

Kōkā, the Rāni of Mālwā, contemporary of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 264 and n 4.

Koka, the Rāja of Mālwa, contemporary of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 264 n 4.

Kol, fort of, in the province of Agra, 70 and n 4, 98, 231, 363, 379.

Kol, *pargana* of, better known as Hawāli (q. v), 431 n 4.

Kola, called also Koela, country of, 231.

Koonbha, or Kanhaiyā (q v.), minister of Rāi Māldeo, 478 n 7.

Koorban festival, the, 488 n 5. See under 'Īdu-l-Qurbān.

Kor, country of, 556.

Kora, town in Fatḥpūr district, N-W. P, called also Kūra Khātampur (q v), 486 n 6.

Koram, for the country of Kuhrām (q v), 80 n 1

Korān See under the Qur'ān

Korān Sale's, 499 n 5

Kornish, a mode of salutation, 501 and n 7.

Kos, a measure of length, 132 *n* 3.

Kota, town of, 337 and *n* 1. Called also Mālikota.

Kotila of Mīwāt, 344 and *n* 7, 345, 347, 352, 381, 384 *n* 1. Called also Kotla and Kūtila (*q.v.*).

Kot Karor, fort of, 133 *n* 2.

Kotla, village of, 352. See also Kotila of Mīwāt.

Koṭlā, a Hindī word meaning 'a small fortress,' 344 *n* 7.

Kotwāl of Dihlī, Maliku-l-Umarā Fakhru-d-Dīn, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Qaiqubād of the Balbanī dynasty, 220 *nn* 2 and 3, 227, 229, 238, 260 *n* 2.

Kowah, the 329 *n* 2. Same as the Gumtī, which is also called the Godī (*q.v.*)

Krishna, the god of the Hindūs, 24 *n* 6, 478 *n* 7.

Kroh, from the Sanskrit *krosh*, a measure of length, 69 *n* 5, 132 *n* 3.

Krosa, an ancient measure of length, 132 *n* 3.

Krosh, 69 *n* 5. See under *Kroh*.

Kuch, province of, 91.

Kudāhna, for the town of Lūdhiāna, 382 *n* 2.

Kūfah, in Arabian 'Irāq, 12 *n* 1, 207 *n* 6.

Kufr, infidelity, 576 *n* 5, 577 *n*.

Kuhanbāyat, a well-known port of Gujrāt, 256 and *n* 4. See under Cambay.

Kuhl, used as a collyrium, 153 and *n* 3.

Kuhrām, a country of Hindūstān, 70, 80, 131, 395.

Kūkā, a *Zamīndār* of Mīwāt, contemporary of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 337 and *n* 3 See the next.

Kūkā Chūhān,—or.

Kūkāe Chauhān, a *Zamīndār* of Mīwāt, 337 and *n* 3. See under Kūkā.

Kūkī, Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 578, 581, 586.

Kū Kū, the song of the dove, 144 and *n* 1.

Kul Chand, governor of the fortress of Mahāwun, 24 *n* 5. See Kal Chandar.

Kul Chander Khākhar, one of the servants of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 309.

Kulindrine of Ptolemy, same as Jālandhar, the original capital of the Rājpūt kingdom of Katoch, 382 *n* 4.

Kullāh, a hat worn by men, 120 and *n* 7.

Kulliyāt of Shaikh Sa'dī of Shīrāz, 187 *n* 2

Kumāon hills, the, 186 *n* 1, 335, 379, 385 489, 490, 495.

Kūnch, one of the tribes between Tibet and Lakhnautī, 83 *n* 4. 84 *n*.

Kun fakāna, meaning in the technical language of Ṣūfī philosophy, 105 *n* 1.

Kuntīl, town of, 81 *n* 4. See Kuntilah.

Kuntilah, town of, the Kuntīl of the *Indian Atlas*, 81 *n* 4.

Kūnwar Rāi,—or

Kūrah, the ruler of Qanauj at the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn's invasion, 23 and *n* 4.

Kūra Khāṭampūr, township of, 486 and n 6, 489. See under Kora.

Kurkān, or Gurgān, a title applied to a prince who is allied by marriage with some mighty monarch, 353 n 1.

Kusdar, a town to the south of Bust, the present Khuzdār, 48 n 4.

Kushk Sabzī, a palace in the Suburbs of Dihli, 295 and n 10.

Kūshk-i-Sīrī, a palace outside Dihlī, 295 n 10.

Kusūf, an eclipse of the sun, 169 n 1.

Kūtila, town of, 358 n 4. See under Kotila of Miwāt.

Kūlam (Cavalum), in the country of Ma'bar or Coromandel, 265 n 5.

Kzsil Bāgh. See under the Qizil Bāgh.

L.

Lādan, resinous balsamic juice, 182 and n 1.

Ladar Mahādeo, Rāi, ruler of Tilang, contemporary of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 297, 299.

Laddar Dev, the Rāi of Arangal, contemporary of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 265 n 4.

Ladhar Mahādev, Rāi of Tilang. See under Ladar Mahādeo.

Lahār,—or

Lahāyar, a town in the vicinity of Gwāliār, 423 and n 5.

Lāhor. See under Lahore.

Lahore, 13 and n 1, 15 n 1, 26, 36 n 8, 37, 48, 54 and nn 1 and 2, 61, 62 and n 3, 63, 66, 67, 69, 72, 78, 79, 80, 81, 87, 88 n 1, 90, 91, 97, 98 n 2, 123, 130, 131, 186, 187, 188, 190, 191, 199, 221, 305, 309, 332, 347, 349, 358 and n 6, 359, 383, 389, 390, 391, 392 399, 435, 436, 437, 442, 453, 456, 462, 463, 464, 465, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 530, 590, 592 and n 6, 594, 596. The name is also written Lāhor.

Lahore, Kings of, 13 n 1

Lahore, river of,—the Rāvi, 128, 189, 190, 191, 465.

Lahori, a servant of the Mughūl, the captor of Mīr Khusrū, the famous poet, 196.

Lāaoris, the 592.

Lailī, the mistress of Majnūn, 620.

Lailī o-Majnūn of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī, 272 n 1.

Laili-o-Majnūn of Mīr Khusrū of Dihlī, 269 n 5

Laili-o-Majnūn of Shaikh Niẓāmī, 298 n 4

Lak-Bakhsh, *the bestower of lakhs*, surname of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 77 and n 4, 78.

Lakhmia, Rāi,—or

Lakminia, Rāi, the ruler of Nadiyā, contemporary of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 82 and n 5, 83 n 1.

Lakhnau, 411 n 2, 471.

Lakhnauti, the ancient capital city of Bengal, 81 n 2, 82 and n 3, 83 n 4, 84 n, 86, 87, 88 n 1, 91, 94, 125 and n 3, 132, 133, 135, 136, 216,

218, 219 and n 2, 221 n 3, 222, 223, 227, 228, 229, 240, 299, 301, 308, 309, 324, 327, 336, 341, 349, 416.
Lakshman Sen, son of Ballāl Sen, King of Bengal, 82 n 4.
Lakshmanāwati, original name of Lakhnautī (q. v.), 82 n 3.
Lakhmaniya, Rāi, the ruler of Nadiya, 83 n 1. See under Lakminia.
Lamīī, Maḥmūd bin Aṣmān, author of a Turkish romance on the loves of Wāmiq and 'Azrā, 40 n 1.
Lamghān, a town in the mountains of Ghaznah, 15 n 2.
Lamghānāt, the general name of a collection of places in the mountains of Ghaznah, 15 and n 2.
La'n, cursing, an element of faith with the Shī'ah, 636.
Lane's *Arabian Nights*, 148 n 1.
Lane's *Lexicon of the Arabic Language*, 2 n 1, 7 n 1, 8 n 4, 10 n 1, 142 n 3, 145 n 1, 147 n 3, 151 n 6, 162 n 4, 163 n 1, 176 n 1, 190 n 5, 194 n 5, 195 n 4, 198 n 2, 278 n 4, 371 n 5, 372 n 2, 412 n 1, 424 n 9, 426 n 9, 429 n 1, 441 n 2, 457 n 7, 516 n 2, 527 n 3, 548 n 14, 614 n 2, 622 n 4, 630 n 6.
Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, 177 n 4, 192 n 3, 503 n 2.
Langāhs, the tribe of, in Multān, 398.
Langana, a town at the junction of the Chināb and Rāvi, 355 n 1.
Laqwa or facial paralysis, notes on, 326 n 5.
Lār, the country of, on the coast of Guzerāt, 17 n 4.
Larās, Great—, town of, 326 n, 327 n 1.
Larās, Little—, town of, 326 n, 327 n 1.
Lārī Bandar, an ancient port of Sind, 67 n 1.
Lārjal, mountains of,—the mountains of Sirinor, 307 n 4.
Lāt, idol worshipped by the Arabs, 12 n 1, 110 n 3.
Laṭāif-i-Ghiyāṣī of Imām Fakhru-d-Dīn Razī, 78 and n 1.
Lazarus, brother of Martha and Mary, 198 n 2.
Le Strange's translation of Ibn Serapion, 571 n 2.
Letāif El-Ghiyāthiyeh, 78 n 1. See under *Laṭāif-i Ghiyāṣī*.
Leyden, Dr., translator of the commentaries of Bābar, 421 n 8.
Libra, sign of the Zodiac, notes on, 75 n 2, 76 n, 142 n 2.
Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 511 n 2, 609 n 3.
Life of Khwāja 'Alī Shaṭranjī, Aubadī's, 114 n 2.
Life of Mahomet, Muir's, 97 n 4, 105 n 2, 149 n, 216 n.
Ligh, a Turkī termination, 569 n 5.
Lily, notes on the, 100 n 5, 101 n 1.
Linnæus, 109 n 4.
Lion Dynasty of Orissa, called the Gajpatī or Lords of Elephants, 125 n 3.
Liq, *ligh*, *lāq* or *lāgh*, a Turkī termination, 569 n 5.
Lisānu-l-Mulk, author of the *Nāsikhu-t-Tawārīkh*, 154 n 8.
Little Larās, town of, 326 n, 327 n 1.
Lizard, story of a, 110 n 3.
Lobāb, the,—a geographical work, 30 n. See also under *al-Lubāb*.

Loch Awe, 301 *n* 3.
Lodī, Shaikh Ḥamīd, first ruler of Multān, 19 *n* 5.
Lodī family of Afghāns in Dihlī, 402, 411, 430, 443, 470.
Lodī party in Hindūstān, the, 407, 409, 412 *n* 2. See the above.
Logos, the, 374 *n* 5.
Lohar Kot,—or
Lohkot, name of a fortress in Kashmīr, 22 and *n* 7, 26.
Lohrī, township of, near to Bakkar, now called Rohri, 559 and *n* 6, 560.
Lōmasā, a Sanskrit name of the Indian Spikenard or *nard*, 374 *n*.
Lonā, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Khiẓr Khān, first of the Saiyyid dynasty, 375.
Lounī, 356 *n* 1. See under Lūnī.
Love-lies-bleeding, called *būstān afrūz*, 629 *n* 1.
Lowe's translation of the Second Volume of Badāonī's *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh*, 592 *n* 9.
Lower Bengal, 303 *n*.
Lubāb, a geographical work, 36 *n* 3. See also the *Lobāb*
Lubābu-l-Albāb, a Tazkira by Muḥammad Ūfī of Merv, 33 *n* 1.
Lubbu-t-Tawārīkh of Yaḥyā ibn 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf Qazwīnī Dimishqī, 34, 49 and *n* 3, 51, 624 and *n* 9.
Lubbu-t-Tawārīkh-i-Hind, 69 *n* 2.
Lud, a village of Palestine, 279 *n*.
Lūdhiāna, town of, 380 *n* 2, 382 and *nn* 2 and 3.
Ludhiānā District of the Panjāb, 590 *n* 5.
Ludhiāna river, the, 382.
Lūdiāna. See under Lūdhiāna.
Lūgh, a Turkī termination, 569 *n* 5.
Lūhānī Afghāns, the, 413 and *nn* 3 and 12, 444, 470 and *n* 2, 537 and *n* 5.
Luhrāsp, an ancient King of Persia, 35 *n* 2.
Luhrī, a township near Bakkar, now called Rohrī, 559 *n* 6.
Lū'ī, one of the fords of the Rāvī, 383 *n* 10.
Lūnī, a town near Dihlī, on a Doāb between the Jamna and the Halīn, 356 and *n* 1.
Lūq, a Turkī termination, 569 *n* 5.
Lūrak, the hero of a *Maṡnawī* in Hindī, lover of Chāndā, 333. See under Chandāban.
Lyall's *Introduction to Ancient Arabian Poetry*, 99 *n* 6.
Lyre, the constellation, 630 *n* 1.

M.

Ma'add ibn 'Adnān, ancestor of the Arabs of the Ḥijāz, 12 *n* 1.
Ma'ārik, battle-fields, 622 and *n* 6.
Ma'arrī, Abu-l-'Alā' Al- —, a famous Arab poet, 183 *n* 1.
Ma'bar, country of, (Coromandel), 261 *n* 5, 265 and *nn* 5 and 6, 283, 286, 309.
Macan, Mr. Turner, editor of the *Shāh-nāmah*, 88 *n* 1, 108 *n* 2, 116 *n* 5, 178 *n* 2, 207 *n* 7, 425 *n* 2.

Macbeth, Shakespere's, 115 *n* 4.

Machhligarh, township in Jaunpūr, 417 *n* 4.

Māchīn, country of, 147 and *n* 1.

Māchīn, son of Chīn, son of Japhet, 147 *n* 1

Māchīwāra, an ancient city on the banks of the Sutlej, in the Lūdhīāna District of the Panjāb, 380 n 2, 418 *n* 9, 590 and n 5.

Madā, one of the servants of Islem Shāh, of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 530.

Madad-i-ma'āsh, rent-free land, 424 and n 3, 496 and n 1, 509 and *n* 8, 520.

Madāin, the capital of the Sassanide dynasty of Persia, near Baghdād, 572 *n* 1.

Madan Khān, or Qadr Khān, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khiljī, of Mālwa, 399 *n* 1.

Madārān, name of a place, 99 *n* 2.

Madārik, the sources from which are sought the ordinances of the law, 429 and *n* 1.

Madda, the cross line over the *Alif mamdūdah*, 634 and *n* 1.

Mādhūgarh, for the fortress of Bāndhūgarh, 417 *n* 7.

Madrael, for the fortress of Mandrāyal (*q v*), 420 *n* 5.

Magadh, an ancient kingdom of Hindūstān, 82 *n* 1, 132 *n* 3

Maghlatī, Malik,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 233.

Maghrib, Sea of,—the Atlantic, 153 *n* 1.

Magians, the, 509 *n* 5.

Magic, notes on, 151 *n* 6, 459 *n* 2.

Mahāban, a fortress on the banks of the river Jon, 24 *n* 3.

Mahābat Khān, the Wālī of Badāon, under the Fīrūz Shāhī and Saiyyid dynasties, 375, 377, 379, 394 and *n* 2.

Maḥabbat, religious love or worldly affection, 576 *n* 5, 577 *n*.

Mahābhārata, the, 185 *n* 1, 380 *n* 2.

Mahā Chīn, country of, 147 *n* 1.

Mahādeo,—or

Mahādeva, the chief of the Hindū gods, 27 *n* 4, 256 *n* 4, 293 *n* 5, 454, *n* 6.

Mahākāl, name of the idol temple of Ujain, 95.

Māham Anaga or,—

Māham Anka, one of the wet-nurses of Akbar, 580 and *n* 5.

Mahandūrī river, the, 329 and *n* 7.

Maharashtra or Marhaṭ, country of the Marhattas, 265 *n* 4.

Mahāwan, a township on the Jamna, 444. See also the next.

Mahāwun, a fortress on the banks of the river Jon, 24 and *n* 3 See also the above.

Mahdawī Shaikh Mubārak of Nāgor (*q v*), 516

Mahdawīs, the,—the followers of Shaikh 'Alāī of Baiāna (q. v.), 520

Mahdawiyah, the—a sect of Muslim heretics, 626 and n 3.

Mahd-i-'Irāq, sister of Sulṭān Sinjar, and wife of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd, son of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, 55 n 4

Mahdī, the promised, 420 and *n* 8, 508, 512, 513, 514, 515 and n 4,

516, 517, 520, 522, 571 and nn 1 and 2, 589.

Mahdī Khwāja, Saiyyid, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 440, 444.

Mahdī, son of al-Manṣūr, the 'Abbāside Khalīfah, 75 n.

Mahdī, Mīr Saiyyid Muḥammad of Jaunpūr, 420 and n 8, 421.

Maḥdūda, Amīr, for Amīr Majdūd, son of Sulṭān Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 44 n 1.

Mah-dum, a kind of bird and a pigeon, 152 and n 8.

Maḥfil-shikan, *or the assembly router*, a title of the famous controversialist Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā, 71 n 2.

Maḥjaulī, a village in the Gorakhpūr District on the banks of the Gandak, 409 and n 5.

Maḥlīgarh, township in Jaunpūr, 417 and n 4

Maḥmoud Gasnavī, 66 n 7. See under Maḥmūd Ghaznawī.

Maḥmūd, one of the servants of Islem Shāh, of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 530

Mahmūd ibn Aṣmān Lamāī, author of a Turkish romance on the loves of Wāmiq and 'Azrā, 40 n 1.

Maḥmūd of Badāon, Saiyyid,—brother of Saiyyid Muḥammad, governor of Badāon under Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 335 n 6.

Maḥmūd of Bihār, Sulṭān, 485 n 7. See under Sulṭān Muḥammad of Bihār.

Maḥmūd Ghaznawī,—or

Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Sabuktigīn, 13 and n 1, **15**, 16 and nn 1 and 2, 17, 18, 19, 20 and n 4, 23 and nn 2 and 3, 24, 25, 26, 27 and n 4, 28 and n 4, 29 and **n 3**, 30 and **n 2**, 31 n, 32 and n 1, 33 and n 2, 35, 36 n 6, 44, 45 n 3, 50, 64 and n 1, 66 n 7, 72, 256, 310, 365 n 8.

Maḥmūd of Gujrāt, Sulṭān, contemporary of Islem Shāh of the Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 533, 534.

Maḥmūd Ḥasan, Maliqu-sh-Sharq, one of the Maliks of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 393 and n 11, 386, 387.

Maḥmūd ibn Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī Saiyyidu-s-Salāṭīn, 54 n 3.

Maḥmūd Khān, the son of 'Ādil Khān, son of Shīr Shāh Sūr, 477 and n 2, 490.

Maḥmūd Khān, son of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 297.

Maḥmūd Khān Lodī, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 414 n 2, 422 n 4.

Maḥmūd Khān, grandson of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn of Mālwa, 424 n 6.

Maḥmūd, Khān-i-Khānān, son of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 231, 232, **233**.

Maḥmūd Khiljī, Sulṭān of Mālwa, contemporary of the Lodī dynasty in Dihlī, 398, 399, 424 and n 4, 425, 432, 433.

Maḥmūd, father of Mīr Khusrū, the celebrated poet of Dihlī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 269 n 5.

Maḥmūd Mālwī, Sulṭān, 230. See under Maḥmūd Khiljī, the Sulṭān of Mālwa.

Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad ibn Sām ibn Ḥusain, 78. See Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī.

Maḥmūd Sālim, a servant of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 248.

Maḥmūd Shāh, 136 See Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh ibn Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish.

Maḥmūd Shāh, Sulṭān, ibn-i-Muḥammad Shāh ibn Fīroz Shāh, of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty of Dihlī, 348, 349, 350, 351, 354, 356, 357, 358 *n* 6, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365 and *n* 5, 366 and *n* 5, 367 and *n*, 368, 369, 370, 375, 376, 380

Maḥmūd Sharqī of Jaunpūr, Sulṭān, contemporary of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 402, 403 and *nn* 3 and 7, 420 *n* 8.

Maḥmūd, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, the ruler of Patna, 470, 471 and *n* 1.

Maḥmūd I, Sulṭān, 420 *n* 8. See Sulṭān Maḥmūd Sharqī of Jaunpūr.

Maḥmud Tarmatī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Maḥmūd Shāh of the Fīroz Shāhī dynasty, 363.

Maḥmūd ibn Tughlaq Shāh, for Sulṭān Muḥammad ibn Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 135 *n*.

Maḥmūd Zābulī, a name of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 17.

Mahnab, a small town between Abīward and Sarakhs in Khurāsān, 43 and *n* 2.

Mahoba, district of, 335.

Mahomed Qasim. See under Muḥammad ibn Qāsim as-Ṣaqafī

Mahometans, the, 80 *n* 5, 82 *n* 1, 120 *n* 2. See also under the Muḥammadans and the Muslims.

Mahtab, a small town in Khurāsān, 43 *n* 2.

Māhurā or Mathra, a sacred city of the Hindūs, 24 *n* 6.

Maihana, a small town between Abīward and Sarakhs in Khurāsān, 43 *n* 2.

Mainpūrī, town of, 377 *n* 5, 386 *n* 3, 414 *n* 13.

Mainpūrī District, 386 *n* 3.

Mainpūrī Chauhāns, a tribe of Rājpūts, 414 *n* 13.

Maisir, Al-, a game of the ancient Arabs, 369 *n* 1.

Maithilī country, the, 286.

Majbaristān, province of, 84 and *nn* 6 and 7.

Majdūd, Amīr, son of Sulṭān Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 44 *n* 1.

Majhaulī, a village in the Gorakhpūr District on the north bank of the Gandak, 409 *n* 5.

Majma'u-l-Baḥrain of Shaikh Nāṣif, containing his *Maqāmāt*, 369 *n* 1.

Majma'u-l-Fuṣaḥā, Lives of the Poets, 17 *nn* 1 and 3, 35 *n* 1, 38 *n* 4, 46 *n* 4, 53 *n*, 54 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 66 *nn* 2 and 3, 73 *n* 1, 76 *n*, 78 *n* 2, 99 *nn* 2, 3 and 4, 106 *n* 6, 134 *n* 3, 135 *n*, 165 *n* 1, 187 *n* 2, 270 *n* 6, 271 *n* 4, 297 *n*, 298 *n* 4, 339 *n* 4, 341 *nn* 1 and 2, 571 *n* 9, 582 *n*, 584 *n*

Majnūn, the hero of the romance of *Laili-o-Majnūn*, lover of Lailī, 620.

Makhdum 'Ālam, the Governor of Hājīpūr, one of the Amīrs of the

Wālī of Bangāla, contemporary of Sher Shāh, 469, 470.
Makhdūm Ganjshakar, Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd, 132. See under Ganj-i-shakkar.
Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Sayyidu-s-Sādāt Shaikh Jalālu-l Ḥuqq al-Bukhārī, 376.
Makhdūma-i-Jahān, mother of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 391.
Makhdūma-i-Jahān, mother of Sulṭān Muḥammad, son of Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 303.
Makhdūmu-l-Mulk Mullā 'Abdu-llah of Sulṭānpūr, *Shaikhu-l-Islām* and *Ṣadru-ṣ-Ṣudūr* under Islem Shāh, 506 and *n* 2, 513, 514, 515, 517, 518, 519, 521, 523, 525, 534
Makhdūmzāda-i-'Abbāsī of Baghdād, a prince of the House of 'Abbās, the Khalīfahs of Baghdād, 311 and n 4, 322.
Makhdūmzāda-i-Baghdādī, Prince Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Muḥammad, 311 n 4. Same as the above (*q v*).
Makhzan-i-Asrār of Shaikh Niẓāmī, being one of his five works called collectively *Khamsa-i-Niẓāmī*, 298 *n* 4, 449 and *n* 2.
Makhzanu-l-Adwiyah, a work on medicine, 41 *n* 2, 101 *n* 1, 109 *n* 4, 117 *n* 4, 118 *n*, 172 *n* 2, 182 *n* 4, 452, 484 *n* 1, 535 *n* 2, 550 *n* 1, 586 *n*, 627 *n* 2.
Makhzanu-l-Asrār of Shaikh Niẓāmī, 298 *n* 4 See under *Makhzan-i-Asrār*.
Makka, city of, 8 and *n* 4, 21 n 1, 51, 56, 110 *n* 4, 111 *n*, 133 *n* 2, 149 *n*, 151 *n* 2, 158 *n* 1, 176 *n*, 216 *n*, 279 *n*, 368 *n* 1, 420 and *n* 8, 448, 450, 480 and *nn* 1 and 5, 504, 507, 508, 582, 583 and *n* 4, 585 and *nn* 1 and 6, 600 *n* 9, 624. See Mecca.
Makrān, province of, 91.
Mākūla. See under Ibn Mākūla.
Malabar, 484 *n* 1.
Malāqir. See under *Mulayāgir*.
Malānwah, township of, 598 *n* 10.
Malāūn, a hill fort in the Panjab, 598 and *n* 10
Malāwah, township of, 598 *n* 10
Malayāgir, the yellow sandal, uses of, 484 *n* 1.
Malayālam or Malabar, 484 *n* 1.
Māldeo, Rāī, the ruler of Nāgor and Jaunpūr and Rājā of the kingdom of Marwār, contemporary of Sher Shāh and Humāyūn, 476, 477, 478, 479, 562, 563, 564 and *n* 6, 565 *n* 1.
Malfūẓāt-i-Tīmūrī, the, 355 *nn* 1 and 4, 356 *n* 5, 358 *nn* 2, 4 and 6, 366 *n* 1, 386 *n* 8.
Malgarh, fortress of, 500 *n* 8
Malhab, name of a place, 258 and *n* 4.
Malik Aḥmad, son of Amīr Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 339, 340
Mālik ibn Anas, founder of the Mālikī School of Muḥammadan Jurisprudence, 18 *n* 1, 59 *n* 1.
Mālik al-Ashtar, one of the Generals of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the fourth Khalīfah, 157 *n* 2, 158 *n*.
Malik Chhajū. See under Chhajū.
Malik Shāh Saljūqī, Sulṭān, of the Saljūqī dynasty in Khurāsān, 38 *n* 4, 40, 55 and *n* 3.

Malika-i-Jahān, daughter of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn of Badāon, 405

Malika-i-Jahān, the Queen-consort of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji, 272.

Malika-i-Jahān Bībī Khūnzā, chief wife of Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 409 and *n* 2.

Malika-i-Jahān, the Queen-consort of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 237, 244, 247 *n*.

Malik-i-Jahān, mother of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 131.

Mālikhūliā, Melancholia, definition of, 5 and *n* 3.

Malikota, town of, 387 *n* 1.

Maliku-l-Kalām, or Lord of Eloquence, a literary title, 131

Maliku-l-Kalām Fakhru-l-Mulk 'Amīd Tūlakī (Lūmakī), 99 and *n* 4. See 'Amīd Lūmakī.

Maliku-l-munajjimīn, or Prince of Astrologers, 622 and *n* 2.

Maliku-l-Umarā Fakhru-d-Dīn, the Kotwāl of Dihlī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād, of the Balbani dynasty, 220 *nn* 2 and 3, 227, 229, 260 and *n* 2, 261 and *n* 4

Maliku-sh-Sharq 'Imādu-l-Mulk Maḥmūd Ḥasan, one of the Maliks of Mubārak Shāh of the Sayyid dynasty, 383, 386, 387, 392.

Maliku-sh-Sharq Kamālu-l-Mulk, the Vazir, one of the Amīrs of the Sayyid dynasty, 395, 396

Maliku-sh-Sharq Malik Sikandar, Governor of Lahor under Shaikh 'Alī of Kābul, 389.

Maliku-sh-Sharq Marwān-i-Daulat, called Nuṣrat Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 335.

Maliku-sh-Sharq Mubārak Shāh Qaranqal, the ruler of Jaunpūr, 360, 361.

Maliku-sh-Sharq Suleimān, son of Malik Marwān-i-Daulat, of the Amīrs of Fīroz Shāh, 335 and *n* 4, 352, 375

Mallī, the,—a people of the Panjāb, 389 *n* 2.

Malloo Khān, brother of Sārang Khān, one of the Amīrs of the Fīroz Shāhī dynasty, 349 and *n* 10, 350 and *n* 3, 351, 354. See under Iqbāl Khān Malloo.

Mallū Khān, Governor of Mālwā, one of the slaves of the Khiljī Sulṭāns, 475.

Malot, in the Jhilam District of the Panjāb, 437 and *n* 8, 438 and *n* 7.

Malūta, district, 349.

Mālwā, or Mālwah, 95 and *n* 4, 129, 264 and *n* 4, 274, 292, 313, 379 *n* 2, 384 *n* 5, 385 *n* 3, 398, 399, 422 *n* 3, 423, 424 and *n* 4, 425, 432, 433, 454, 474, 475, 492, 495, 554.

Ma'mūn, Al-, the 'Abbāside Khalīfah, 157 *n* 1.

Man, a weight, 72 *n* 4.

Mān, Rājā, the Governor of Gwāliār, contemporary of Sulṭān Buhlūl and Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 410, 414 and *n* 5, 432 and *n* 7.

Manāt, an idol worshipped by the old Arabs, 28 and *n* 1.

Manḍāgar,—or

Manḍāgarh, a town in the district of Āgra, 552 and *n* 12.

Manḍākar, 552 n 12. See the above.
Mandalayer, a fortress on the western bank of the Chambal, 420 n 5.
Mandāwar, fortress of, 93 n 1, 239, 396.
Mandawī, name of a place, 326 n 2.
Mandilī, town of, 326 and n and n 2.
Mandir, town of, 455.
Mandlāer, town of, 420 n 5.
Mandla Gaṛh, one of the two chief fortresses of the province of Sindhū, 417 n 7.
Mandler, town of, 420 n 5, 422 n 2
Mandrāyal, fortress of, 420 and n 5.
Mandsūr, a dependency of Mālwā, 454.
Mandū, town of, 93 n 1, 473 and n 5. Called also Mandawar.
Manduī (Mandilī), town of, 326 and n and n 2.
Mandūr, fort of, 93 and n 1.
Mandwar, town of, 93 n 1.
Manér, or Munér, a town on the banks of the Ganges, 82 and n 1.
Māngalāī, a Turkī word signifying advance guard of an army, 592 n 5
Māngaṛh, fortress of, 500 and n 8, 527 and n 2.
Mangburnī, Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn, son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh,—the last of the Khwārazm Shāhī dynasty, 91 and n 1
Mangḥalāī, advance-guard of an army, 592 n 5.
Mangsāl, fort of, variously called Walaj and Bajj, 34 n 7.
Mangū Khān, nephew of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 259.
Mangū Khān, infant son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 289.
Mangūtah, the Mughūl, one of the Generals of Chingiz Khān, 126 n 1.
Mānī, Mirzā, or Mirzā Amānī (q. v.), a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 587 and n 3.
Mānī Mālā, a treatise on gems, 631 n.
Maniḥ, one of the blank arrows in the game of *maisir*, 369 n 1.
Manījeh,—or
Manīsha, daughter of Afrāsiyāb, one of the heroines of the *Shāh-nāma*, 116 n 5, 180 and n 2.
Mānik, Malik, a slave of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 251.
Manik Deo, Rāī, the Rājā of Dholpūr, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 419 and n 4.
Manikganj, pass of,—in Gujrāt, 313.
Mānikpūr, district and town on the Ganges, 221, 241, 243, 247 n, 325, 411 n 2, 415, 468.
Manikpūr, ford of, on the Ganges, 325.
Mankbarnin, for Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Mangburnī (q. v.), 91 n 1.
Mānkoṭ, a fort in the northern hill-range of the Panjāb, 498.
Manoarpūr, town of, 93 n 1.
Manqabat, use of the word, 627 n 3
Manqalāī, in Turkī the advance-guard of an army, 592 n 5.
Mān Singh, Governor of Gwāliār, 414 n 5, 432 and n 7. See under Rājā Mān.
Manṣūr, Al-, the 'Abbāside Khalīfah, 74 n 2.
Manṣūr, Saiyyid, one of the Generals of Amīr Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 46.
Manṣūr, son of Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 48.

Manṣūr ibn Nūḥ, of the dynasty of the Sāmānis, the Kings of Khurāsān and Māwarāu-n-Nahr, 13 n 1, 14 and n 1, 16 and n 2.
Manṣūr ibn Sa'īd, Khwāja, 94.
Manṣūrah, or Al-Manṣūrah, old capital of Sindh, 26 and n 10.
Manṣūrpūr, town, 98, 330.
Manūchihr Shirwān Shāh, King of Khurāsān, patron of the famous poet Khāqānī, 583 n 4.
Manūchihrī Dāmaghānī, Ḥakīm Abu-n-Najm Aḥmad, a poet of the time of Sulṭān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, 46 and n 4.
Maqāmāt of 'Amīd Abū Naṣr, Al-Baihaqī's, 32 n.
Maqāmāt of Qāẓī Ḥamīd of Balkh, 76 n 1.
Maqāmāt of Shaikh Aḥmad Khaṭṭu, surnamed Ganjbakhsh, 358.
Maqāmāt-i-Ḥarīrī, 348.
Maqbūl, Malik, 337 n 7. Same as Khān-i-Jahān Malik Qubūl the Vazīr, of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh.
Mardhan Koṭ, or Bardhan Koṭ, a city of Tibet, 84 n.
Margan, a Turkī word signifying 'an archer,' 250 and n 6.
Marghūb, a slave of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 444.
Marḥabā, Malik, slave of Iqbāl Khān Malloo of the Maliks of the Fīroz Shāhī dynasty, 364
Mārhara, township of, in the Doāb, 407 n 1. See also Mārhira.
Marhaṭ or Maharashtra, country of the Marhattas, 265 and n 4, 283.
Marhattas, the, 283.
Marhira,—or
Mārhira, town of, 123 and n 2. See under Mārhara.
Maria, sister of Martha and Lazarus, 198 n 2.
Mariam, the Mother of Jesus, 272 and n 1.
Mīrī galah, fortress of, 46. Called also Mārīkala (q. v.).
Mārīkala, a frontier fort on the Jhilam river, 44 and n 6. Called also Mārkala and Mīrī galah (q. v.).
Mārīkala, a pass between Rāwal Pindī and Attock, 44 n 6.
Mārkala, on the Jhilam, 44 n 6. See under the Mārīkala fort.
Markanda river, the, 330 n 7.
Mār Muhra, a mineral of an emerald colour, 117 n 4.
Mars, notes on the planet, 217 n 5.
Martha, sister of Maria and Lazarus, 198 n 2.
Martyr Prince, the, 188 n 2, 199 n 3. See the Khān-i-Shahīd Sulṭān Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban.
Ma'rūf Farmalī, Malik,—one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty, 444.
Marv, a city of Khurāsān, 35. See under Merv.
Marwān, Malik, 335, 352. See under Marwān-i-Daulat.
Marwān ibnu-l-Ḥakam, a Khalīfah of the Umaiyyad dynasty, 59.
Marwān Daulat,—or
Marwān-i-Daulat, Maliku-sh-Sharq, Nāṣiru-l-Mulk Fīrūz Shāhī, Governor of Multān under Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 335, 352, 376.

Marwānī, Walīd ibn 'Abdu-l-Malik, the Umaiyyad Khalīfah, 12 and n 2.
Mārwār, the country of, 384 n 3, 465, 476, 562, 563.
Mashhad (Meshed), the holy city of, in Persia, 569, 573 and n 3.
Mashk, goat-skin bag for carrying water, 331 n 10
Masīḥ, Christ, 267.
Masīḥu-d-Dajjāl, Antichrist, 490 n 5. See also the next
Masīḥu-l-Kazzāb, Antichrist, 278 n 4 See also the above.
Māsik, constant as applied to the pulse, 532 n 7.
Masnad-i-'Ālī Saiyyid Khiẓr Khān, the first of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 352, 375, 376. See under Khiẓr Khān Masnad-i-'Ālī.
Massagetæ, an ancient people of Central Asia, 23 n 1
Mas'ūd Beg, metre of,—a kind of prosodical metre, 426.
Mas'ūd Khān Ghilzāī, one of the Afghān Amīrs of Sher Shāh Sūr, 542, 544
Mas'ūd, Sulṭān, ibn Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, called by the title of 'Alāu-d-Dīn, 55 and nn 2 and 4
Mas'ūd, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36 and n 9, 37, 38, 42, 43, 44 and nn 1 and 2, 45 and nn 2 and 3, 46, 47 n 2, 50, 53 and n, 54, 61 n 5.
Mas'ūd, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Maudūd ibn Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, 49, 50 and n 1.
Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān Jurjānī, known sometimes as Hamadānī, a famous poet of Jurjān, contemporary of Sulṭān Mas'ūd and Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, 52 and n 5, 54 and n 1, 60.
Mas'ūdī, the celebrated Arab Geographer and Historian, 157 n 1.
Matar Sen Kahtarīya, Rājā, the ruler of Sambhal at the time of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 545.
Mathew's *Mishkātu-l-Maṣābīḥ*, 150 n 2, 200 n, 293 n, 302 n 2, 412 n 1, 509 n 3.
Mathī Khān,—or
Mathīn Khān, one of the courtiers of Humāyūn, 624 and n 2.
Mathra, a sacred city of the Hindūs, 24 and n 6.
Matla'u-l-Anwār, one of the poetical works of Mīr Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 270 and n 1.
Maudūd, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 37, 43, 45 n 3, 46, 47 and n 2, 48, 49, 50 and n 1.
Maulānā Baqā'ī, a learned man of the time of Bābar, 449.
Maulānā Ḥasan, one of the contemporaries of Shāh Bābar, 449.
Maulānā 'Imādu-d-Dīn, translator of the *Rājā-tarangini* into Persian, 8 n 3.
Maulānā Shihābu-d-Dīn the Enigmatist, one of the learned men of the time of Bābar, 449.
Ma'ūnat, a miracle performed by the ordinary believer, 626 n.
Māwarā an-Nahr,—or
Māwarāu-n-Nahr (Transoxiana), *the region beyond the river*, 15 and n 5, 20 and n 3, 27 nn 1 and 2, 29 n 6, 37 n 7, 167 n 3, 250, 353, 448, 570 n 7, 682

Mawās, a district in the Doāb, 386 *n* 5, 431 and *n* 4.

Mawās,—or

Mawāsāī, a place at seven *krohs* from Badāon, 336 and *n* 1.

Masīr, signification of the word, 271 and *n* 3.

Masdakīah, Al-, another name of the heretical Bāṭinī sect of Shī'ah Muslims, 22 and *n* 3.

Maẓhar Karra, Maulānā, one of the poets of the time of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 341 and *n* 1.

Maẓharī, the poet, 341 *n* 1. Same as the above (*q. v.*).

Maẓhar-i-Hindī, Qāẓī of Agra (? Karra), panegyrist of Fīrūz Shāh, 341 *n* 1. See the two above.

Māzindarān,—or

Māzinderān, a province of Persia, 32 *n* 1, 36 *n* 3.

McCrindle's *Ancient India*, 364 *n* 4.

Mecca. See under Makkah

Medakī river, the, 419 *n* 6. Otherwise known as the Mendakī or the Asī.

Medes, the, 394 *n* 5

Medical and Surgical Reporter, the, 586 *n*.

Medina, the City of the Prophet, 12 *n* 1, 75 *n*, 106 *n* 1, 149 *n*, 156 *n* 5, 158 *n* 1, 215 *n* 7, 279 *n*, 443, 480 *n* 1, 585 *n* 6, 600 *n* 9

Medina and Mecca, Burton's *Pilgrimage to*, 97 *n* 4.

Mediterranean, the, 167 *n* 4.

Mehrān, the,—the river Indus, 36 *n* 10, 67 *n* 1.

Mehrgan, the seventh month of the Persian year, 166 and *n* 1.

Melancholia, *Mālīkhūlīā*, definition of, 5 and *n* 3.

Memoir, Rennell's, 129 *n* 2, 326 *n*, 327 *n* 3.

Memoirs of Bāber, Erskine's, 431 *n* 8, 437 *n* 7, 439 *nn* 4, 6 and 7, 440 *n*, 448 *n* 4, 570 *nn* 5 and 6, 609 *n* 5.

Mendakī river, the,—in Gwāliār, 419 and *n* 6. Otherwise known as the Medākī or the Asī.

Mengbūrūn, origin of the name of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Mangburnī (*q. v.*), 91 *n* 1.

Meos, the, a tribe of the Rājpūts inhabiting the province of Mīwāt, 365 *n* 8.

Mercury, the planet, held to rule over intelligence, 630 *n* 3.

Merv, a city and province of Khurāsān, 16 *n* 2, 17 *n* 3, 22 *n* 2, 33 *n* 1, 34 *n* 3, 35, 38, 43 and *nn* 1 and 3, 51 *n* 2, 55 *n* 3, 167 *n* 3.

Meshed (Mashhad), in Persia, 569, 573 and *n* 3.

Methora of Pliny, same as the town of Mathra (*q. v.*), 24 *n* 6.

Methoras of Arrian, same as the town of Mathra (*q. v.*), 24 *n* 6.

Mēvāt, district of, 129 *n* 2. See under Mīwāt.

Meynard's *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, 30 *n*, 35 *n* 2, 43 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 46 *n* 1, 50 *n* 2, 573 *n* 3.

Mhow, a town of Central India, 385 *n* 3.

Mīāpūr, a ford on the Ganges, 131 and *n* 1.

Mich, 83. See under Mīj

Michael, the Archangel, 58 and *n* 2

Miftah, the,—or

Miftāḥu-l-'Ulūm, of Sirāju-d-Dīn Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf ibn Abī Muḥammad ibn 'Alī as-Sikkākī, 428 and n 2.
Miḥafa, a kind of litter, 457 n 7.
Mihir, town of, 122 n 2. Called also Mārhira (*q. v.*).
Mihr, name of the sun, 166 n 1.
Mihr, an ancient king of the Persians, 166 n 1.
Mihrajān, Day of, 166 n 1. See under Mihrgān.
Mihrān, the,—the river Indus, 86 n 10, 67 n 1.
Mihrgān, the seventh month of the Persian year, 166 and n 1.
Mihrgān, a great feast of the Persians, 166 n 1.
Mihrgān-i-'āmm, 166 n 1.
Mihrgān-i-khāṣṣ, 166 n 1.
Mij, one of the tribes between Tibet and Lakhnauti, 83 and n 4, 84 n.
Mīl, the bodkin or style used for applying *kuḥl*, 153 n 8.
Milal wa-n-Niḥal, of ash-Shahrastānī, Cureton's edition, 22 n 3, 157 n 2.
Milwat, town of, 438 n 7. Called also Malot (*q. v.*).
Mīnas, a tribe of the Hindūs, 365 n 8.
Minhāju-s-Sirāj, author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, 88 n 1, 98 n 5, 122 n 3, 127 nn 1 and 2.
Mīr Abu-l-Baqā, one of the most distinguished of the learned men of the time of Humāyūn, 465, 560, 578.
Mīr 'Adl, an officer of justice under the *Ṣadr*, 546 n 7, 610 n.
Mīr Ākhor, Master of the horse, 274 and n 5.
Mīr Ḥasan, son-in-law of Sulṭān Shāh Tughlaq, 328.
Mīr Ḥasan Dihlavī, a famous p[oet of] Dihlī, contemporary of Mīr Kh[usrū,] 115 n, 187, 189, 245, 269, 27[...] n 6.
Mīr Jamālu-d-Dīn, the tradit[ionist,] contemporary of Shāh I[smā'īl] Ṣafawī, 449.
Mīr Khond, the Historian, co[ntem]porary of Humāyūn, 27 n 3, [...]
Mīr Khusrū, son of Amīr Ma[...] Saifu-d-Dīn, the famous po[et of] Dihlī, 96 and n 2, 99 and n [...] and n 4. See under Khusrū.
Mīr Saiyyid Khān of Jaunpūr[...] n 8.
Mīr Saiyyid Muḥammad of Jau[npūr,] son of Mīr Saiyyid Khān, o[ne of] the great *walīs*, 420 and n 8, [...] and n 8.
Mīr Saiyyid Muḥammad Mīr [...] 546.
Mīr Saiyyid Na'matu-llāh Rusūlī[...] poet, contemporary of Islam [...] 533 and n 7, 534 and n 4.
Mīr Saiyyid Rafī'u-d-Dīn Ṣafa[wī] Ij, contemporary of Sher [...] 476 and n 5, 479, 513, 514.
Mīr Saiyyid Sharīf, a distingui[shed] author, 560.
Mi'rāj, *or the Ascent*, nocturnal [jour]ney of Muḥammad to heaven, [...] n 2, 292 n 6.
Mīrak ibn Ḥasan, the Vakīl, o[f] the Amīrs of the Ghaznavide [dy]nasty, 48, 49.
Mīrak, town of, 406 n 9.
Mīran, Amīr, one of the Mali[ks of] Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 323 n 2.

Mīrān Ṣadr 'Nāib-i-'Arẓ-i-Mamālik, a *protégé* of the Mubārak Shāhī family, 393, 394, 395, 397.

Mīrān Saiyyid Jalāl of Badāon, one of the learned men of Hindūstān, 427.

Mīrat,—or

Mīrath, fortress of, 24 *n* 1, 345, 358 *n* 3, 359, 406, 597.

Mir'āt-i-Jahān Numā, an historical work, 66 *n* 2.

Mīr-i-Kūe, Superintendent of Roads, 401.

Mirzā Handāl,—or

Mirzā Hindāl, 453, 458, 459, 462, 464, 465, 559, 560, 567 and *n* 10, 574, 578, 579, 580, 586, 587.

Mirzā Ḥusain Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 574

Mirzā Kāmrān, brother of Humāyūn, 453, 456, 462, 464, 465, 494, 500, 501, 502, 503, 567, 574, 578, 579, 580, 581 and *n* 3, 582 and *n* 7, 583 and n 3, 584 and *n* 3, 585, 586, 588, 606 *n* 3

Mirzā Murād, son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia, 572, 573 and *n* 1, 575, 576.

Mirzā Pīr Muḥammad, grandson of the great Amīr Timūr, King of Khurāsān and Māwarā-an-Nahr, 352, 353, 355.

Mirzā Yādgār Nāṣir, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 462, 463, 464, 465, 560, 561, 562.

Mishk, or Musk, notes on, 172 *n* 2.

Mishkātu-l-Maṣābīḥ, Mathew's, 58 *n* 3, 150 *n* 2, 191 *n* 5, 199 *n* 3, 200 *n*, 279 *n*, 292 *n* 6, 293 *n*, 302 *n* 2, 356 *n* 4, 412 *n* 1, 449 *n* 8, 509 *n* 3, 571 *n* 1, 585 *n* 10, 601 *n*, 603 *n* and *n* 5, 613 *n*, 625 *n* 5.

Misqāl, a weight for gold and silver and also a coin, 19 *n*, 25 and n 1.

Misqal,—or

Misqalat, shell for polishing, 620 and *n* 1.

Miṣrā', hemistich, a term of Prosody, 606 *n* 4.

Miwāt, district and town of, 129 and n 2, 134 and *n* 1, 185, 337, 343, 344 and *n* 7, 345, 350, 358, 359, 365 and n 8, 366 *n*, 375, 381, 385, 391, 398, 419, 447, 488, 489, 537.

Miwātīs, the, 447.

Miyān 'Abdu-llah Niyāzī, a Niyāzī Afghān who adopted the manners of a Mahdī, 508, 509, 510, 512, 518, 520.

Miyān Abu-l-Fatḥ of Thanesar,—a learned doctor of the time of Islem Shāh, 513.

Miyān Bahwa Lūhānī, Governor of Baiāna, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 518 and *n* 4, 519.

Miyān Bhoh, the Vazīr and chief of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 432, 435

Miyān Ḥātim Sanbalī or Sambhalī, a learned Doctor of Hindūstān, 428, 506, 545.

Miyān Ḥusain Farmalī, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty, 435.

Miyān Jamāl Khān Muftī, one of the Chief 'Ulamā of the time of Islem Shāh, 506

Miyān Kalī or Kāhī Kābulī, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 584 *n* 3 See under Kāhī

Miyan Lādan, one of the learned men of Hindūstān, 427

Miyān Shaikh of Gwāliār, a learned doctor, 427

Miyān Shaikh Abu-l-Fatḥ, son of Shaikh-allahdīyah of Khairābād, contemporary of Badāonī, 546.

Miyān Tānsin, the well-known musician, contemporary of 'Adli, 557.

Miyān Yaḥya Paran one of the generals of Sikandar Sūr (q v), 547.

Miyān Yaḥya Tūran, governor of Sambhal, one of the generals of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Sūr (q. v), 545, 546.

Miyānī Afghāns, the, 554.

Mīzān, the constellation Libra, 142 *n* 2.

Modern Egyptians, Lane's, 177 *n* 4, 192 *n* 3, 412 *n* 1, 503 *n* 2.

Moghuls, the, 80, 103 *n* 3. See under the Mughūls.

Mongīr, town of, 458.

Mongol dynasty of China, the, 353 *n* 1.

Mongols, the See under the Mughūls.

Monoipour, fortress of, 93 *n* 1.

Moon, Splitting of the, miracle performed by Muḥammad, 110 *n* 4

Morādābād, in Rohilkund, 364 *n* 4.

Moradabad District, N.-W. Provinces, 546 *n* 5.

Moro, a peacock, 502 and *n* 3.

Mozambique, 454 *n* 7.

Moses of the Scriptures, 372 and *n* 3, 373 *n*.

Mosul, capital of Mesopotamia, 61 *n* 5, 394 *n* 5, 624 *n* 3.

Muaiyyidu-l Mulk Sinjarī, Khwāja,—one of the Amīrs of the Ghorī dynasty, 74 and n 1, 77 *n* 1, 80.

Mu'allā, name of the seventh arrow in the game of *maisir*, 369 *n* 1.

Mu'allaqāt, the,—seven well-known poems of the Jāhiliyat, 99 *n* 6, 109 *n* 4.

Mu'ammā, enigma, 486 *n* 7, 605 and n 3.

Mu'āwiyah, first Khalīfah of the House of Umaiyyah, 157 *n* 2, 158 *n*.

Mu'azzam, Khwāja, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 568.

Mu'azzin, the crier of the hour of prayer, 472 and n 6, 600 and n 9, 601 *n*.

Mubaiyyin, a book on the Ḥanīfite Theology, 450 and *n* 7.

Mubārak, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 233.

Mubārakābād, a city on the Jamna, 393 and *n* 7.

Mubārak Kabīr, Malik,—one of the Amīrs of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty, 342 and *n* 1

Mubārak Khān, son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī 272, 273. See Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Mubārak Shāh.

Mubārak Khān Auḥadī, of the Auḥadī family of Baiāna, 38-

Mubārak Khān, son of Bahādur Nāhir, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 360 and *n* 5.

Mubārak Khān Lūḥānī, Malik,—one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī 409, 412 and *n* 12.

Mubārak Khān, son of Malik Rājū, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 349.

Mubārak Khān, Governor of Sambal, contemporary of Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 406 *n* 3

Mubārak Kotwāl one of the Amīrs of the Saiyyid dynasty, 398.

Mubārak of Nāgor, Shaikh, father of Shaikh Abu-l-Faẓl 'Allāmi, 481, 516.

Mubārakpur, 398.

Mubārak Qaranqal, Malik, assumes the title of Mubārak Shāh as ruler of Jaunpūr, 360 and n 1.

Mubārak Shāh son of Sulṭan 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī. See under Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī.

Mubārak Shāh, son of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 409.

Mubārak Shāh, son of Masnad-i-'Ālī Khiẓr Khān, of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 10 n 2, 507, **381** and n 2, 382, 383, 384, 385 and n 3, 386, 387, 388 and n 2, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, **394**, 395, 396, 398, 400 and n, 403.

Mubārak Shāh, Sulṭānu-sh-Sharq, Qaranqal, ruler of Jaunpūr, 360 and n 1, 361, 363.

Mubārak Shāhī, an historical work by Yaḥyā ibn Aḥmad Sirhindī, 10 n 2, **67** and **n 2**. See under *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*.

Mubāriz Khān, one of the great Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhi dynasty, 275.

Mubāriz, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 384.

Mubāriz Khān, son of Niẓām Khān Sūr, ascends the throne with the title of Muḥammad 'Ādil or more commonly 'Adlī, 495 and n 4, 535 and nn 6 and 7, **536**. See under 'Adlī.

Mubashshir Chap, Islām Khān, the Vazir, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhi dynasty, 344, **345**. See also under Islām Khān

Mubashshir, one of the Sirdārs of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 278.

Mubīn, a commentary by Shaikh Zainu-d-Dīn on the *Mubaiyyin* (*q. v.*), 450 and n 7.

Mufarriḥ Sulṭānī, Malik, governor of Gujrāt under Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 334 and n 3, 337, **340**. See under Farḥatu-l-Mulk.

Mufīẓ, Al-,—the man in charge of the arrows in the game of *maisir*, 369 n 1.

Muftī, a law officer who gives *fatwās* or legal decisions, 317 and n 6.

Mughailān, for *Ummu-ghailān*, a thorny tree, 550 and **n 1**, 624 n 1.

Mughaiyyir, variable as applied to the pulse, 533 n.

Mughals, the. See under the Mughūls.

Mughīrah ibn al-Aḥnaf Yezdibah or Yezdezbeh, ancestor of Imām Bukhārī, 6 n 3.

Mughīs of Hānsī, Qāẓī, one of the most learned men of the time of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 245.

Mughnī fi-sharḥi-l-Mūjaz, Sadīdī's commentary on the *Mūjaz* in Medicine, 31 n, 320 n.

Mughul Road from Agra to Allahabad, 486 n 6.

Mughulpūr, popular name of the town of Ghiyāṣpūr, 236.

Mughūls, the, 125 and n 3, 126 and n 1, 129 n 2, 132, 145 n 2, 166, 187, 188, 190 n 2, 192, 196 and n 1, 206 n 2, 207, 220, 222, 236, 249, 250 and n 5, 251, 252, 254, 256, 258, 261, 284, 292, 293, 305 **n 3**, 323, 328, 335, 359, 365 n 8, 441, 454, 463, 464, 469, 471, 474, 486 n 6, 503, 512, 552,

568, 576 n 1, 592, 593 and n 9, 618 n 1.

Muhājirīn, the,—Meccan Muslims who emigrated with Muḥammad, 215, 216 n.

Muḥammad, the Prophet, 2 n 5, 3 nn 4 and 6, 4, 12 n 1, 18 n 1, 46 n 5, 57, 59 and nn 3 and 4, 74 n 2, 97 n 4, 105 and n 2, 106 nn 1 and 5, 110 nn 1, 3 and 4, 111 n, 139 n 5, 147 n 3, 149 n, 156 n 5, 158 n 1, 194, 201 n 2, 207, 216 n, 254, 292 n 6, 303 n 4, 368 n 1, 369 n 3, 376, 412 n 1, 420 n 8, 446 n 5, 473, 474, 480, 488 n 5, 490 n 5, 505 n 6, 519 and n 4, 572, 577 n, 585 n 10, 589, 596, 602 n 7, 622 and n 3, 626 n 1, 627 and n 3, 631 n 1, 633, 636.

Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu-llah ibn al-Hasan ibn al Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 74 n 2

Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu ṣ-Ṣamad, one of the Amīrs of the Ghaznivide dynasty, 44.

Muhammad 'Ādil, commonly known as 'Adlī, of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 495, 536 See under Mubāriz Khān, son of Niẓām Khān Sūr and also under 'Adlī.

Muhammad 'Ādil, of the Tughlaq Shāhi dynasty, 274 See under Muḥammad ibn Tughlaq Shāh and also under Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Junā.

Muhammad 'Aufī, author of the *Jāmi'u-l-Ḥikāyāt* and *Tazkiratu sh-Shu'arā*, 220. See Muhammad 'Ūfī

Muhammad 'Azīz, Mullā, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 460 and n 1

Muḥammad of Badāon, Saiyyid, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 335 and n 6.

Muḥammad Bahādur, Sulṭān of Kol, 556 and n 3 See Khiẓr Khān, son of Muḥammad Khān Gauria.

Muḥammad Bakhtyār Ghūrī, Malik, one of the Generals and slaves of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām, 81 and n 2, 82, 83 and nn 2 and 3, 84 and n, 86 and n 1, 88. See the next.

Muḥammad Bakhtyār Khiljī, Malik, 81 n 2. Same as the above (q. v.).

Muḥammad Bāqi Majlisī, author of the *Ḥayātu-l-Qulūb*, 110 n 3.

Muḥammad, son of Bihār Khān, Sulṭān of Qanauj and the eastern districts, contemporary of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 443. Same as the next (q v).

Muḥammad, son of Daryā Khān Lūhānī, Sulṭān of Bihār, originally called Bihār Khān or Bahādur Khān, 435 and n 7, 436, 468, 480. Same as the above (q v.).

Muḥammad Farmalī, Shaikh, known as Kālā Bhār, nephew of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 411 n 2, 413 n 13, 414.

Muhammad Ghaus of Gwāliār, Shaikh, contemporary of Bābar, 445, 459.

Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 187, 190 n 2, 205 and n 2, 213. Called the Khān-i-Buzurg, the Khān-i-Ghāzī, the Khān-i-Shahīd and Qāān-i-Malk.

Muhammad Ghori, popular name of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām, who is also known as Shihābu-d-Dīn Ghori, 65 n 2.

Muḥammad Gokultāsh, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441.
Muḥammad ibnu-l-Ḥasan, the famous jurisconsult, 30 n 1.
Muḥammad Ḥasan of Iṣpahān, Mirzā, —the poet known as Ẓarīf, 582 n.
Muḥammad Humāyūn Mīrzā, son of Bābar, 439, 443, 444, 445. See under Humāyūn.
Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādishāh, Emperor of Hindūstān, 450, 451, 453, 454, 472, 500, 503, 529, 559, 596, 606 and n 5. See the above and also under Humāyūn.
Muḥammad, son of Ildighiz and his successor as Atābak of Āzarbaijān, 156 n 3.
Muḥammad Khān Auḥadī, ruler of Baiāna, contemporary of Mubārak Shāh of the dynasty of the Saiyyids, 386, 387 and n 4.
Muḥammad Khān, son of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 324, 336, 337 See Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, and also Muḥammad Shāh.
Muḥammad Khān Gauria, the ruler of Kor, contemporary of 'Adli, 555, 556.
Muḥammad Khān Kākī, Ḥājī, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 578, 581, 595.
Muḥammad Khān of Nāgor, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 423 and n 11.
Muḥammad Khān, grandson of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn of Mālwa, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 423, 424 and n 6.
Muḥammad Khān Sīlu, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 618 and n 7, 619.
Muḥammad Khān Sharafu-d-Dīn Ughlī Taklū, Vazīr of Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā of Khurāsān, 569 and n 6.
Muḥammad Khān Sūr, assumes the title of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn as governor of Bangāla, 552.
Muḥammad Khān Sūr, governor of the country of Chaund, 468, 469.
Muḥammad Khān Taklū, Vazīr of Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā, ruler of Khurāsān, 569 and n 6.
Muḥammad Khān, son of Zīrak Khān, Governor of Sāmāna under the Saiyyid dynasty, 397.
Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh, Sulṭān, of the Khwārazm Shāhī dynasty of Khurāsān, 71 and n 7.
Muḥammad Lodī, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 444, 471 n 1. See also under Maḥmūd Lodī.
Muḥammad, younger son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 29, 32, 34, 44, 45 and nn 2 and 3, 46, 47 n 3.
Muḥammad ibn Maḥmud, the Khalj, feudatory of Kashmandī, uncle of Muḥammad Bakhtyār, 61 n 2.
Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 44 and n 1.
Muḥammad Muẓaffar Vazīr, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 351.
Muḥammad pur 'Azīz, Mullā, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 460 n 1.
Muḥammad Qandahārī, Ḥājī, the Historian, 300 n 3.
Muḥammad ibn Qāsim as Saqafī, the conqueror and first governor of Sind, 11 and n 3, 12 n 2, 13 n and n 1, 136 n 6.

Muḥammad ibnu-l-Qāsim ibnu-l-Munabbih, governor of Sindh, 86 *n* 10.

Muḥammad Sām, founder of the Ghorī dynasty of India, 10 *n* 2, 74, 75, 89. See Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām.

Muḥammad Shāh, Mīr, leader of a band of robbers in the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 262, 263.

Muḥammad Shāh, of the Mughal dynasty of Dihlī, 25 *n* 5.

Muḥammad Shāh I., son of Aḥmad Shāh, Sulṭān of Gujarāt, 357 *n* 3.

Muḥammad Shāh ibn-i-Farīd Khān, of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 395, 397, 398, 399 and *n* 7.

Muḥammad Shāh, son of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh, of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty of Dihlī, 337, 338, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345 and *nn* 2 and 3, 346. See under Muḥammad Khān.

Muḥammad Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Sharqī, Sulṭān of Jaunpūr, 403 and *n* 8, 404 and *n* and *n* 2.

Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 444, 471 *n* 1 See also under Maḥmūd.

Muḥammad Sulṭān Mirzā, Khwājā, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 437, 438, 440, 444, 458, 462, 463, 464, 574.

Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, Sulṭān, 87 *n* 1, 269 *n* 5, 271 and *n* 6. See the next.

Muḥammad, son of Tughlaq Shāh, the second of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty of Dihlī, 290, 297 *n*, 301, 309, 315, 318, 321, 322, 323 and *n* 3, 327, 329 *n* 2, 331. See under Muḥammad 'Ādil' and also under Ulugh Khān.

Muḥammad Turtāq, the Mughal, of the royal house of Khurāsān, contemporary of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 250 and *n* 10, 252 and *n* 2.

Muḥammad Ūfī of Marv, author of a *Tazkira*, 33 and *n* 1. See Muḥammad 'Aufī.

Muḥammad Yaḥya, 602.

Muḥammad Yamīn, Sulṭān, the ruler of Khurāsān, 99 *n* 4, 138 *n* 1.

Muḥammad Yarghari, Mullā, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 460 *n* 1.

Muḥammad Zaitūn the Afghān, one of the Afghān Amīrs of Bābar, 445.

Muḥammad Zamān Mīrzā ibn-i-Badī'u-z-Zamān Mirzā ibn-i-Sulṭān Ḥusain Mirzā, contemporary of Humāyūn, 451, 452, 456, 458, 461.

Muḥammadābād, the town of Nagarkoṭ, 331.

Muḥammadābād, a city built by Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh ibn Fīroz Shāh, 346, 347.

Muḥammadans, the, 271 *n* 6, 302 *n* 2, 412 *n* 1, 415 *n*, 445 *n* 6, 468 *n* 5, 523 *n* 5, 635 *n* 6. See also under the Mahometans and the Muslims.

Muhamra, for Mutmara. See Shihāb-i-Mutmara, the poet, 99 and *n* 2.

Muhar or *Muhur*, a coin, 306 and *n* 1.

Muḥarram, annual ceremonies of the, 623 and *n* 1.

Muhazzab,—or

Muhazzabu-d-Dīn Niẓāmu-l-Mulk, Khwaja, Wazir of Sulṭān Raẓẓiyah, 120, 123 *n* 3, 124.

Muhra-i-Mār, the Bezoar stone called in Arabic *Ḥajaru-l-Ḥaiyyah*, 117 n 4.

Muhur or *Muhar*, a coin, 306 and n 1.

Muid Jājarmi, one of the poets of the time of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khilji, 245.

Mu'id of Tarkhān, author of a Turkish romance on the loves of Wāmiq and 'Azrā, 40 n 1.

Mu'īn Wāiẓ, Maulānā, 590.

Mu'īnu-d-Dīn Chishti, Khwājā, a famous saint, 70 and n 2. See under Mu'īnu-l-Ḥaqq.

Mu'īnu-d-Dīn Ḥasan Chishti, Khwaja, 70 n 2. See the above.

Mu'īnu-d-Dīn, Shaikh, grandson of Maulānā Mu'īn Wāiẓ, Qāẓi of Lāhor under Humāyūn, 590.

Mu'īnu-l-Ḥaqq wa-d-Dīn Ajmiri, Khwājā, 430. Same as Mu'īnu-d-Dīn Chishti, (q v.).

Mu'īnu-l-Mulk Mīrān Ṣadr, 395. See under Mīrān Ṣadr Nāib-i-'Arẓ-i-Mamālik.

Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, 97 n 4, 106 n 2, 149 n, 216 n.

Mu'izzi palace, the Kilūghari palace (q. v.), on the banks of the Jumna, 231.

Mu'izzi Sulṭāns, those of the slaves of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Sām who attained sovereignty, 87 n 5.

Mu'izziyeh Kings, the Amirs of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Sām Ghūri, 87, 90.

Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Abu-l-Ḥāriṣ Sinjar, 55 n 3. See under Sinjar.

Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Bahrām Shāh, son of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 121 and n 4, 122, 123 and n 2, 124, 186.

Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād, Sulṭān, ibn Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn ibn Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 220 and n 2, 221 and n 3, 222, 223 and n 1, 224, 226, 227, 228 and n 4, 229, 245. See also under Kaiqubād.

Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, well-known under the title of Sulṭān Shihābu-d-Dīn Ghūrī, 10 n 2, 63, 64 and n 3, 65 and n 2, 66 n 2, 67 and n, 69, 71, 72, 73 and n 2, 74, 75, 76, 77 and nn 1 and 3, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83 n 3, 85, 86, 89, 90.

Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Tughral, Governor of Lakhnauti, 186. See under Tughral.

Mujāhid Khān, one of the Amirs of 'Adli, of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 557

Mu'jamu-l-Buldān of Yāqūt, a Geographical Dictionary, 8 n 2, 263 n, 476 n 5.

Mujawwaf, hollow or weak, 301 and n 1.

Mūjaz, a work on medicine, 5 n 3, 31 n. See under *al-Mughni*.

Mujil, the man in charge of the arrows in the game of *maisir*, 369 n 1.

Mujiru-d-Dīn Abūrijā, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 305.

Mu'jizah, a miracle performed by a prophet, 626 n.

Mujtahid, highest title among Muslim divines, 636 n 2.

Mujtaṡ-i-muṡamman, a kind of metre, 607 n.

Mukābir, a stubborn disputant, 614 and *n* 6.

Mukhālafat, opposition, 576 *n* 5.

Mukhliṣ, a servant of Malik Fakhru-d-Dīn Silāḥdār (*q. v.*), 308.

Mukhliṣ Khān, brother of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī, of Jaunpūr, 386 and *n* 7.

Mukhtaṣar, of Sa'du-d-Dīn at-Taftāzānī, 428 *n* 3.

Mukhtaṣṣ Khān, brother of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 386 and *n* 7.

Mulāḥidah, the, a sect of Muslim heretics, 73 *n* 2. See the next.

Mulḥidah, the, another name of the Bāṭinī sect of Shī'ah Muslims, 22 *n* 3 See the above.

Mullā Muhammad 'Azīz, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 460 and *n* 1

Mulmul, the bodkin or style for applying *kuhl*, 153 *n* 8

Multān, **12**, 19 and *n* 5, 20 and *n* 4, 21, 28, 29, 44, 60, 66 and *nn* 2, 3 and 5, 69, 79 *n* 3, 80 and *n* 1, 87, 90, 95, 98 and *n* 2, 120 and *n* 8, 128 and *n* 1, 129, 130, 132, 133 *n* and *n* 2, 187, 188, 189 *n* 1, 190 *n* 2, 197, 198, 199, 208, 213 217, 219, 220 and *n* 2, 221, 222, 226 229. 232, 233, 236, 244, 247 and *n* and *n* 4, 248, 249, 252, 284, 292, 293, 297, 298, 304, 328, 335, 343, 352 353 and *n* 8, 355, 358, 362, 363, 376, 387, 388, 389 and *nn* 2 and 4, 390, 392, 398, 399, 402, 427, 464, 543

Multān river, the, 29.

Multānīs, the, 304

Mūminpūr, fort of, otherwise called Patiali, on the Ganges, 218

Munēr, town of, 82 and *n* 1. Also written Manēr.

Mun'im Khān, Khān-i-Khānān, one of the great Amīrs of Humāyūn, 562, 565, 567 and *n* 2, 591.

Munṣif, one of the high officers of the State, 497

Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh of Badāonī, 11 and *n* 1, 332, 442, 447, 473, 497, 545, 579, 610, 632.

Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Khākī ash-Shīrāzī 11 *n* 1.

Muqaddasa, a title of the town of Ij, 476.

Muqaddasī, the Arab Geographer, 217 *n* 2.

Muqaddamzāda, a slave born in the house, 334 and *n* 1.

Muqaddam-zāda of Kābul, 601.

Muqām-i-Salmān, in the desert of Arghan between Bushire and Shīrāz, 572 *n* 1.

Muqarrab Khān, title of Muqarrabu-l-Mulk, one of the Maliks of the Fīrūz Shāhi dynasty, **348** and *n* 7, 349, 350 and *n* 3, 351, 354.

Muqarrabu-l-Mulk, Malik, 346, **348**. See the above.

Muqbil, the servant of Khwāja-i-Jahan *nāib-i Vazir* of Gujrāt, 313.

Muqbil Khān, Malik, one of the retainers of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 386.

Muqīm Harawī, Khwāja, Dīwān of the household of Bābar, 9 *n* 2, 63 *n*.

Muqṭi', holder of a *qiṭ'*, 396 *n* 2.

Murād, Shāh, son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia, 572, 573 and *n* 1, 575, **576**.

Murajjab, Al-,—a title of the month of Rajab, 441 n 2.

Murṣad, son of Shaddād ibn 'Ād, a king of the ancient Arabs, 268 n.

Murtaẓā, *the chosen*, a title of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 74, 629 and n 5.

Mūsā al-Hādī, the 'Abbāside Khalifah, 75 n.

Muṣ'ab, a traditionist, 18 n 1.

Musbal, name of the sixth arrow in the game of *maisir*, 369 n 1.

Muṣḥaf, meanings of the word, 615 n 5.

Mushtarik of Yāqūt, a Geographical work, 15 n 5.

Musk, notes on, 1/2 n 2.

Muṣla sikhtan, meaning of the expression, 296 n 2.

Muslim ibnu-l-Walīd, a poet of the Court of Hārūnu-r-Rashīd, 74 n 2.

Muslim theologians, 614 n 2.

Muslims, the, 83, 120, 143 n 3, 150 n 4, 176 n, 191 and n 3, 194 and nn 4 and 5, 204, 235, 256 n 4, 361, 368 n 1, 377, 385 n 3, 387, 393, 395, 428 n 4, 432, 477, 483, 509 n 5, 514, 522 and n 5, 550, 565 and n 1, 576 n 5, 577 n, 600 n 9, 602 n 7, 603 n 6, 625 n 5, 626 and n 6, 636 n 2. See also under the Muḥammadans and the Mahometans.

Muṣṭafā, the Prophet Muḥammad, 59, 74, 475.

Muṣṭafā Farmalī, one of the Afghān Amīrs of Hindūstān, 444.

Muṣṭafaābād, *pargana* of, 596.

Mustakfī bi-llāhi Abu-r-Rabī' Sulaimān, third of the 'Abbāsī Khalifahs in Egypt, 327 n 6.

Mustanṣir billāh, the 'Abbāside Khalifah of Baghdād, 88 n 3, 94 n 2, 311 n 4.

Mustung, village in the neighbourhood of Quetta, 567 n 9.

Mutarafiẓ-i-ghālī, a fanatical heretic, 626 and n 4.

Mu'taṣim billāh, eighth Khalifah of the House of 'Abbās, 571 n 2.

Muṭawwal of Sa'du-d-Dīn at-Taftāzānī, 428 and n 8.

Mu'taṣid bi-llāhi Abū Bakr ibnu-l-Mustakfī bi-llāhi, sixth of the 'Abbāsī Khalifahs in Egypt, 327 n 6

Mathra or Māhurā, a sacred town of the Hindūs, 24 n 6.

Mutmara. See Shihāb-i-Mutmara, the Poet.

Muttra, District of, 134 n 1, 366 n.

Muttra, town of, in the Doāb, 377 n 6.

Muwaggini, Maulā Ḥusāmu-d-Dīn, author of a commentary on the *Miftahu l-'Ulum*, 428 n 2

Mu'yad Beg, one of the Amīrs of Humāyun, 574

Muẓaffar, Malik, Governor of Gujrāt under Sulṭān Moḥammad Tughlaq Shah, 314.

Muẓaffar Khān, nephew of Shaikh 'Alī ruler of Kābul, 389, 390, 392.

Muẓaffar Shāh of Gujrāt, contemporary of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 363 n 2

Muẓaffarnagar District, 378 n 1.

Mu'zam, Khwāja, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 566

N.

Nabadwip, another name of Nadiya, old capital of Bengal, 82 n 4.

Nabīh, of the tribe of Quraish, killed at the battle of Badr, 74 n 2.

Nadar Dev, Rāi, Governor of Arankal under Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji, 265 and n 4.

Nadīm, foster-brother of Humāyūn, 564 and nn 8 and 9

Nādirī-i-Samarqandī, Maulānā, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 611, 612, 613, 616 and n 2.

Nadiya, once the capital of Bengal, 81 n 2, 82 n 4 Called also Nūdiyā.

Nafaḥātu-l-Uns of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī, 270 and n 4, 609 n 5

Nafā'isu-l-Ma'āṣir, Lives of the Poets, 616 n 4, 618 n 5.

Nāfis, name of the fourth arrow in the game of *maisir*, 369 n 1

Nafs, the soul, 144 n 2, 145 n 1.

Nafsu-l-'Aql, the reason or discriminating faculty, 145 n 1

Nafsu-l-Ḥayāt, the breath of life, 145 n 1.

Nafsu-n-Nāṭiqah, the reasoning faculty, 145 n 1.

Nagar Cott, fortress of, 20 n 5. See Nagar Koṭ.

Nagar Koṭ, fortress of, 20 n 5, 331, 341, 342, 495. Also called Bhimnagar and Kot Kangra.

Nagaur,—or

Nāgor, city of, 124, 129, 130, 251, 357 n 3, 379 and n 1, 423, 425, 477, 563.

Nahar Pāl, nephew of Himūn Baqqāl, the Hindū General of 'Adlī, 553 nn 5 and 6

Naharwālā, a city of Gujrāt, called also Patan or Pattan, 28 and n 2, 71 and n 3, 89, 256 and n 4, 282.

Nāhīd, name of the planet Venus in Persian, 138 and n 2.

Nāhir, a Hindū General in the service of Sulṭān Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 36 and n 9.

Naḥsān, Mars and Saturn as the two stars of ill omen, 217 n 5.

Naḥv (Tuḥfa) Tāju-l-Mulk, one of the Maliks of Khiẓr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 376 and n 2.

Nāi, fortress of, 53 n, 54 nn 1 and 3.

Nāib of the barīds, 286 n 1.

Nāib-i-Shāhzāda, Malik Sadhū Nādir (*q. v.*), 378.

Nāib Malik,—or

Nāibu-l-Mulk Kāfūr, title of Malik Mānik, the slave of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 251 and n 7, 252, 256, 265 and nn 1 and 6, 267, 268, 271 n 6, 272, 273 and n 1. Called also Hazār Dīnārī.

Nails, Paring of, 139 n 5.

Narīmān, one of the heroes of the *Shāhnāma*, 35 n 2, 72.

Naisān or Nisān, first month of the Jewish year, 108 n 4.

Najam-i-Ṣānī. See Najm-i-Ṣānī.

Najātu-r-Rashīd of Badāoni, 511 and n 2, 609 and n 3.

Najm, An-, the Pleiades, 630 n 4.

Najm Shāh, one of the Amīrs of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī of Persia, 570.

Najm-i-Awwal, one of the Amīrs of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī of Persia, 570 and n 5.

Najm-i-Ṣānī Iṣfahānī, one of the Amirs of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī of Persia, 570 n 5.

Najmu-d-Dīn, Saiyyid, regent of Malik Sikandar of Lāhor (q. v.), 390.

Najmu-d-Dīn Abū naṣr, the ṣadru-l-Mulk, Wazīr of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd Shāh of the Shamsīyah dynasty, 124.

Najmu-d-Dīn Ḥasan, Shaikh, 270 n 6. Same as the famous poet Mīr Ḥasan Dihlavī (q. v.)

Najmu-d-Dīn 'Umar bin 'Alī Qazwīnī, author of the Shamsīyah, 427 n 1.

Nakhshab, fortress of, in Khurāsān, 570. Otherwise called Kash.

Nāma-i-Khirad Afzā of Badāonī, 95 and n 6.

Na'mat Khātūn, wife of Quṭb Khān Lodī (q. v.), 423 and n 2.

Na'mat Rasūlī,—or

Na'matu-llāh Rasūlī, Mīr Saiyyid, one of the poets and learned men of the time of Islem Shāh Sūr, 533 and n 7, 534 and n 4.

Nāmī, son of Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 47 and n 3.

Nandā, the Rājā of Kālinjar, contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 25, 26.

Nandana, a city on the mountains of Bālnāth, 22 and n 5, 128 and n 3.

Nandanpour, 128 n 3. Same as Nandana (q. v.).

Naqīr, the small groove on the date stone, 496 n 10.

Naqqāra, a kind of drums, 143 n 2

Naqsh, ornamental figures, 588 n 4.

Naqshband, a weaver of Kamkhābs adorned with figures, 588 n 4.

Naqshband, Khwājā Bahāu-d-Dīn, of Bokhārā, a famous saint, 588 n 4.

Naqshbandī, Khwājā Khāwind, contemporary of Bābar, 446.

Naqshbandī School, the, 588 n 4.

Naqshbandī Shaikhs, the followers of the renowned saint Khwāja Bahāu-d-Dīn Naqshband of Bokhārā, 588 n 4.

Narain, town of, on the banks of the river Sarsutī, 69 and n 4.

Nāran-Koe, town of, 85 n 4.

Narbadā river, the, 517 n 9.

Narcissus, notes on, 378 and n 2.

Nārdīn, a perfume, 146 n 6.

Narela, a place in the neighbourhood of Dihlī, 21 n 4.

Nargis or Narjis, the poet's narcissus, 378 n 2.

Nārkīla, town of, 186 and n 4.

Narma Shīrīn, the Mughal, brother of Qutlugh Khwāja (q v.), 305

Nārnālī, District of, 85 and n 4

Narnaul, in the province of Mīwāt, 365 n 8 See the two next

Narnol, capital city of the district of Mīwāt, 129 n 2, 365 and n 8, 395, 466.

Nārnūl, district and town of, 365, 466. See the two above.

Narsingh, Rāī, 361 n 2 See Rāī Harsingh.

Narwan the tree called Gulnār, 172 and n 3.

Narwar, fortress of, a dependency of Mālwa, 129 n 4, 130 and n 1, 422 and nn 3 and 5.

Narwar, Sarkār of, 130 n 1.

Nasaf, a town of Khurāsān, called also Nakhshab, 570 n 7.
Na'sh La'āsar, the Chariot or the four stars composing the body of the Great Bear, 198 n 2.
Naṣīb Khān Taghūchī,—or
Naṣīb Khān Tughūjī, one of the Amirs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 542, 593.
Naṣīb Shāh, Governor of Bangāla, contemporary of Shīr Shāh and Humāyūn, 457.
Naṣībīn, a town of Mesopotamia, 61 n 5.
Nāsikhu-t-Tawārīkh of Lisānu-l-Mulk, 154 n 8.
Naṣīr Khān Afghān, one of the Amirs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 592
Naṣīr Khān Lūhānī, one of the Generals of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 434, 444, 446 and n 1
Naṣīrābād, in the Jodhpur State, Rājputānā, 379 n 1.
Nāṣirī, a poet of the time of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish. 92.
Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Abu-l-Khair 'Abdu-llah Baiẓāwī, Qāẓī, 6 n 4. See under Baiẓāwī.
Naṣīru-d-Dīn Aḥmad Khaṭṭu, Shaikh, surnamed Ganjbakhsh, 357 n 3
Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban, 135 and n and n 1, 186, 187, 218, 219, 220 n 2, 221 n 3, 222, 223 and n 1, 224.
Naṣīru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān, 219 n 1. See Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān
Naṣīru-d-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī, Shaikh, contemporary of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 322, 323.
Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Ḥusain, the Amīr-i-Shikār, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, 74 n 1.
Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Ismā'īl Fatḥ, Sulṭān, 314. See Ismā'īl Fatḥ.
Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Khusrū Khān, the favourite of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 290. See Khusrū Khān Ḥasan Barāwar bacha.
Nāṣiru-d Dīn of Lakhnautī, Sulṭān, contemporary of Sulṭān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 299.
Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd I., Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 91, 126 n 3.
Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd II., Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, of the Slave dynasty, 124, 125, 126 and n 3, 127 and n 1, 134, 135 n and n 1, 136, 139, 187.
Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmud Shāh, ibn-i-Muḥammad Shāh, of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 348, 350 n 3. See under Maḥmūd Shāh.
Nāṣiru-d-Dīn of Mālwa, Sulṭān, contemporary of the Lodī dynasty of Dihlī, 423, 424.
Nāṣiru d-Dīn Muḥammad Humāyūn Pādishāh-i-Ghāzī, 451, 559. See under Humāyūn.
Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh, son of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 334, 337. See under Muḥammad Shāh.
Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shah, Sulṭān, 361 See Tātār Khān, son of Ẓafar Khān.
Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Muḥammad, Malik, son of Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 87 and n 2.

Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh, son of Fatḥ Khān, son of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 350. See under Nuṣrat Shāh
Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Qabāchah, Sulṭān of Sind, one of the slaves of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Sām Ghūrī, 79 and n 3, 80, 88 and n 1, 90 and n 2.
Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, son of Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 94. See under Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Maḥmūd.
Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Subuktigīn, ruler of Kābul and founder of the Ghaznivide dynasty, 13 and n 1, 14 and n 1, 15.
Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Ṭūsī, Khwāja, a celebrated mathematician and Shi'ah divine, 577 r
Nāṣiru-l-Ḥaqq, a title of kings, 161.
Naṣiru-l-Mulk 'Ādil Khān, one of the Maliks of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 354.
Nasr-i- Ṭā'ir, the constellation Eagle, 321 and n 3.
Nasrain-i-falak, the constellations Eagle and Lyre, 630 n 1
Naṣrat Khān, 129 n 2 See Nuṣrat Khān, son of Fatḥ Khān and grandson of Sulṭan Fīrūz Shāh.
Naṣrat Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 249. See under Nuṣrat Khān Jalīsarī.
Naṣru-llāh of Bangāla, Shaikh, uncle of Shaikh 'Alāi of Baiāna, 507.
Nāth, one of the Chiefs of Hind under Sulṭān Mas'ud ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 36 n 2.
Naubat, music played daily by a band at stated hours, 498 and n 3.
Nauroz, the greatest feast among the Persians, 166 n 1.
Naushahr, a name of the town of Jhīlm (*q. v.*), 257.
Naushahra, the town of Nowshera, 465 and n 2.
Naushirwān, Chosroes I., son of Kobad, King of Persia of the Sassanide dynasty, 46 and n 5, 162.
Nawāfil, voluntary prayers, 488 n 7.
Nawār wife of al-Farazdaq, the famous Arab poet, 287 n 2.
Nawāsa, a name of Sūkhpāl, the grandson of Jaipāl, contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 20 n 4.
Nazar Shaikh Jūlī or Juma'ālī, one of the court officers of Humāyūn, 601 and n 3.
Nazarenes, the, 207.
Nāẓimu-d-Dīn, Maulānā, one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shah, of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 482 and n 3.
Nāzukī Marāghī, the Poet, contemporary of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Sām Ghūrī, 75.
Nebula of the Pleiades, 630 n 4.
Nehroāla, a city of Gujrāt, 28 n 2. Same as Naharwāla (*q. v.*).
Nellore (Nilāwar), town of, 265 n 5.
Nerimān le Pehlevān, 35 n 2. See under Narimān.
Newa Kishore Press, 487 n 6.
Ney, Marshal, 157 n 2.
Ney Elias, *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, 305, 464 n 8. See under Elias and Ross.
Nijim Sani (Najm-i-Ṣānī) Iṣfahānī, one of the Amīrs of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī of Persia, 570 n 5.
Nikāh, marriage contract, 522 and n 5.
Nilāwar (Nellore), town of, 265 n 5.
Nile, the, 210.

Nīm tree (*Melia azadirachta*), 129 n 2.

Nimak, meanings of the word, 493 n 2.

Ni'matu-llah of Baiāna, Saiyyid, one of the learned and holy men of the time of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 424

Nimrod, 154 n 8, 207, 234. See also under Nimrūd.

Nīmroz, territory of, 13 n 1, 29.

Nimrūd, 155 n, 176. See also under Nimrod.

Nisān or Naisān, first month of the Jewish year, 108 n 4.

Niṣārī Tūnī, a celebrated Persian poet, 622.

Nisāpur,—or

Nishāpūr, a town of Khurāsān, 16 n 3, 34, 36, 42 and n 1, 43 n 1, 50 n 2, 54 n 1, 683.

Nishtar, a lancet, 504.

Niṭas, Sea of,—the Black Sea, 153 n 1.

Niwār, 495 n.

Niyāl Tigīn Amīr Aḥmad, treasurer of Sulṭān Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 36 and nn 6, 8 and 9.

Niyāzī Afghāns, the, 492, 493, 495, 497, 498, 499, 500, 506, 518, 520, 525.

Niẓām, a governor, one who orders and directs, 612 n 1.

Niẓām, the water-carrier who rescued Humāyūn from drowning, 461 and n 3.

Niẓām, a youth mentioned in the poetry of Maulānā Nādirī-i-Samarqandī (q. v.), 611.

Niẓām's dominions, the, 299 n 3.

Niẓām Astarābādī, a master in astronomical poetry, 621, 626.

Niẓām Khān of Baiāna, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī family, 443, 445.

Niẓām Khān, son of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, afterwards Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 411.

Niẓām Khān, son of Ḥasan Khān Sūr and full brother of Shīr Shāh, 467 n 5, 468, 495 and n 4.

Niẓām Shāh Baḥrī, ruler of the Dakkan, 625 and n 3, 635, 636. See also under Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Baḥrī.

Niẓām Shāhī dynasty of the Dakkan, 533 n 6.

Niẓāmī, *nom de plume* of Khwaja Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad, author of the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī, 10, 45 and n 1.

Niẓāmī,—or

Niẓāmī Ganjawī, Shaikh, the famous Persian poet, 98 n 1, 114 n 2, 174 nn 2 and 3, 269 n 5, 296 and n 4.

Niẓāmu-d-Dīn, Malik, nephew of Maliku-l-Umarā Kotwāl of Dihlī (q. v.), 220 and n 3.

Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad, father of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī, 272 n 1.

Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad, son of Khwāja Muqīm Harawī, author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 9 n 2, 10 n, 45 n 1, 62, 63 n, 569 n 6, 580 n 5, 585 n 7

Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad Iliās ibn Abī Yūsuf al-Muṭarrazī, name of the celebrated poet Niẓāmī, 296 n 4.

Niẓāmu-d-Dīn 'Alāqa, Malik, Wazīr of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād of the Balbanī dynasty, 220, 221, 223, 224. See also under Niẓāmu-l-Mulk 'Alāqa.

Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā, son of Aḥmad Dānyāl,—the Prince of Holy men, 71 n 2, 236 and n 2, 260 and n 1, 267, 269 n 5, 270 and n 6, 271 nn 1 and 4, 284, 301, 610 and n 4, 611 n.

Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Beghū Malik Shāh, the Turkomān, contemporary of Sulṭān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, 39.

Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Malik Shāh, the Saljūq, 41. See under Malik Shāh Saljūqī

Niẓāmu-d-Dīn of Oudh, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 334.

Niẓāmu-l-Auliyā, 236 and n 2. Same as Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā (*q. v.*).

Niẓāmu-l-Mulk 'Aliqa, Wazīr of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād of the Balbanī dynasty, 222, 224, 226, 230 n 1. See also under Niẓāmu-d-Dīn 'Aliqa.

Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Baḥrī, King of the Dakkan, 533, 534, 635 and n 3 See also under Niẓām Shāh.

Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Ḥusain, son of Amīr Mīran, one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 333 and n 2.

Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Jandī (Junaidī), Wazīr of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 90, 98, 119, 120.

Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Jundī (Junaidī), 120. See the above.

Niẓāmu-l-Mulk of Karra, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 311.

Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Muhaẕẕabu-d-Dīn, Wazīr of the Shamsiyah Sulṭāns, 120, 122, 123 and n 3, 124.

Niẓāmu-t-Tawārīkh of Baiẓāwī, 10 n 3 24 n 7, 31.

Niẓāmu-t-Tawārīkh of Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad, more commonly known as the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, 10 and n 3.

Noah of the Scriptures, 61 n 5, 154 n 2, 198 n 1.

Nöldeke's *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber*, 99 n 6.

North-Western Provinces of India 218 n 3, 377 n 3, 410 n 4, 486 n 6, 546 nn 3, 4 and 5.

Northern Asia, 191 n 2.

Northern India, 22 n 2.

Noshāba or Nūshāba, image of, 281, 282 n.

Nowshera (Naushahra), town of, 465 and n 2.

Nūda Bahādur Shāh, Governor of Sunār Gānw, contemporary of Sulṭān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Tughlag Shāh, 299, 300

Nūdiā,—or

Nūdiyā, old capital of Bengal, 82 and n 4 Called also Nadiya (*q. v.*).

Nūh and Patal, name of a place, 359. See also under Nūh Patal.

Nūḥ ibn Lamak, Noah of the Scriptures, 154 and n 2, 556. See also under Noah.

Nūḥ, son of Manṣūr, son of Nūḥ Sāmānī, of the dynasty of the Sāmānis, the kings of Khorāsān and Transoxiana, 14 n 1, 15 and n 4.

Nūh Patal, a ford on the river Jamna, 386. See also Nūh and Patal.

Nuh Sipihr, one of the poetical works of Mīr Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 273 n 3, 274 n 1.

Nūhānī, for Lūhānī (*q. v.*), 413 n 2.

Nūhānī Afghāns of Baiāna, 546.

Nūkhānī, for Lūhānī (q. v.), 418 and nn 8 and 12.
Nukhbatu-d-Dahr of Dimashqī, 147 n 3.
Numbers, the Book of, 302 n 2.
Nūru-d-Dīn 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī, Mullā, 32 n 2, 272 n1. See under Jāmī.
Nūru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Ūfī of Merv, 33 n 1. See under Muḥammad Ūfī.
Nūshāba or Noshāba, image of, 331, 332 n.
Nuṣrat Jalīsarī, Malik, 247. See under Nuṣrat Khān Jalīsarī.
Nuṣrat Khān, son of Fath Khān, son of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 350. See under Nuṣrat Shāh.
Nuṣrat Khān, son of Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 297
Nuṣrat Khān Gurgandāz, one of the Maliks of the Fīrūz Shāhī and Saiyyid dynasties, 364 and n 1, 390, 391.
Nuṣrat Khān Jalīsarī, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 247, 248, 249, 254, 256, 258.
Nuṣrat Khān Karkandāz, 364. See under Nuṣrat Khān Gurgandāz.
Nuṣrat Khān Lūhānī, one of the Generals of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 446 n 1. See under Naṣir Khān.
Nuṣrat Khān Maliku-sh-Sharq Marwān-i-Daulat, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 335 and n 1, 376.
Nuṣrat Khūkhar, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 358 n 6
Nuṣrat Shāh, Sulṭān, son of Fatḥ Khān, son of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 350, 351, 352, 354, 359.

O.

Ochus, father of Parysatis, wife of Alexander the Great, 332 n.
Old Dihlī, 366 n 1, 472
Olong Beg, the royal astronomer, 198 n 2.
Omar Khayyām, the celebrated Poet, 144 n 1, 474 n 1.
Onyx, notes on, 147 n 3.
Oodypur, called also Udhāfar, town of, 12, 13 n
Oozbuky, Abū Manṣūr, 47 n 7 See under Abū Manṣūr Zangī.
Opium, notes on, 161 and n 3.
Oriental Biographical Dictionary, Beale's, 32 n 1, 33 n 1, 38 n 4, 53 n, 54 n 2, 55 n 3, 58 n 5, 236 n 2, 297 n, 298 n 2, 332 n 2, 339 n 4, 507 n 2. 533 nn 1 and 6, 571 n 9, 584 n and n 3, 633 n 1.
Oriental Proverbs, Roebuck's, 57 n 2, 58 n 1, 218 n 2, 244 n 5, 301 n 3.
Orientals, the, 147 n 1.
Orissa, 125 n 3, 299 n 2, 471 and n 8, 554
Osbaks, the. See under the Ozbaks.
Osborn's *Islām under the Arabs*, 157 n 2
Osrūshna, a town beyond Samarqand in Transoxiana, 59 n 1.
Oudh, 81, 87, 98, 125, 131, 222 and n 3, 236, 239, 243, 311, 312, 329 n 2, 334, 349, 415.

Owl, the,—the type of ill-omen, 56 *n* 1, 157 and n 1, 191 *n* 2.
Oxus, the, 15 *n* 5, 23 *n* 1, 27 *nn* 1 and 2, 61 *n* 5. See also under the Jaiḥūn and the Jīḥūn.
Oxyartes, father of Roxana, wife of Alexander the Great, 331 *n* 10.
Osbaks, the, a tribe of the Turks, 570, 582, and *n* 7, 592 and *n* 9, 627 and *n* 7. See the Osbaks.

P.

ābandh Khabrak,—or
'ābandh Khazak, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 495 and *n* 5.
Pādham, town of, 377.
Padmāwati, name of a place, 329.
Pādzahr, the Bezoar stone, called *Ḥajaru-l-Ḥaiyyah*, 118 *n*.
Pāik or *Paik*, a runner, 302 and *n* 3.
Pāk Patan,—or
Pāk Pattan, the town of Ajūdhan, 133 *n*, 355 *n* 1, 362 n 2, 363 *n*, 520 n *u*.
Pakhāwaj, a large kind of drum, 557 and *n* 3.
Pālam, town of, 311, 351 and *n* 10.
Pālhanpūr, for the town of Ilahpūr, 410 *n* 3.
Palmer's *Qur'ān*, 194 *n* 4, 216 *n*, 372 *n* 1, 519 *n* 7.
Palwal, township of, 547 and *n* 5.
Pan, or betel, 303 *n*.
Panchāna river, the,—in Magadh, 82 *n* 1.
Panḍuah, town of, 325 *n* 3, 329.
andūs, family of the, 293 *n* 5.
Paneāli, town of, 81 *n* 4.
Panipat,—or
Pānipath, town of, 21 *n* 4, 343, 351 352, 354, 366 and n 3, 391, 440, 463, 592, *n* 9, 600 *n* 5.
Panjāb, the, 78 and *n* 3, 90, 123, 217, 388, 389 *n* 2, 391, 437 *n* 8, 446, 462, 464, 466 *n* 6, 491, 492, 498, 505, 518, 520, 523, 530, 534, 542, 543, 559, 590 *n* 5, 594, 596, 598 *n* 10, 601.
Panj Bhaiya, *or the five brothers*, Amīrs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 544, 547
Panjgāh, town of, 622.
Panj Ganj, one of the poetical works of Mīr Khusru, the famous poet of Dihlī, 259 *n* 5
Panjnad river, the, 66 *n* 3.
Panna, town and district of, 416 *n* 6, 417 and *nn* 5, 6 and 7, 433 *n* 3.
Pāntar, township of, 559 and *n* 7, 560.
Panwārs, the,—a clan of the Rājpūts, 384 and *n* 3.
Parak, the star Canopus, 152 *n* 6.
Param Talāo, name of a place, 329.
Parama Dev, one of the Rājas of Hindustān at the time of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn's invasion, 29 *n*.
Parbatī, the,—a tributary of the Chambal river, 385 *n* 3.
Parihan Dev, Rāi, contemporary of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 329 and *n* 9.
Paring of nails, 139 *n* 5.

Paris, 67 *n* 1, 228 *n* 1, 265 *n* 5, 272 *n*, 311 *n* 5.

Parshādar, for Parshāwar (*q. v.*), 591 *n* 4.

Parshāwar, halting-place of, 591 and *n* 4.

Parshāwara, original name of the town of Peshāwar, 48 *n* 5.

Parshūr, the modern Peshāwar, 48 and n 5, 66 and *n* 6.

Parysatis, wife of Alexander the Great, 332 *n*

Pashala, town of, 583 and *n* 2.

Patal, town of, 359.

Patal, a mat, 618 *n* 2.

Patan or Pattan, a city of Gujerāt, anciently called Naharwāla, 28 and n 2, 71 and *n* 3.

Patan-i-Panjāb, the same as Pāk Patan or Ajūdhan, 133 *n*, 520.

Pātar or *Pātur*, a dancing girl, 332 *n* 5, 496 and *n* 4.

Pātar, name of a place, 559 *n* 7.

Pathān Kings of Dehli, Thomas's, 64 *n* 3, 77 *n* 2, 83 *n* 3, 87 *nn* 1 and 6, 88 *n* 1, 91 *n* 5, 210 *n* 1, 126 *n* 3, 135 *n* 1, 269 *nn* 1 and 2, 307 *n*, 310 *n* 2, 311 *n* 4, 325 *n* 1, 326 *n*, 327 *n* 6, 337 *n* 4, 344 *n* 7, 345 *n* 4, 346 *n* 5, 347 *n* 3, 351 *nn* 4, 9 and 11, 352 *n* 2, 359 *n* 4, 366 *nn* 1 and 4, 399 *n* 7, 400 *n* 1, 556 *n* 5, 618 *n* 1.

Pathna, for the town of Panna, 417 *n* 5.

Pathūrā, Rāi, Governor of Ajmir, contemporary of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muhammad Sām Ghūri, 69, 70, 257 and *n* 3.

Pātiālā, town of, 99 *n* 3, 134 *n* 4. See the next.

Paṭiālī, town in Aliganj *tahsil* Etah District, N.-W. Provinces, 81 and *n* 4, 185 and *n* 1, 218 and n 3, 413 and *n* 10. See the above.

Paṭitah, town of, 81 *n* 4.

Patna, town of, 82 *n* 1, 415 and *n* 8, 416, 417, *n* 5, 470, 471, 485.

Patna, for the town of Thatta, 408 *n* 7.

Patta, name of a place, 416 *n* 6.

Pattan or Patan, a city of Gujerāt, 28 and n 2, 71 and *n* 3.

Pattan of the Panjāb, the same as Pāk Pattan or Ajūdhan, 520 and *n* 2.

Pātur or *Pātar*, a dancing girl, 332 *n* 5, 496 and *n* 4.

Pātur bāzī, a kind of entertainment, 332 and *n* 5.

Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turk-Oriental*, 91 *n* 1, 215 *nn* 1 and 5, 240 *n* 6, 250 *n* 6, 258 *n* 5, 259 *n* 1, 292 *n* 3, 313 *n* 3, 323 *n* 2, 353 *n* 1, 354 *n* 7, 424 *n* 3, 439 *nn* 4 and 7, 440 *n*, 464 *n* 5, 468 *n* 2, 494 *n* 7, 497 *n* 1, 543 *n* 1, 568 *n* 5, 569 *nn* 5 and 6, 574 *n* 5, 578 *n* 9, 580 *n* 5, 592 *n* 5, 596 *n* 6.

Payāk, for the town of Prayāg (*q. v.*), 415 *n* 5

Payik, a runner, 302 *n* 3.

Perceval. See under Caussin de Perceval.

Persia, 33 *n* 1, 46 *n* 5, 119 *n* 5, 141 *n* 4, 209 *n* 3, 233, 421, 618 *n* 1.

Persian Game of Chess, 103 *n* 1, 115 *n*, 479 *n* 7.

Persian Grammar, Platt's, 546 *n* 1.

Persian 'Irāq. 30 *n* 1.

Persians, the, 35 *n* 2, 43 *n* 1, 93 *n* 4, 104 *n* 3, 109 *n* 4, 166 *n* 1, 170 *n*,

175 *n*, 198 *n* 2, 280 *n* 4, 258 *n* 6, 280 *n* 3, 476 *n* 5.

Persico-Latinum Lexicon, Vüller's, 440 *n*.

Pertāb, Rāi, one of the Maliks of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihli, 401 *n* 2.

Perthas, son of Gaz the son of Japhet, 61 *n* 5.

Peshāwar, 18, 48 *n* 5, 66 n 6, 128 *n* 3.

Philosophers, Four kinds of, 181 *n* 2.

Phoenicians, the, 104 *n* 2.

Phthisis, 319 and *n* 4, 320 *n*.

Pīlband, a stratagem in the game of Chess, 114 *n* 2.

Pind Dādan Khān *tahsil*, Jhilam District, Panjāb, 437 *n* 8.

Pindār Khilji, Malik, called Qadr Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 303.

Pingal, the Science of Music, 332 and *n* 4.

Pingala,—or

Pingalanāga, the inventor of Hindū Prosody, 332 *n* 4.

Pīr Muḥammad, Mirzā, grandson of the great Tīmūr, King of Khurāsān and Māwarā-an-Nahr, 352, 353, 355, 358 *n* 6.

Pīr Muḥammad Khān, Governor of Balkh, contemporary of Humāyūn, 581, 582.

Pīr Roshan, name of Bāyazīd Anṣār, founder of a Ṣūfī sect, 58 *n* 5

Pirahs, a ford on the river Ganges, 377 and *n* 1

Pīran, one of the companions of Afrāsyāb, in the Shāh-nāma of Firdausī, 180 *n* 2.

Pīrey, Governor of Ghaznīn, 14 *n* 1.

Pisæus, the Tyrrhenian, inventor of the *rostrum*, 29 *n* 5.

Pithora, Rāi, 257 and *n* 3. See under Rāi Pathūrā of Ajmīr.

Piyāda-i-aṣlī or original pawn, at Chess, 114 *n* 2.

Plague, bubonic, 524 and *n* 1.

Plato, 181 *n* 2, 520 *n* 7.

Platt's *Gulistān*, 187 *n* 2.

Platt's *Persian Grammar*, 546 *n* 1.

Pleiades, the, 198 and n 2, 367 *n* 3, 630 and n 4.

Pliny, 23 *n* 3, 24 *n* 6, 394 *n* 5.

Polo, game of, 417 *n* 8.

Pompeii, 119 *n* 5.

Poni, town of, 384 *n* 1.

Portugal, 543.

Portuguese, the, 454 *n* 7.

Postin, a sheepskin coat, 617 and *n* 4, 618 n 1.

Prayāg, the ancient name of Allahabad, 415 and *n* 5.

Prayer, five stated times of, 147 *n* 2

Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities*, 18 *n* 1.

Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 559 *n* 5.

Præneste, oracle of, 413 *n* 1.

Prolégomènes d'Ibn Khaldūn, de Slane's, 151 *n* 4, 157 *n* 1, 181 *n* 2, 191 *n* 2, 217 *n* 5, 244 *n* 6.

Prolégomènes des Tables Astronomiques d'Oloug Bey, 198 *n* 2.

Prosody, Ranking's *Elements of Arabic and Persian*, 607 *n*.

Proverbia Arabum, Freytag's, 157 *n* 1, 458 *n* 3, 507 *n* 3, 580 *n* 1.

Proverbs, Roebuck's, 57 *n* 2, 58 *n* 1, 218 *n* 2, 244 *n* 5, 301 *n* 3.

Psalms, Book of, 486 *n* 4.

Ptolemy, 364 *n* 4, 382 *n* 4.

Pufal or *Tufal*, a long tube for throwing balls, 159 *n* 2.

Pūhī, a ford on the Rāvī, 383 and *n* 10, 384 *n* 1, 392.

Pūjā of the Hindūs, 484 *n* 1.

Punjāb. See under the Panjāb.

Pulāq-Sūrīq, name of a place, 569 and *n* 8.

Purānas, the, 293 *n* 5.

Pūranmal, son of Silhadī, one of the Chiefs of Rāi Sen, contemporary of Sher Shāh, 475, 476 and *n* 3.

Purifications enjoined by Muḥammadan law, 603 *n* 2.

Pushakāl,—or

Pushkāl, the rainy season in Turkī, 325 *n* 2.

Puttyaly, for the township of Baitālī on the banks of the Ganges, 360 *n* 3.

Q.

Qāān, title originally given to the supreme sovereign of the Moguls, 145 *n* 2.

Qāān-i-Mulk, title of Sultān Muhammad, son of Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban, 187, 189 and *n* 1, 217

Qāānī, the famous Persian poet, 253 *n* 6

Qabā, a tunic worn by men, 120 *n* 7.

Qabā Khān Gang, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 597.

Qabaq, a gourd in Turkī, 621 *n* 4, 622 and *n* 1.

Qabaq andāzī, the game of, 621 *n* 5 See the next

Qabaq bāzī, a game of the ancient Turkomāns, who used to hang up a wooden gourd as a mark for archery, 621 *n* 4 See also the above.

Qabūl, Malik, Governor of Badaon under Sultān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 335

Qabūl Khalīfatī, Malik, 315

Qabūl Qiwāmu-l-Mulk, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 304, 315

Qabūl *Sarbardadār*, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 328 and *n* 1.

Qabul Torahand, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sultān Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 328 *n* 1

Qabulpura, a quarter of Badaon, 335

Qadan Khān, or Qadr Khan, son of Sultān Maḥmud Khilji of Malwa, 399 *n* 1.

Qadar Khān, King of Turkistān, 159 *n*

Qādir Khān, the son of Maḥmūd Khān of Kālpi, one of the Amirs of the Fīroz Shāhī and Saiyyid dynasties 375, 386

Qādir bi-llāhi Abu-l-'Abbās, Ahmad ibn Ishaq ibn al Muqtadir Khalīfah of the House of 'Abbas, 17 and n 2, 29 and *n* 2.

Qādiri, the Persian poet, 485.

Qadr Khān, son of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 231, **244**, 247 *n* and *n* 5.

Qadr Khān, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khiljī of Mālwa, 399 and *n* 1.

Qadr Khān, Malik Pindār Khiljī, the ruler of Lakhnautī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 302, 308.

Qāf, Koh-i-, a fabulous mountain round the world, 485.

Qāfiyah, the rhyme, a term of Prosody, 141 *n* 8, 607 and *n* 8.

Qā'im, Al-—, the promised Mahdi, 571 *n* 2.

Qairawān, the ancient Cyrene, in the province of Tunis, 167 and *n* 4.

Qaiṣar or Cæsar, 145 and *n* 2

Qaizurān, probably al Khaizurān, a cemetery at Baghdād, 59 *n* 1.

Qalandars, a sect of derveshes, 234, 235.

Qālij Khan, son-in-law of Changīz Khan, 230.

Qalij, a sword in Turkī, 230 *and n* 4.

Qalj, modification of the word *qalij* (*q. v.*), 230 and *n* 4.

Qamaru-d-Dīn Qirān-i Timur Khān, one of the Maliks of the Shamsiyah dynasty of Dihlī, 123 *n* 4

Qambar Dīwāna, one of the Amīrs of Humayun, 597, 598, 599, **600**.

Qamurgha, a hunting ground in Turkī, 258 *n* 5.

Qāmūs, the Arabic Dictionary of Fīruzābadī, 176 *n* 1, 182 *n* 4

Qanaj. Same as the town of Qanauj (*q. v.*)

Qanauj or Qanaj, the Hindu capital of Northern India, 23 and *nn* 2 and 4, 24, 25 *n* 4, 70, 114 *n* 2, 125, 312, 329 *n* 2, 346, 347, 348. 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 404 and *n* 5, 409, 413, 431 and *n* 4, 434, 443, 444, 452, 463, 472, 540, 568 *n* 6. See Qannauj.

Qanauj, river of, 463.

Qanauj, Sarkār of, 410 *n* 4, 538.

Qandahar, 16 *n* 3, 17, 453, 455, 456, 462, 466, 560, 567 and *n* 9, 568, 569, 573 and *n* 1, 574, 575, 578, 588 and *n* 6, 590, 591.

Qannauj See under Qanauj.

Qānūn, a Geographical work, 14 *n* 3, 17 *n* 4.

Qānūn fi-l-Tibb, a work on medicine by the celebrated Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), 533 and *n* 1.

Qarabeg, one of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 285, 290.

Qarācha Beg, the Governor of Qandahar, contemporary of Humāyun, 560 and *n* 2. See also under Qarācha Khān and Qarācha Khān.

Qarācha Khān, 560 *n* 2. Same as the above (*q. v.*)

Qarachal, another name of the mountain of Himachal (*q. v.*), 307 and *n* 4 See also the next

Qarajal, the mountain of, 307 *n* 3, 308 *n* 1 See the above.

Qara Khita (Cathay), 71 *n* 7, 103 *n* 3

Qarāmitah, heretical sect of the, 22 *n* 3

Qaraqush, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Shamsiyah dynasty, 123

Qara Qurchi, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441.

Qarghan, Nāib of the King of Khurāsān, contemporary of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 320.

Qarn, an uncertain period of time 442 and *n* 1.

Qarrācha Khān, contemporary of Humāyūn, 586. See under Qarācha Beg and Qurācha Khān.

Qārūn, the Korah of the Scriptures, 249.

Qāshān, a district and town of Persian 'Irāq, 30 *n* 1.

Qaṣīdah, a form of poem, 608 and *n* 3.

Qāsim Husain Sulṭān Usbeg, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 463.

Qāsim Kāhī Maulānā, otherwise known as Mīyān Kālī Kābulī, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 517, 584 and *nn* 1 and 3, 601.

Qāsim Sanbalī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty of Dihlī 431 *n* 4, 443

Qasr Bāgh, a palace in Dihlī, 126 *n* 3

Qaṣr-i-Safed, a palace in Dihlī, 82 *n* 2, 183

Qaṣṣī, called also Saqīf, founder of the Arab tribe of Saqīf, 12 *n* 1.

Qaṭarāt-i-Naisān, converted into pearls, 108 *n* 4.

Qazdār, an Amīr of the Ghaznavide dynasty, 48 and *nn* 3 and 4.

Qāẓī, an officer of justice under the *Sadr*, 610 *n*

Qāẓī-i-Charkh, the planet Jupiter, 368 and *n* 3

Qāẓī of the heavens, the planet Jupiter, 368 and *n* 3.

Qāẓī of Nīshāpūr satirised, 633.

Qāẓī 'Ābid, one of the poets of the reign of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq, 341 and *n* 2.

Qāẓī Aṣīr, contemporary of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 217.

Qāẓī Baiẓāwī, author of the *Anwāru-t-Tanzīl* and the *Niẓāmu-t-Tawārīkh*, 6 and *n* 4, 34, 45, 52, 62, 63. See also under Baiẓāwī.

Qāẓī Ḥamīd of Balkh, a celebrated writer and poet, 76 and *n* 1.

Qāẓī Khān, Ẓiāu-d-Dīn, a court officer of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 288, 289, 290.

Qāẓī Mughīṣ of Hānsī, one of the poets of the reign of Sulṭan Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 245.

Qāẓī Urdū, of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 234.

Qazwīnī, author of the *Āṣāru-l-Bilād* and the *'Ajā'ibu-l-Makhlūqāt*, 27 *n* 4, 28 n, 79 *n* 2, 178 *n* 4.

Qiblah, the direction in which Muslims turn in prayer, 368 *n* 1, 613 *n*.

Qidah, arrows used for gambling, 369 *n* 1.

Qidam, explanation of the term, 1 *n* 4, 153 *n* 7.

Qirān, Malik,—or

Qirān-i-Tīmūr Khān, otherwise called Tīmūr Khān Qarā Beg, one of the Shamsiyah Maliks, 125 and *n* 4.

Qirānu-s-Sa'dain, a celebrated poem by Mīr Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 135 *n*, 221 and n 2, 222 and n 1, 223 and *n*.

Qiṣaṣu-l-Anbiyā, Lives of the Prophets, 2?5 *n* 3.

Qiṣṣa-i-Salamān wa Absāl of Maulānā Jāmī, 272 *n* 1.

Qiṭʻ, a district, 496 *n* 2.

Qiṭʻah, a term of Prosody, explanation of, 608 and *n* 2

Qiṭmīr, the thin pellicle which covers the date-stone, 496 *n* 10.

Qiṭrān, exudation from species of mountain pines, 182 and *n* 4.

Qiwām, the stay or support of anything, 614 *n* 1.

Qiwām Khān, one of the Maliks of Khiẓr Khān, the first of the Saiyyid dynasty, 364, 375, 380.

Qiwāmu-d-Dīn Khudāwandzāda, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 314.

Qiwāmu-l-Mulk Malik Qabūl or Maqbūl, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 304, 315.

Qiyāmu-l-Mulk, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Muʻizzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād Balbani, 220, 224.

Qizil Bāsh, the,—or

Qizilbāshes, *Red-caps*, 48 *n* 2, 480, 570, 572 and n 8, 573, 574, 575, 576, 578, 593 *n* 9, 627 *n* 7.

Qoraish, tribe of. See under Quraish.

Qubbatu-l-Islām, a title of the city of Multān, 133 *n* 2.

Qabūl Nāib Vazīr, the Khān-i-Jahān, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 324.

Qudai, Mīr Ḥusain of Karbala, the poet, 623 and *n* 6.

Queen-consort of Humāyūn, 563. See Ḥamīda Bānū Begam.

Quetta, 567 *n* 9.

Quicksilver, called *Abu-l-Arwāḥ*, 340 *n* 2.

Qūl, centre of an army in Turkī, 439 *n* 4. Called also *Qhol*.

Qūlinj or Colic, notes on, 49 *n* 2.

Qulzum, the Ocean, 167.

Qarācha Khān, contemporary of Humāyūn, 581 and *n* 9. See also under Qarācha Beg and Qarrācha Khān.

Quraish or Qoraish, tribe of, 2 *n* 5, 110 *n* 4, 287 *n* 2.

Qur'ān, the, 2 *nn* 2, 3 and 4, 3 *nn* 1 and 7, 4 and *nn* 1 and 2, 5 and *n* 1, 6 *nn* 1, 2 and 4, 18 *n* 1, 28 *n* 1, 30 *n* 1, 51, 58 *n* 4, 63 *n* 2, 102 and *n* 4, 108 *n* 2, 110 *n* 4, 113 *n* 1, 115 *n* 2, 126 *n* 3, 127, 128 *n*, 143 *n* 3, 144 *n* 2, 147 *n* 2, 150 *nn* 1 and 3, 158 *n* and *n* 1, 159 *n* 5, 175 *n* 4, 183 *n* 2, 191 *n* 1, 194 *nn* 1 and 4, 201 *n* 3, 207 *nn* 1 and 4, 212 *n* 7, 216 *n*, 218 *n* 2, 249 *n* 3, 261 *n* 6, 262 *n*, 279 *n*, 288, 292 *n* 6, 311, 319 *n* 1, 321 *n* 5, 331, 333, 356 *n* 4, 368 *n* 1, 369 *n* 1, 372 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 373 *n*, 392 *n* 6, 412 *n* 1, 429 *n* 6, 448 and *n* 5, 449 *n* 7, 450, 481 *n* 9, 485 *nn* 2 and 3, 486 *n* 3, 510 and *n* 6, 511 and *n* 5, 514, 515, 516, 517 *n* 8, 519 *n* 7, 522 *n* 5, 524 *n* 3, 532 *n* 6, 547 *n* 14, 555 *n* 6, 568 *n* 3, 577 *n*, 579 and *n* 5, 590 *n* 1, 603 *n* 6, 615 and n 5, 632 *n* 1.

Qur'ān, seven *manzils* or divisions of the, 6 *n* 1.

Qūrchi, armed soldier in Turkī, 215 *n* 3.

Qurra Qamar, one of the Maliks of the Khilji dynasty, 291, 293, 295.

Qurīwa, an armed soldier, 215 and *n* 3.

Qaranful Sunbul, a poison 172 *n* 2

Qutās, the Tibetan yak, 548 *n* 1.

Qutb Khān, one of the Amirs of the Saiyyid dynasty, 401 *n* 2.

Qutb Khān, one of the Amirs of the Wālī of Bangāla, contemporary of Shīr Khān Sūr (*q v.*) 470.

Qutb Khān of Itāwah, one of the Amirs of the Lodī family, 443

Qutb Khān Lodī, cousin of Sultān Buhlūl Lodī, 403 *n* 7, 404 and *nn* 2 and 5, 405, 406, 407, 409 and *n* 7, 423 and *n* 2.

Qutb Khān Nāib, one of the Amirs of Shīr Shāh, 476, 486, 488, 489, 490.

Qutb Khān, son of Shīr Khān Sūr (*q v.*), 457, 463, 472

Qutb Mīnār of Dehlī, called after Qutbu-d-Dīn Ūshī (*q. v.*), 123 *n* 5.

Qutbīyah Amirs, the Maliks of Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn Aibak (*q. v.*), 90.

Qutbu-d-Dīn Aibak or Ībak, Sultān, slave and adopted son of Sultān Mu'izzu-d Dīn Ghūrī, 70, 72, 77 and *n* 3, 78 and *n* 3, 79 and *n* 3, 80, 81 and *n* 2, 82 and *n* 2, 86, 87, 88 *n* 1, 89, 90.

Qutbu-d-Dīn Bakhtyār Ūshī, Khwāja-i-Khwājagān, a famous saint known as Ka'kī, 92 and n 2, 123 and *n* 5.

Qutbu-d-Dīn Hasan, Malik, one of the Amirs of the Shamsiyah dynasty, 124

Qutbu-d-Dīn Husain ibn 'Alī Ghūrī, one of the Shamsiyah Maliks, 123 *n* 3.

Qutbu-d-Dīn Ībak. See under Qutbu-d-Dīn Aibak

Qutbu-d-Dīn Lak-bakhsh, *or bestower of laks*, a name of Sultān Qutbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 77 and *n* 4

Qutbu-d-Dīn Mahmūd bin Muhammad Rāzī, author of the *Sharh-i-Shamsiyah*, 427 *n* 1.

Qutbu-d-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, Sultān, son of Sultān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, of the Khiljī dynasty of Dihlī, 273, 274 and *n* 1, 275, 282, 283, 284, 289, 290, 291, 296 and *n* 3, 297.

Qutbu-d-Dīn Shāh, the son and successor of Muhammad Shāh I, son of Ahmad Shāh, Sultān of Gujarāt, 357 *n* 3.

Qutbu-d-Dīn, Saiyyid, Shaikhu-l-Islām of Dihlī under the Shamsiyah Sultāns, 128 and *n* 5, 132.

Qutbu-d-Dīn, eldest son of Sultān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 96.

Qutbu-d-Dīn Ūshī, Khwāja, the famous saint, 92 and n 2, 123 and *n* 5.

Qutbu-l-'Ālam Shaikh Ruknu-l-Haqq Quraishī, Shaikhu-l-Islām under Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh, 304 and *n* 4.

Qutbu-l-Mashāyikhi-l-'Izām, Shaikh Sharafu-d-Dīn Munīrī, a famous saint, 416 and *n* 13.

Qutlugh Khān, one of the Amirs of the dynasty of Sultān Shamsu-d Dīn Iyal-timish, 131, 132 and *n* 4.

Qutlugh Khān, one of the Maliks of Sultān Muhammad Tughlaq Shāh 309, 311, 312, 313.

Qutlugh Khān, Malik Faslu-llah Balkhī, one of the Amirs of the Fīruz Shāhī dynasty, 351 and *n* 2

Qutlugh Khān the Vazir, Qāzī Samāu-d-Dīn, one of the Amirs of Sultān Husain Sharqī of Jaunpur 406, 407

Qutlugh Khwāja, the Mughul King of Khurāsān, 305. See also under Qutluq Khwāja.

Qutluq Khān, brother's son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 259.

Qutluq Khwāja, the son of Duā, the Mughul King of Khurāsān and Māwarāu-n-Nahr, contemporary of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 250 and *n* 1, 258, 305.

R.

Races of the North-Western Provinces of India, Elliott's, 122 *n* 1, 312 *n* 7, 384 *n* 3, 408 *n* 1, 415 *n*.

Radah, for *Roh*, a name of Afghānistān, 466 *n* 5, 493 *n* 6.

Radhanpūr, a city of Gujerāt, 28 *n* 2, 71 *n* 3.

Radīf, in Persian prosody the name given to a syllable or word following the rhyme, 141 *n* 2

Radīf, in Prosody a letter of prolongation before the *rawī*, 607 and *n* 4.

Rafī'u-d-Dīn Ṣafawī of Ij, Mīr Saiyyid, *Hazrat-i-Muqaddas*, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 445, 470 and n 5, 479, 513, 514.

Rāfizī, or heretic, a term applied to any of the Shī'ah sects, 156 *n* 1, 604 and n 5, 626 *n* 6.

Rafz, heresy, 626 and *n* 6

Rahabe, a canal or aqueduct, 459 *n* 5.

Rahabe, for *Rahabe*, a canal, 459 *n* 5

Rahab river, the, 131 and n 2, 231, 251, 377, 379, 409.

Raḥīm Dād, Khwāja, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty, 445 and *n* 5.

Rahman, Sūratu-r—, a chapter of the Qur'ān, 218 *n* 2.

Raḥmatu-llāhi, a term applied to a weaver, 527, 528 *n* 1.

Raḥmatu-llāhi Iqbāl Khān, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 527.

Rāhā, a kind of flower, 142 *n* 3.

Rāhu, a Hindū mythological monster and in Astronomy the ascending node, 163 *n* 2.

Rai, the ancient Rhages, a district and town of Persian 'Irāq, 30 and n 1, 35, 73 *n* 1

Rāi-i-Rāiyān, title of Randhol, the uncle of Khusrū Khān Barāwarbacha, 290.

Rāi of Bārānasī, the contemporary of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Taghlaq, 329.

Rāi of Dholpūr, the contemporary of the Lodīs, 410, 419

Rāi of Gwalior, the contemporary of the Saiyyids, 381, 384, 398

Rāis of Jājnagar, the, 329 *n* 6.

Rāi of Satgarh, the contemporary of Sulṭān Fīroz Shah, 329 and *n* 5.

Rāi of Serinagar, for Rāi Sir (*q v*), 300 *n* 3

Rāi of Telinga, the contemporary of Sultān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 286

Rai Bhīm, the chief of Jammoo, contemporary of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 383 and *n* 3

Rāi Fīroz of Tilaundi, contemporary of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 382 and *nn* 1 and 2, 390

Rāi Jai Chand, Governor of Qanauj, contemporary of Sulṭān Shihābu-d-Dīn Ghūrī, 70.
Rāi Jaljīn Bhatī, Governor of the fort of Bhaṭ at the time of Tīmūr's invasion, 355 and n 4.
Rāi Karan of Gujerāt, contemporary of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 255, 256.
Rāi Lakhmaniya, Lakhmia or Lakminia, the ruler of Nadiyā, contemporary of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 82 and n 5, 83 n 1.
Rāi Pathūrā, Governor of Ajmir, contemporary of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Ghūrī, 69, 70. See also Rāi Pithora.
Rāi Pertāb, one of the Amirs of the Saiyyid dynasty, 401 n 2.
Rāi Pithora, 257 and n 3. See under Rāi Pathūrā.
Rāi Sanīr, 360 n 3. See Rāi Sīr.
Rāi Sar, the Governor of Chandāwar, contemporary of Khiẓr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty, 377.
Rāi Sen, contemporary of Shīr Shāh, 475.
Rāi Sīr, the r r of Baitālī, contemporary of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 360 and n 3
Rāi Unar, contemporary of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 332 n 6.
Rāi Vikramājit of Ujain, 95.
Raiseen, for Rāisain or the two towns of Rās, 327 n 1.
Rājā of Bheerbhoom, 320 n 9.
Rājā of Dangaya (Bundelkhand), the contemporary of Muḥammad Shāh of the Mughul dynasty, 25 n 5.
Rājā of Gwāliār, the contemporary of the Lodīs, 419, 432.
Rājā of Jaisalmīr, the contemporary of Humāyūn, 563.
Rājās of Jamū, 19 n 2.
Rājā of Kadba (? Garha-Katanka), the contemporary of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 433 n 5.
Rājā of Mandrāyal, the contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 420.
Rājā of Nagarkoṭ, the contemporary of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 331.
Rājā of Qanauj, the contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 26
Rājā of Rohtās, the contemporary of Shīr Shāh, 457.
Rājā of Thatta, the contemporary of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 408.
Rājā Dāhir, contemporary of Muḥammad Qāsim, the conqueror of Sind, 12 n 2, 13 n.
Rājā Kansa, of Mathra, the enemy of Krishna, 24 n 6.
Rājā-Tarangini, an historical work in Sanskrit, 8 n 2, 16 n 1.
Rajab, Malik, the Governor of Depālpur under the Saiyyid dynasty, 383 n 11.
Rajab Nādira, Malik, the Governor of Multān under the Saiyyid dynasty, 387.
Raj Gaṛ, a town on the banks of the Ganges, 404.
Rajiwa, a canal leading from the Jumna to Hisār, 325 n 3, 326 n.
Rājputāna, 69 n 2, 298 n 7, 379 n 1, 419 n 3.
Rājpūts, the, 13 n, 365 n 8, 382 n 4, 384 n 2, 397 n 1, 414 n 13.
Rājū, Malik, one of the Amirs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 349.
Rājūri, town of, 500.

Rakat Chandan, the red Sandal, 484 *n* 1.

Rām, a Rājā of Hindūstān, contemporary of Sulṭān Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 37.

Rām Chand, the ruler of Bhatta, contemporary of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 553, 554.

Rām Chandra, the Rājā of Deogarh, 271 *n* 6. Same as Rām Deo (*q. v.*).

Rām Deo, Rāi of Deogīr, contemporary of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 237, 247 *n*, 251 *n* 7, 256, 271 *n* 6, 283. See the above.

Ramal-i-muṡamman, a kind of prosodial metre, 607 *n*.

Rāmāyana, the, 8 *n* 2.

Ramghar, a fortress in the province of Agra, 70 *n* 4.

Rana, village of, 364 *n* 7.

Rānā, the Governor of Amarkot, contemporary of Humāyūn, 566.

Rānā Sānkā, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty, 444, 445, 446, 452, 470.

Randhol, Rāi-i-Rāiyān, the uncle of Khusrū Khān Barāwar, the favourite of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 289, 290.

Rang, a cluster of globular bells, 621 *n* 2.

Ranking's *Elements of Arabic and Persian Prosody*, 607 *n*.

Rantanbhor,—or

Rantanbhūr, fortress of, in the province of Ajmīr, 92 and *n* 4, 120 and *n* 4, 129, 236, 257 and *nn* 1, 3 and 7, 258, 260, 261, 262, 410, 425, 475, 477, 486, 526, 597.

Ranthanbhūr, fortress of, 92 and *n* 4. Same as the above (*q. v.*).

Rānūn the Black, a slave of Ṣidh Pāl (*q. v.*), 395.

Rāo Khiljī, Governor of the fort of Bhaṭ at the time of Tīmūr's invasion, 355 and *n* 4.

Rāo Zorāwar Singh, also known as Rāpar Sen, founder of the town of Rāpari, 377 *n* 5.

Rāpar Sen, 377 *n* 5. See the above.

Rāparī,—or

Rāpri, district and town of, 377 and *nn* 4 and 5, 387, 404, 407, 413, 430.

Raqīb, name of the third arrow in the game of *maisir*, 369 *n* 1.

Raqqāṣ-i-falak, or the dancer of the sky, a name of the planet Venus, 138 *n* 3.

Rās, town of, 326 *n*, 327 and *n* 1.

Rāsain, the two towns of Rās, 326 *n* 327 *n* 1.

Rashid *Vazir*, Khwāja, minister of the King of Khurāsān, 605.

Rashidkoṭ, fortress of, in the northern hill-range of the Panjāb, 498.

Rashidu-d-Dīn, author of the *Jāmi'u-t-Tawārikh*, 307 *n* 4, 353 *n* 1.

Rata, village of, 364 and *n* 7.

Rāthor tribe of Rajpūts, the, 384 *nn* 2 and 3.

Rauẓatu-ṣ-Ṣafā, an historical work, 62 and *n* 3, 121 *n* 1.

Raverty's *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, 13 *n* 1, 14 *nn* 1 and 2, 16 *nn* 1 and 2, 19 *n* 2, 20 *n* 2, 23 *n* 1, 29 *n* 1, 31 *n* 1, 33 *n* 2, 35 *n* 1, 37 *n* 6, 38 *nn* 1 and 3, 42 *n* 3, 43 *n* 3, 44 *nn* 6 and 8, 45 *n* 3, 46 *n* 2, 47 *n* 1, 49 *n* 4, 50 *n* 1, 55 *nn* 2 and 4, 60 *nn* 1 and 2, 62 *n*

4, 65 *n* 2, 66 *nn* 1, 2 and 6, 67 *nn* 1 and 3, 69 *nn* 2, 3 and 4, 70 *nn* 1 and 3, 71 *nn* 1, 5, 6 and 7, 72 *nn* 1 and 4, 73 *n* 2, 77 *n* 2, 78 *n* 3, 79 *n* 3, 80 *nn* 3 and 4, 81 *nn* 2, 3 and 4, 82 *nn* 3 and 4, 83 *nn* 1 and 3, 84 *n* and *nn* 1 and 2 85 *nn* 1, 2 and 4, 86 *n* 2, 87 *nn* 1, 3 and 5, 90 *nn* 1 and 2, 91 *n* 1, 92 *n* 2, 94 *n* 2, 95 *n* 3, 98 *nn* 2 and 5, 120 *n* 6, 121 *nn* 5 and 7, 122 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 123 *nn* 2, 3 and 5, 124 *n* 3, 125 *nn* 3 and 4, 127 n 2, 128 *n* 1, 129 *n* 4, 130 *n* 1, 131 *n* 4, 132 *n* 1, 135 *n* 1.

Rāvī, the, one of the five rivers of the Panjāb, 23 *n* 3, 67 *n*, 128, 188, 190 and *n* 2, 355 *n* 1, 383, 384 *n*, 389 and *n* 2, 392.

Rāwal Pindi, 44 *n* 6.

Rāwar, Fort of, in Sind, 12 *n* 2.

Rawi, the essential letter in the *qāfiyah* or rhyme, 607 *nn* 3 and 4.

Rāyāt-i-A'lā, title of Saiyyid Khiẓr Khān, the first of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 376 and *n* 1.

Rāzī, relative adjective from the town of Rai, 30 *n* 1.

Rāzī, Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakarīya, known as Rhazes, the famous physician, 30 *n* 1.

Rāzī, Imām, 73. See under Fakhru-d-Dīn Rāzī.

Raẓīyah Khātūn, Sulṭān, eldest daughter of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 98, 119, 120 and *n* 8, 121 and *nn* 1 and 5, 122 and *nn* 1 and 2, 294 and n 5

Red-caps, the, a name of the Turkomāns of Garm Sīr, 48 and *n* 2. See also under the Qizil Bāsh

Red Palace of Sīrī, at Dihlī, 260 *n* 7 261, 269 *n* 1.

Red Sea, the, 169 *n* 1.

Redhouse, Mr., 89 *n* 1.

Redhouse's *Turkish Dictionary*, 575 *n* 1.

Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulfeda*, 27 *nn* 1 and 2, 30 *n* and *n* 1, 34 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 36 *n* 2, 67 *n* 1, 71 *n* 3, 147 *n* 1, 167 *n* 4, 265 *n* 5, 307 *n* 4.

Rennell, 22 *n* 5, 69 *n* 2, 80 *n* 1, 93 *n* and *n* 1, 128 *n* 3, 129 *n* 2, 186 *n* 6, 325 *n* 3, 326 *n*, 327 *n* 3, 344 *n* 7, 355 *n* 1, 362 *n* 3, 364 *n* 4, 380 *n* 2, 382 *n* 2, 415 *n* 7, 417 *n* 7, 419 *n* 6, 420 *n* 5, 423 *n* 5, 530 *n* 3.

Rewā, town of, 417 *n* 7.

Rewa State, 417 *n* 7

Rewārī, a town in the province of Miwāt, 366 *n*, 537.

Reyy, 30 *n* 1. Same town as Rai (*q. v.*).

Rhagæ, ancient name of the town of Rai (*q v*), 30 *n* 1.

Rhages, capital of the province of Rhagiana, 30 *n* 1.

Rhagiana, the province of Rai in Persian Irāq, 30 *n* 1

Rhazes, the famous physician, 30 *n* 1 See under Rāzī, Abū Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakarīya

Rhétorique et Prosodie des langues de l'Orient Musulman Garcin de Tassy, 428 *n* 2 605 *nn* 8 and 9 606 *n* 2, 607 *n* 4 608 *n* 3

Rīāsī, town of, 384 *n* 1

Ribabah, the bag in which the arrows were put in the game of *maisir* 309 *n* 1

Ribāṭ, a fortified station on an enemy's frontier, 44 *n* 5, 106 n 2.

Ribāṭ Amir, name of a place in Seistān, 48 and *n* 1.

Richardson's *Persian Dictionary*, 214 *n* 2, 215 *n* 6.

Ridf, a letter of prolongation before the *rawī* of a rhyme, 607 *n* 4.

Rig Veda, the, 293 *n* 5.

Rij'at, motion of a star in opposition to the movement in the normal direction, 374 *n* 7.

Ring of 'Alī, possessed of magical properties, 505 and *n* 6.

Ring of Solomon, 205 *n* 5, 505 *n* 6, 559 and *n* 2.

Rishwatī, poetical name of Mīr Saiyyid Na'matu-llah (*q. v.*), 533 *n* 7, 534 *n* 4.

Rizwān, the door-keeper of Paradise, 194 and n 3, 251, 601

Rocky Citadel, the, or Shahr-i-Nau, on the banks of the Jumna, 231.

Roebuck's *Oriental Proverbs*, 57 *n* 2, 58 *n* 1, 218 *n* 2, 244 *n* 5, 301 *n* 3

Roh, a name of Afghānistān, 466 and n 5, 493 and *n* 6

Rohilkhand —or

Rohilkhund, district of, known also as Kaithar, 185 *n* 2, 359 *n* 4, 364 *n* 4.

Rohrī, town of, 559 *n* 6

Rohtak, town of, 72 *n* 2, 222, 351, 364 365, 375

Rohtās, fortress of,—in the Panjab, 457, 466 *n* 6, 468, 472, 474, 491, 498, 501, 503, 592

Rohtās Bihār, Sarkār of, 185 *n* 1

Rohtas Sharqi, in the Shāhābād district of Bengal, 466 *n* 6.

Rohtāsgarh, in the Shāhābād district of Bengal, 466 *n* 6.

Romans, the, 18 *n* 1, 76 *n*, 104 *n* 2, 494 *n* 7.

Romans, Epistle to the, 474 *n* 1.

Romo, 119 *n* 5.

Rook, the castle at chess, 505 and *n* 2

Rookn Khān, for Akat Khān the nephew of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Din Khiljī, 259 *n* 5.

Rose, properties of the, 148 *n* 4.

Rosenweig-Schwannau's *Diwan Hafis*, 121 *n* 3.

Roshan, Pīr, founder of the Roshaniyyah Sect (*q. v.*), 58 *n* 5.

Roshan Beg Koka, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 565.

Roshaniyyah, *or the Enlightened*, a Ṣūfī sect founded by Bāyazīd Anṣarī, also called Pīr Roshan, 58 *n* 5.

Ross. See under Elias and Ross.

Rostrum, an ancient instrument of war, 29 *n* 5.

Roxána, wife of Alexander the Great, 331 *n* 10.

Royal Asiatic Society, *Journal* of the, 16 *n* 2, 33 *n* 1, 47 *n* 2, 59 *n* 1, 87 *n* 1, 103 *n* 1, 109 *n* 4, 115 *n* and *n* 3, 141 *n* 4, 330 *n* 7, 479 *n* 7, 571 *n* 2

Rubab, a stringed instrument like a guitar, 367 *n* 5.

Ruby, Four kinds of, 25 *n* 2.

Ruby Palace, at Dihlī, 260.

Rue, its efficacy in exorcism, 617 *n* 1

Rūḥ, the vital principle, 144 *n* 2, 145 *n*.

Rūh or Roh, a name of Afghānistān 466 and n 5, 493 and n 6, 520.

Rūḥānī, a learned man of the time of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 93 and n 2.

Rūin, a village of the dependencies of Lahore, 54 and n 2.

Rujū'-i-kaukab, an astronomical term, 374 n 7. See under *Rij'at*

Rukh, the cheek and also the castle at chess, 505 n 2.

Rukn Khān Afghān, one of the Amīrs of the Sūr dynasty, 598.

Rukn-i-Yamānī, the south corner of the Ka'bah, 97 and n 4.

Ruknu-d-Dīn Chanda Wazīr, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 341, 342.

Ruknu-d-Dīn Fīroz Shāh, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish 97, 98, 99, 113.

Ruknu-d-Dīn Ibrāhīm, son of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 244, 247 and n and n 5. See also under Qadr Khān.

Ruknu-d-Dīn Quraishī, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Ṣadru-d-Dīn 'Ārif and grandson of Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariyā, contemporary of the Sulṭāns 'Alāu-d-Dīn and Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 248 and n 2, 284, 304 and n 4.

Ruknu-d-Dīn Tughral Beg, founder of the Saljūqiyyah dynasty of Khorāsān, 42 n 3, 61 n 5

Ruknu-l-Haqq Quraishī, Shaikhu-l-Islām, 304 and n 4. Same as Ruknu-d-Dīn Quraishī (*q. v.*).

Rūm, country of, 585 n 7, 621

Rūm, Sea of,—the Mediterranean, 153 n 1.

Rūm, Sulṭān of,—title of the Sulṭāns of Turkey, 480.

Rūmī Khān, the Artillerist of Humāyūn, 456 and n 7.

Rūn, a place near Lahore, 54 n 2.

Rūna, a village in Nīsāpūr of Khurāsān, 54 n 1.

Rūnī, Abu-l-Faraj, a celebrated poet of the time of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, 53 n, 54 and n 1.

Rūpar, town of, 362 and n 1, 380 and n 2, 382 and n 3.

Ruqaiyyah, daughter of Muḥammad and wife of 'Uṣmān ibn 'Affān, 59 n 4.

Rūshāna, wife of Alexander the Great, 382 n.

Rustam, the famous hero of ancient Īrān, 14 n 3, 39, 114, 116 n 5, 117, 127, 180 n 2, 181 and n 1, 199, 207, 294, 548

Rustam, one of the Generals of the Great Tīmūr, 358 n 6.

Rasūldār, Saiyyid, one of the court officers of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 328.

Rasūlī, poetical name of Mīr Saiyyid Na'matu-llāh, one of the poets of the reign of Islom Shāh, 533 and n 7, 534 and n 4.

Rasūlpūr, the fortress of Shamsābād, 472

Ruswāī, *disgraced*, 499.

Ruttunpoor, for the town of Ilāhpūr, 410 n 3.

Rūzbih, Persian name of Salmān al Fārsī, 572 n 1.

S.

Sa'ādat Khān, commonly known as 'Abdu-r-Rashīd Sulṭānī, one of the Amirs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 249, 250 and n 3.

Sa'ādat Khān Bārbak, 250 n 3 Same as the above (q. v.).

Sabb, reviling on religious grounds, when justifiable, 577 n.

Sabetghar, a fortress in the province of Agra, 70 n 4.

Ṣābit-bin-Jābir al-Fahmī, commonly known as Ta'abbaṭa Sharran, a famous Arab athlete and warrior, 527 n 3.

Sab'u-l-Maṣhānī, the first chapter of the Qur'ān and also the seven *manzils* or divisions of this book, 6 n 1.

Sachau's *Albīrūnī*, 17 n 4, 22 n 5, 23 n 2, 76 n, 79 n 2, 95 n 5, 104 n 3, 106 n 4, 131 n 2.

Sacred Books of the East, 110 n 4.

Sacy, De, *Anthologie Grammaticale Arabe*, 6 n 4.

Sa'd, an auspicious planet, 630 and nn 2 and 3.

Sa'd Falsafī, the poet,— one of the contemporaries of Mīr Khusrū, 298.

Sa'd ibn Salmān, Khwājā, father of the famous poet Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān Jurjānī, 52 n 5, 55.

Sa'd-i-Akbar, name given to Jupiter by astrologers, 79 n 2.

Sa'd-i-Manṭiqī, one of the poets of the reign of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 215, 246.

Sa'dān, name of Jupiter and Venus as the two auspicious planets, 630 n 2

Sadar Mahādeo, Rāi of Arankal, one of the contemporaries of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 297

Sadhū Nādir,—or

Sadhū Nādira, Malik, one of the Amirs of Khiẓr Khān, first Sulṭān of the Saiyyid dynasty, 378 and n 3, 379.

Sa'dī of Shīrāz, Shaikh, 187 and n 2.

Sadīdī, author of *al-Mughnī fī Sharḥi-l-Mūjaz* (q. v), 5 n 3, 31 n, 42 n, 49 n 2, 102 n 1, 148 n 4, 319 n 4, 320 n, 532 n 7, 533 n.

Sadpāl or Sidh Pāl, grandson of Kanjūī Khatrī, a *protégé* of the Mubārak Shāhī family, 393 n 3, 394, 395, 397.

Ṣadr, a term of Prosody, explanation of, 606 n 4.

Ṣadr, highest officer of justice, 609 n 6.

Ṣadr-i-Jahān, Chief Judge, 523 n 5.

Ṣadr Jahān Gujrātī, the Historian, 300 n 3.

Ṣadr-i-kull, Chief Judge, 523 n 5.

Ṣadr-i-mustaqill, Judge-plenipotentiary, 609 and n 6

Ṣadru-d-Dīn 'Ārif, Shaikh, son of Shaikh Bahāu-d Dīn Zakariyā, 133 n 2, 248 n 2

Ṣadru-d-Dīn Multānī, the *Shaikhu-l-Islām* under Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 324.

Ṣadru-l-Mulk Najmu-d-Dīn Abū Bakr, the Wazir of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Mas'ūd Shāh of the Shamsiyah dynasty, 124.

Ṣadru-ṣ-Ṣudūr, Chief Judge, 506, 523 and n 5

Sa'du-d-Dīn at-Taftāzānī, author of the *Muṭawwal*, 428 n 3.

Ṣadūq, Shaikh, author of the *Jāmi'u-l-Akhbār*, 139 n 5.

Ṣafā, a hill in the vicinity of Makkah, 279 n.

Ṣafdar Khān, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 344.

Ṣafdar Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 419 and n 1.

Safedar or *Safīdar*, the white Poplar or Abele, 494 and n 6.

Saffron, notes on, 41 n 2.

Safīdar, the white Poplar. See under *Safedar*.

Safīḥ, one of the blank arrows in the game of *Maisir*, 369 n 1.

Sag-i-falak, the dog of the sky, 498, and n 5.

Sāgur, town of, 304 n 1.

Ṣaḥā'if fi-l-Kalām, a treatise on Metaphysics, 427 n 1.

Sahār, Sarkār of, 410 n 4

Sahāranpūr, hills of, 334 n 7.

Sāḥibu-z-Zanj, 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, of the family of 'Alī, raises a revolt at Baṣra, 358 n 3.

Sahīhu-l-Bukhārī, the famous collection of authentic traditions by Imām Bukhārī, 6 n 3.

Sahsarām, a dependency of Rohtās, 466, 468, 471, 484, 533

Saḥūr, or morning meal on a fast day, 177 n 4

Sai, the,—one of the principal streams of Oudh, 22 n 3.

Sa'īd Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 419.

Sa'īd Khān, brother of A'ẓam Humāyūn of Lāhor, one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shāh, 491, 493, 496.

Sa'īd Khān Lodī, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty, 434.

Sa'īd Ṣarṣarī, Ḥājī, envoy of the Egyptian Khalīfah to Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 310 and n 1.

Saides or Saiyyids, title of the descendants of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 80 n 5.

Saifī, author of a treatise on Prosody, 183 n 1.

Saifu-d-Dīn Kūjī, feudatory of Hānsī, one of the Maliks of the Shamsiyah dynasty, 96 and n 2, 120 n 2.

Saifu-d-Dīn, Malik, son of Malik Niẓāmu-d-Dīn the ruler of Oudh, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 334.

Saifu-d-Dīn Sūrī, brother of 'Alāu-d-Dīn Ḥasan the king of Ghor, 60.

Sairu-l-'Ibād ila-l-Ma'ād, one of the works of Ḥakīm Sanāī, 56 n 2.

Saiyyid, application of the term, 80 n 5, 303 n 4.

Saiyyid Bukhārī, a Muḥammadan saint, 80 n 1.

Saiyyid Khān, Khān-i-A'ẓam, son of Saiyyid Salīm of Tabarhindah, 388, 396.

Saiyyid Manṣūr, one of the Generals of Amīr Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 46.

Saiyyid *Rasūldār*, one of the Court officers of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 328

Saiyyid Salīm of Tabarhindah, one of the Amīrs of Khiẓr Khān of the

Saiyyid dynasty, 388 and nn 1 and 2.
Saiyyid Zāda-i-'Alawī, Shāh Nabsa, grandson by his mother's side of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 260 and n 7, 261.
Saiyyidu-s-Sādāt Saiyyid Sālim of Tabarhindah, 388 n 1. See under Saiyyid Sālim.
Saiyyidu-s-Salāṭīn Sulṭān Ibrāhīm ibn Mas'ud ibn Maḥmūd Ghasnawī, 61, 62. See under Ibrāhīm.
Saiyyids, the descendants of 'Alī, 60 n 5.
Sajdah or Sijdah, a prostration in prayer, 612 n 3.
Sakbā, a dish made of wheat flour, meat and vinegar, 298 n 5.
Saketḥ, a township in the Sarkār of Qanauj, 410 n 4.
Sakib, for the township of Sakiṭ, 410 n 4.
Sakina, town of, 377 and n 4.
Sakiṭ, a town in the Etah District of the N.-W. Provinces, 377 n 4, 407 n 1, 410 and n 4.
Sakiṭ Singh, the Rāi of Itāwa, contemporary of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodi, 410 n 4.
Sakita, town of, 377 n 4. See the town of Sakiṭ.
Sakkar, fortress of, 422.
Sakpat, for the town of Sakiṭ (q v), 410 n 4
Sakti, a female deity, 20 n 5.
Sal wood, 599 and n 13.
Sāl Mastān, for Shāl-o-Mastāng, two villages near Quetta, 567 n 9
Sāl Wahsanān, for Shāl-o-Mastang, two villages near Quetta, 567 n 9.
Salāmān and Absāl, Story of, one of the poetical works of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmī, 272 n 1.
Salāṭīn-i-ḥaqīqī, true kings, i.e., the prophets, 143 n 1.
Salāṭīn-i-majāsī, so-called kings, i.e., the kings of the earth, 143 and n 1.
Sālbāhan, the Rājā of Patna, one of the contemporaries of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 416.
Ṣaldī, a Mughul commander, attacks Hindūstān in the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 249 and n 5.
Sale's Koran, Preliminary Discourse, 21 n 1, 157 n 2, 499 n 5.
Salīm Chishtī of Fatḥpūr, Shaikh, the famous saint, 483, 508, 535, 600.
Salīm Shāh, son of Shīr Shāh, of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 447, 490 and n 4, 494, 495, 497, 500, 502, 525, 526, 527, 588. See under Islem Shāh.
Sālim of Tabarhindah, Saiyyid, one of the Amīrs of Khiẓr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty of Dihlī, 388 and nn 1 and 2.
Salīma, same as the Sarsutī, a tributary of the Sutlej, 380 and nn 4 and 7.
Sālimpūr, village of, on the south bank of the Gandak, 409 n 5.
Saljūqiyah dynasty of Khurāsān and Māwarāu-n Nahr, 35 nn 1 and 3, 38 n 3, 42 n 3, 51 n 2, 55 n 3, 61 n 5 See also the next
Saljūqs, the, 33 n 1, 42 n 1, 45 and n 2, 51, 167 n 3 See the above.
Salm, one of the sons of Farīdūn, of the ancient kings of Persia, 435 and n 2

Salmān al-Fārsī, called in Persian Rūzbih, one of the Companions, 572 and n 1.
Salmān Sāwajī, a famous poet, panegyrist of Amīr Shaikh Ḥasan and his son Sulṭān Awais Jalāyer, 571 n 9, 605, 633 and n 1.
Salt Range, the, 19 n 4, 128 n 3.
Sālū, Shāh Muḥammad Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 618 and n 7, 619.
Sām, one of the heroes of the Shāh-nāma, 72, 178 n 2.
Sām Mīrzā, brother of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia, 453 and n 8. 455.
Samak, the fish which bears the Earth, 152 and n 2
Sāmān, ancestor of the Sāmānī Kings of Khurāsān, 72.
Sāmāna, town of, 132, 186, 221, 243, 305, 310, 328, 330, 334, 338, 342, 343, 352, 355, 360, 362, 364, 365 and n 6, 378, 382, 390, 391, 392, 396, 398, 399, 438, 595
Sāmānīs, the, a dynasty of Kings in Khurāsān and Māwarāu-n Nahr, 13 n 1, 14 n 1, 16 n 2.
Samar, the Mughūl, one of the generals of Chingiz Khān, 188 nn 1 and 2
Samarqand, town of, 6 n 3, 27 n 1, 59 n 1, 159 n, 310, 359, 413, 570 n 7.
Samarqandī, author of the Shaikh-i-Sahā'if on Metaphysics, 427 n 1.
Sāmarrā, also called Surra-man-raā, a town in 'Irāq on the Eastern bank of the Tigris, 59 n 1, 571 n 2
Samā'u-d-Dīn, a protégé of Muhammad Shāh, son of Sulṭān Fīroz Shah, 338.
Sāmā'u-d-Dīn Kanbawī,—or
Sāmā'u-d-Dīn Kanbū of Dihlī, Shaikh, one of the greatest of the 'Ulama Shaikhs, contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 411 and n 9, 430.
Samā'u-d-Dīn Qutlugh Khān the Vazīr, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 406.
Sambal. See under Sambhal.
Sambalaka, the town of Sambhal as called by Ptolemy, 364 n 4.
Sambast, town of, 358 n 6.
Sambhal, district and town of, called also Sambal, Sanbal and Sanbhal, 335 and n 8, 351, 364, 375, 395, 396, 406, 415, 418, 419, 426, 431 n 4, 435 and n 6, 443, 444, 451, 495, 525, 545, 547, 548, 590 n 5, 597, 598, 604.
Samīr, Rāi, Governor of Itāwa, contemporary of Khiẓr Khān of the dynasty of the Saiyyids, 380 n 5.
Sāmirah, otherwise known as Surra-man-ra'ā or Sāmarrā, in 'Irāq, 571 and n 2.
Samnān, town of, 571 n 9
Sāmothala, a place twelve kuhs from Lahore, 349
Samundar, name of the Bang Mati when it enters Hindustān, 84 n
Samvat era of Vikramādityā, 95 and n 5
Ṣan'ā', capital of Yaman in Arabia, 262 n.
Sanāī, Hakīm,—the celebrated poet of Ghaznī, 35 n 1, 56, 57.
Sanām or Sannām, town of, 138 n 1, 236, 310, 330 n 7, 438.
Sanbal, town of, 375. See Sambhal.
Sanbal, Sarkār of, 495.

Sanbal, a tribe of the Afghāns, 500.
Sanbhal. See under the town of Sambhal.
Sanbōs hills, the Kumāon hills, 186 n 1.
Sanchi inscription, the, 18 n 1.
Sandal wood, notes on, 484 and n 1. 627 and n 2.
Sandīla, district of, 349.
Sang Surākh, on the route between Ghaznīn and the Panjāb, 78 and n 3.
Sanīr, Rāi, of Baitālī, contemporary of the Fīrūz Shāhi dynasty, 360 n 3.
Sānkā, Rānā, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty, 444, 445, 446, 452, 470.
Sankāpūr, for the town of Shikārpūr, 487 and n 2.
Sānkot, for the fortress of Siālkot, 49 and n 1.
Sannām or Sanām, town of, 138 n 1, 286, 310, 330 n 7, 438.
Saqīf, called also Qasaī, founder of the Arab tribe of Saqīf, 12 n 1.
Saqīf, a tribe of the Arabs, 12 n 1, 28 n 1.
Saqirlāt or *Siqlat*, a silken stuff brocaded with gold, 543 and n 3.
Sar, Rāi, Governor of Chandāwar, contemporary of Khizr Khān of the dynasty of the Sayyids, 377.
Saracens, the, 635 n 6.
Sarakhs, a city of Khurāsān, also called Sarkhas, 43 and nn 1, 2 and 3, 71
Sāran, town of, 406 and n 4, 417.
Sārang Khān, the ruler of Dīpālpūr, one of the Maliks of the Fīrūz Shāhi dynasty, 349, 352, 353, 355, 358, 362, 380 and n 4.
Sārang Khān, one of the Afghān Amīrs of Bābar, 444.
Sārangpūr, town of, 454.
Sarastu, township of, in the neighbourhood of Sambhal, 525.
Saraswatī, the, 290 n 7. See under the Sarsutī river.
Sardar, town of, 326 n 2.
Sardārs in front of the throne, 497.
Sāregh Kotwāl, an officer of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznīn, 22.
Sargdawārī, a ford on the Ganges, 377. See also under Sarkdawārī.
Sārī,—or
Sāriyah, a town of Tabaristān. 36 and n 3.
Sarjū river, also called the Sarū (*q. v.*), 221 n 3, 222 n 3, 223 n.
Sarkār of Allahabad, 416 n 3.
Sarkār of Hissār Fīroza, 439.
Sarkār of Qanauj, 410 n 4, 538.
Sarkār of Sahār, 410 n 4.
Sarkār of Sanbal, 495.
Sarkārs of Hindūstān, 495, 496.
Sarkdawārī, town of, 311, 312. See also under Sargdawārī
Sarkés, in Gujarāt near to Ahmadābād, 357 n 4.
Sarkhas, a city of Khurāsān, called also Sarakhs, 43 and nn 1, 2 and 3, 71
Sarkhatra, canal, 327 n 3.
Sarkhech, near Ahmadābād, 357 n 3. See the following.
Sarkhej,—or
Sarkhez, in Gujarāt near to Ahmadābād, 357 and nn 3 and 4.
Sar Manzil, 595.

Sarmast Khān, the Afghān, one of the Amirs of Islem Shāh of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 501, 534
Sarmast Khān Sarbanī, one of the Amirs of 'Adlī, 538.
Sar Salāḥi *Kotwāl*, an officer of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, son of 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 275 and *n* 1, 277.
Sarsatī, a fortress in the hills of Kashmīr, called also Sursatī and Sarsutī (*q.v.*), 36 and *n* 1.
Sarsutī river, called also the Saraswatī, and the Salīma, 27 *n* 4, 69, 324, 330 and *nn* 6 and 7, 382.
Sarsutī, the country south of the Himālaya, also called Sarsatī and Sursatī, 70 and *n* 1, 80.
Sarsutī, fortress of, 293, 324, 327 and *n* 3, 355, 404 *n* 2. See under Sarsatī.
Sartez 'Imādu-l-Mulk, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 302, 314 and *n* 2.
Sarū river, called also the Sarjū (*q.v.*), 222 and *n* 3, 238, 239, 298.
Sarūd, district of, 495 *n* 3.
Sarūr, town and district of, 326 and *n* and *n* 2, 495 and *n* 3.
Sarwānī, Khān-i-Khānān, Governor of the fort of Rantanbhūr, contemporary of Sher Shāh, 475.
Sarwaru-l-Mulk, *one of the Maliks of* Mubārak Shāh of the dynasty of the Saiyyids, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397.
Sāsān, founder of the Sassanide dynasty of Persian Kings, 73.
Sassanide dynasty of Persian Kings, 46 *n* 5
Sasseram, town of, 185 *n* 1.
Saṭal Dev, of Sorath, a rebel in the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 264.
Satgāna, country of, 387 and *n* 3.
Satgānw, district of, 302.
Satgaṛh, town of, 329 and *n* 4.
Saṭḥiyāt, superficialities, 504 *n* 9.
Satlaj, the, 23 *n* 3, 70 *n* 1, 190 and *n* 2, 325 *n* 3, 326 and *n*, 330, 362 and *nn* 1 and 3, 368 *n*, 380 *n* 2, 381, 382 and *n* 2, 590 *n* 5, 598. Called also the Satlas and the Sutlej.
Satlas, the river Satlaj (*q.v.*), 380 and *n* 5.
Sātū, the roof of a house in Turkī, 494 *n* 7.
Sāṭūr, 494 and *n* 7.
Saturn, notes on the planet, 217 *n* 5.
Saudā, black bile, 5 *n* 3.
Saulajān, from the Persian *Changān*, a *stick with a curved extremity*, 79 *n* 1.
Ṣaulajān, origin of the modern game of polo, 417 *n* 8.
Ṣaur, Jabal, a mountain near Mecca, 149 *n*, 158 *n* 1.
Sawādu-l-A'ḍham, meaning of the expression, 8 *n* 4.
Sāwa or Sāwah, a city of Khurāsān 571 *n* 9, 633 *n* 1.
Sāwajī, Jamālu-d-Dīn Salmān, a famous Persian poet, contemporary of Shaikh Ḥasan Jalāyer and his son Sulṭān Awais, 571 *n* 9, 605, 633 and *n* 1.
Sawāna, fort of, 264 *n* 6.
Sawās, district of, 475.
Sasāwal Khān, one of the Amirs of Shīr Shāh, 475, 492, 495.

Seherpour, town of, 82 *n* 1, 93 *n*.
Sedillot's *Tables Astronomiques d'Oloug Beg*, 198 *n* 2.
Sehwān, in the Karachi district of Sind, 560 *n* 8.
Seistān, province of, 19, 47, 50.
Seljuqs, the. See under the Saljūqs.
Sepulchre of the Poets in Tabriz, called the Surkhāb, 339 *n* 4.
Serdi Talāwari, a common name of the town of Tarāyan, 90 and *n* 1.
Seven labours of Isfandiyār, in the *Shāh-Nāma*, 108 *n* 2.
Seven Places, the seven labours of Isfandiyār, 108 and *n* 2.
Seven poems of the Jāhiliyat, called the *Mu'allaqāt*, 99 and *n* 6.
Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, 207 *n* 1.
Sewand Rāi, or Sūndhi Rāi, the Hindū General of Sulṭān Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawi, 34 and *n* 2.
Shab-i-Barāt, the fifteenth of the month of Sha'bān, 488 and *n* 5.
Shādarwān, fortress of, in Khurāsān, 588 *n* 4.
Shaddād ibn 'Ād, a king of the ancient Arabs, 261, 262 *n*, 263 *n*, 501 and *n* 3.
Shādī, a servant of Muḥammad Khān Sūr, Governor of the country of Chaund, 468.
Shādi Khān, son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji, 268, 272, 275, 278, 283
Shādī Kath, the Sar Salāḥī *Kotwāl* or chief captain of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khilji, 275 *n* 1, 283 and *n* 9.
Shādi Nāib-i-Khāṣṣ, Malik, the *Ḥājib* of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji, 274, 295.
Shāfi'ī, Imām, founder of the Shāfi'ite sect of Sunnī Muslims, 57 *n* 1.
Shāfi'ites, the,—one of the four sects of Sunnī Muslims, 57 *n* 1, 73 *n* 1, 514. See the above.
Shāh 'Abdu-l-'Azīz of Dihlī, author of the *Tuḥfa-i-Isnā-'ashariyah*, 577 *n*.
Shāh Abu-l-Ma'ālī, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 592, 594, 596, 597.
Shāh 'Ālam, one of the Amīrs of Sher Shāh of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 477.
Shāh Ḥasan, one of Amīrs of Bābar, 446.
Shāh Hindāl, 587. See under Mirzā Hindāl.
Shāh Ḥusain Arghun, Mirzā, Governor of Tatta, one of the contemporaries of Humāyūn, 559, 560 and *n* 8, 561 and *n* 2, 562, 566, 567, 580.
Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī Ḥusainī, King of Persia, 449, 570, 572 *n* 8.
Shāh Ja'far Khwāndi Dakkanī, a Shī'ah divine, contemporary of Niẓām Shāh Baḥrī, 624, 625.
Shāh Kāmrān, 584. See under Kāmrān Mirzā.
Shāh Manṣūr Birlās, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441.
Shāh Mīr of Agra, Saiyyid, one of the contemporaries of Islem Shāh, 526.
Shāh Mirzā, son of Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 452, 458.
Shāh Muḥammad of Dihlī, contemporary of Sher Shāh and Islem Shāh, 504, 505, 506.

Shāh Muḥammad Farmalī, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 499 and n 7, 538, 539, 540.
Shāh Muḥammad Khān Sālū, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 618 and n 7, 619
Shāh Muḥammad Shāhābādī, Mullā, translator of the *History of Kashmir*, 8 n 3.
Shāh Murād, son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia, 572, 573 and n 1, 575, 576.
Shāh Najaf, grandson by his mother's side of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 260 n 7.
Shāh Nāmah See under the *Shāh-nāma*
Shāh Rukh, grandson of the Great Tīmūr, Sulṭān of Persia, 618 n 1.
Shāh Ṭāhir Junaidī, the poet, 624 n 6. Same as the next (q. v.).
Shāh Ṭāhir Khondī,—or
Shāh Ṭāhir Khwāndī Dakkanī, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 624 and n 6, 625 and n 3, 626, 632, 635, 636
Shāh Ṭahmāsp, King of Persia, contemporary of Humāyūn, 453, 455, 456, 466, 569, 570, 572, 624.
Shāh Turkān, mother of Sulṭān Ruknu-d-Dīn Fīroz Shāh ibn Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-tmish, 98 n 1.
Shahāb. See under Shihāb.
Shāhābād, district and town in Bengal, 330 n 7, 334, 439, 466 n 6.
Shahābu-d-Daulat. See under Shihābu-d Daulat
Shahābu d Dīn. See under Shihābu d-Dīn
Shāhanshāh Sayyid Zāda-i-'Alawī a descendant on the mother's side from Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 260 and n 7.
Shāhbāz Khān Lūhānī, one of the Amīrs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 490 and n 4, 592.
Shāhik Bārbak, the Khān-i-Jahan, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Mu'izzu d-Dīn Kaiqubād Balbanī, 221.
Shāhik Wazīr Khān, one of the Maliks of the Balbanī dynasty, 220.
Shāhīn, Malik, known by the title of Wafā Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Khiljī dynasty, 284.
Shāhīn, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 344.
Shāhjahānpūr District, N.-W. Provinces, 546 n 3, 598 n 9.
Shaḥna-i-Shahr, City Constable, 401.
Shāh-nāma of Firdausī, 32 n 1, 88 n 2, 103 n 2, 116 n 5, 178 n 2, 180 n 2, 207 n 7, 321 n 1, 435 n 2.
Shāh-nāma, Atkinson's, 32 n 1, 116 n 5, 178 n 2, 180 n 2, 321 n 1, 435 n 2.
Shāh-nāma of Badr Shāshī the poet, 321
Shāhnawāz, on the eastern bank of the Rāvī, 355 n 1
Shāhpur, Shāh Muḥammad Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 618 n 7.
Shahrastānī s *al-Milal wa-n-Niḥal*, 157 n 2, 158 n.
Shahr-i-Nau, on the banks of the Jumna, 231.
Shahr-i-Sabz, in Bokhārā, 570 n 7.
Shāhrukhī, a coin first coined by Shāh Rukh the Mughul Sulṭān of Persia, 618 n 1

Shahru-llāh, brother of 'Ainu-l-Mulk Multānī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 311, 312.

Shāhū Lodī the Afghān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 305 and n 1

Shāhzāda Fatḥ Khān. See Fatḥ Khān, son of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh.

Shāhzāda Fatḥ Khān of Herat, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mubārak Shāh of Jaunpūr, 361.

Shāhzāda Mubārak Khān. See Mubārak Khān, son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī.

Shāhzāda Muḥammad Khān See Muḥammad Khān, son of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh.

Shaikh, application of the term, 303 n 4, 504.

Shaikh 'Alī, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441.

Shaikh 'Alī, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 565 n 1.

Shaikh 'Alī Mughul, the ruler of Kābul, contemporary of Mubārak Shāh of the dynasty of the Saiyyids, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392

Shaikh-allahdīyah of Khairābād, 546 and n 1.

Shaikh Bāyazīd, brother of Muṣṭafa Farmali, one of the Afghān Amīrs of Bābar, 444.

Shaikh Ḥamīd, the commentator of Saubal, contemporary of Humāyūn, 604.

Shaikh Ḥasan Jalāyer, King of Khurāsān, 633 n 1.

Shaikh Khūran, one of the Hindustānī Amīrs of Bābar, 444, 445.

Shaikh, son of Malik Marwān Daulat, Governor of Multān under the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 376.

Shaikh Sa'dī of Shīrāz, author of the *Gulistān*, 187 and n 2

Shaikh Ṭāhir, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty, 418.

Shaikhā Khakar,—or

Shaikhā Khūkhar, Malik, contemporary of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 347, 349, 358 and n 6, 361 and n 5, 398 and n 2.

Shaikhān, the,—title of the Abū Bakr and 'Umar, the first two Khalīfahs, 303 n 4.

Shaikhs, holy shrines of the, at Multān, 392.

Shaikhu-l-Hadīyah Jaunpūrī, an author, 428, 429

Shaikhu-l-Islām, 506.

Shaikhu-l-Mashāikh Shaikh Ḥasan Zinjānī, a famous saint of Lāhor, 383 and n 6.

Shaikhu-l-Nadīyah Jaunpūrī, 429

Shaikhzāda-i-Busṭāmī A'ẓam Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 328.

Shaikhzāda Dimishqī, one of the courtiers of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 298

Shaikhzāda-i-Jām,—or

Shaikhzāda-i-Jāmī, one of the learned men of the time of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 284, 318.

Shakarganj Shaikh,—or

Shakkar Ganj, Shaikh, 135 n, 271 n 4 Same as Shaikh Farīdu-d-Dīn Ganjshakar (q. v.).

Shāl, village of, in the neighbourhood of Quetta, 567 n 9.

Shāl Mashāng, village of, 567 n 9.
Shāl Mastāng, village of, 567 and n 9
Shāl-o-Mastān, two villages, 567 n 9.
Shāl-o-Mastāng, two villages near Quetta, 567 n 9.
Shām (Syria), 585 and n 7
Shamā'ilu-l-Muhammadīyah, name of a book, 625 n 6.
Shāmiāna, a kind of marquee, 460 and n 4, 497 n 1.
Shams Khān, uncle of Tatār Khān, the son of Zafar Khān (q v), 361.
Shams Khān Auḥadī, son of Auḥad Khān, the ruler of Baiāna under the Fīrūz Shāhī and Saiyyid dynasties, 359, 360 and n 5, 378, 379, 385 and n 1.
Shams Khān Lūhānī, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 493, 49?
Shams Khātūn, sister of Quṭb Khān Lodī (q v), 404 n 2.
Shamsābād, town of, 232, 311, 377 and n 3, 384 and n 4, 403 and nn 4 and 5, 404 and n 2, 407 and n 1, 415, 472
Shamsher Khān, one of the Amīrs of 'Adlī, 537.
Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif, author of the *Tārikh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, 315 n 7, 323 n 3, 324 n 2, 325 n 3, 326 n, 328 nn 1 and 6, 329 nn 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 8, 330 n 2, 332 n 6, 333 nn 1 and 4, 337 n 7
Shamsiyah, a famous treatise on Logic, 427 n 1.
Shamsiyah Sulṭāns of Hind,—of the family of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 71 n 1
Shamsu-d-Dīn Altamash, 71 See under Shamsu-d Dīn Iyal-timish
Shamsu-d-Dīn of Bharāij, Qāẓī, one of the Qāẓis of the Shamsiyah Sulṭāns, 123.
Shamsu-d-Dīn Dabīr, one of the poets of the time of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-Dīn, son of Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 134 and n 3, 137 and n 8, 217
Shamsu-d-Dīn Dāmaghānī, Governor of Gujrāt under Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 334.
Shamsu-d-Dīn of 'Irāq, Mīr Saiyyid, one of the contemporaries of Islem Shāh, 505.
Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, Sulṭān, of the Slave dynasty of Dihli, 71 and n 1, 79, 80, 86, 87, 88 and n 1, 90 and n 2, 91, 92, 93, 96, 98, 120, 126 and n 3, 184, 187, 260 and n 7.
Shamsu-d-Dīn Kaikāūs, son of Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād, Sulṭān of the Shamsiyah dynasty, 227, 229, 230 and n 1.
Shamsu-d-Dīn of Lakhnauti, Sulṭān, 309, 324, 328 See under Ilyās Hājī
Shamsu-d-Dīn of Mārhira, Qāẓī, one of the Qāẓis of the Shamsiyah Sulṭāns, 123 and n 2
Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Atka Khān, son of Mīr Yār Muḥammad of Ghaznī, called the A'ẓam Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 464 and n 5, 568 and n 6.
Shamsu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, title of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Ghūrī before his accession, 65 n 2
Shamsu-d-Dīn Suleimān, son of Malik Marwan, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 335 n 4

Shamsu-l-Mulk, one of the Maliks of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 390, 392.

Shaqā'iqu-n-Nu'mān, a red flower, 142 n 3.

Shar', *ash*, the sacred canon of the Qur'ān, 4 n 1.

Sharaf, a poet, 68

Sharaf of Baiāna. See under Sulṭān Sharf.

Sharafu-d-Dīn Munīrī, Quṭbu-l-Mashāikhi-l-'Iẓām, a famous saint, 82 n 1, 416 and n 13

Sharafu-d-Dīn Muṣliḥ ibn 'Abdu-llāh as Sa'dī, Shaikh, 187 n 2. The famous Shaikh Sa'dī of Shīrāz

Sharafu-l-Mulk Ash'arī, one of the Amīrs of the Shamsīyah Sulṭāns, 125.

Shārān, town of, 406 n 4. [452.

Sharbatdār, preparer of beverages,

Sharf See under Sharaf.

Sharḥain-i-Miftāḥ, two commentaries on the *Miftāḥu-l-'Ulūm*, 428 n 2

Sharḥ-i Manẓūma of Ḥājī Mulla Hādī Sabzwārī, 181 n 2.

Sharḥ-i Nahju-l-Balāghat of 'Abdu-l-Hamid bin Abi-l-Ḥadīd al-Mu'tazilī, 458 n 3

Sharḥ-i-Ṣaḥāif, a treatise on Metaphysics, 427 and n 1

Sharḥ-i-Shamsiyah, a treatise on logic, 427 and n 1.

Sharḥu-l-Maṣābiḥ wa-l-Manāhij, one of the works of Qāẓī Baiẓāwī, 6 n 4.

Sharīf, Mīr Saiyyid, a well known author, 560.

Sharq, Sulṭān, Governor of Baiāna, son of Sulṭān Aḥmad Jilwānī the First, 414 and nn 6, 11 and 12

Sharqī, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Shāh of Jaunpūr, 386 and nn 2 and 3, 387 and n 4, 403.

Sharqī dynasty of Jaunpūr, 409 and n 8, 413.

Shast galla, surname of the poet Manūchihrī Dāmaghānī, 46 n 4.

Shatladar, name of the Sutlej in Sanskrit, 23 n 3.

Shaula, name of one of the mansions of the moon, 115 n 3.

Shāyista Khān, son of Qurra Qumār, one of the courtiers of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 291, 293, 295 and n 3

Shāyista Khān, title of Fīroz Khān ibn Yaghrash the Khiljī, *afterwards* Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī (*q. v.*), 226, 227, 228, 229, 230 and n 1.

Shehr-i-Sabz, in Bokhārā, 570 n 7.

Shekel, a weight and a coin of the Hebrews, 25 n 1.

Sher Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Kaiqubād of the Balbanī dynasty, 226 and n 1.

Sher Khān, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 130, 186, 187.

Sher Khān, son of Islem Shāh of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 534.

Sher Shāh, the first of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 25 n 5, 436. See under Shīr Shāh.

Sherpūr, town of, 82 n 1, 93 n.

Sherring's *Hindū Tribes and Castes*, 312 n 7, 364 n 3, 433 n 4, 557 n 9.

Sherzād ibn Sulṭān Mas'ūd ibn Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, Sulṭān of the Ghaznivide dynasty, 55 and n 2.

Shī'ahs, the, 3 n 6, 22 n 3, 59 n 4,

156 n 1, 157 n, 420 n 8, 571 and n 2, 572 and n 5, 576 n 5, 577 n, 604 n 5, 625 and n 3, 626 nn 4 and 6, 636.

Shibla, a village in the dependencies of Osrūshna in Transoxiana, 59 n 1.

Shiblī, a famous Muhammadan Saint, 59 and n 1.

Shihāb, Maulānā. See under Shihābu-d-Dīn the Enigmatist.

Shihāb, Mīr, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 598 n 5.

Shihāb Khān. See Shihāb Nāhir

Shihāb Muhamra Badāonī, for Shihāb-i-Mutmara, the poet, 99 and n 2.

Shihāb Nāhir, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 351, 359

Shihāb-i-Mutmara, Maulānā, one of the poets of the reign of Sulṭān Ruknu-d-Dīn ibn Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 99 and n 2, 100 and n 1, 103, 112, 271 and n 2.

Shihābu-d-Daulah Mas'ūd, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 29, 33, 35 See under Sulṭān Mas'ūd

Shihābu-d-Daulah Maudūd, son of Sulṭān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, 43 n 7. See under Sulṭān Maudūd

Shihābu-d-Dīn Abu-l-Muẓaffar Ghorī, 62, 63 and n 1, 64 and n 2, 65 and n 2, 66, 70, 72, 133 n. See under Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām.

Shihābu-d-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 598 and n 5.

Shihābu-d-Dīn the Enigmatist, Maulānā, a learned man in the time of Bābar, 449 and nn 8 and 9, 450 and n 1.

Shihābu-d-Dīn Ḥakīm Kirmānī Jaunpūrī, author of the Ṭabaqāt-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī, 230.

Shihābu-d-Dīn ibn Jamālu-d-Dīn Mutmara, known as Shihāb-i-Mutmara (q. v.).

Shihābu-d-Dīn Nishāpūrī Bakhshī, Mīr, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 598 and n 5.

Shihābu-d-Dīn Sulṭān, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Muḥammad Toghlaq Shāh, 311.

Shihābu-d-Dīn 'Umar, son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 268, 272, 273 and n 4, 274 n 1, 284

Shihābu-ṣ-Ṣāqib, a name of Maulānā Shihābu-d-Dīn the Enigmatist (q v.), 450 n 1.

Shikārpūr, town of, 487 and n 2.

Shikebī, Maulānā, a poet of the time of Humāyūn, 453 n 7.

Shiqqdārān, officers appointed to collect revenue from provinces, 407 n 2.

Shīr Khān, son of Ḥasan Sūr, *afterwards* Shīr Shāh, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471 and n 1, 472, 475, 521, 541. See also under Shīr Shāh

Shīr Shāh, the first of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 461 and n 5, 472, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481 n 5, 482, 483, 484, 490, 492, 495, 496, 500, 502, 504, 526, 527, 535 n 7, 538, 542, 563, 594. See the above. The name is also written Sher Shāh.

Sh̲ir-i-falak, the constellation Leo, 498 *n* 5.

Sh̲ir-i-Kh̲udā, *the Lion of God*, a name of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, 93 *n* 4.

Sh̲ir mādar, foster-mother, 580 *n* 5.

Sh̲irāz, the city of, 6 *n* 4, 38 *n* 4, 187 and *n* 2, 572 *n* 1.

Sh̲irgaṛh, the new name of Qanauj, 472

Sh̲irin, the wife of Kh̲usrū King of Persia, 279 *n* 3.

Sh̲irin wa Kh̲usrū, a poem of Mīr Kh̲usrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 269 *n* 5

Sh̲irk, polytheism, 183 *n* 2, 625 *n* 5.

Sh̲irwān Sh̲āh Kh̲āqān Manūchihr, King of Persia, patron of the famous poet Kh̲āqāni, 583 *n* 4.

Sh̲iwar, town of, 389 and *n* 8, 391, 392 and *n* 5.

Shrines of the Sh̲aikh̲s at Multān, 392.

Sh̲ujā'u-l Mulk, son of Saiyyid Sālim of Tabarhindah (*q. v.*), 388.

Siālkoṭ, fortress of, 49 and *n* 1, 66 and n 7, 67 and *n*, 436, 437, 465.

Sibi, town of, 425 *n* 2

Sicilians, the, 76 *n*.

Sidaran or Sidharan, son of Kāngū Kh̲atri, a *protegé* of the Mubārak Sh̲āhi family, 393 *n* 3, 395, 396, 397.

Ṣiddiq, Aṣ-, title of Abū Bakr, the first Kh̲alifah, 59 and n 2.

Sidh Pāl, grandson of Kajwi Kh̲atri, a *protegé* of the Mubārak Sh̲āhi family, 394, 395, 397

Sidhau, Rai of Satgaṛh, contemporary of Sulṭān Firoz Sh̲āh Tugh̲laq, 329 *n* 5.

Sidhāran Kh̲atri, 395. See under Sidāran.

Sīdī Maulā, Saiyyid, contemporary of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Kh̲iljī, 233 and n 4, 234, 235, 248, 507 and *n* 2, 525.

Sidra, the,—or

Sidratu-l-Muntahā, the lote tree of Paradise, in the seventh heaven, 58 *n* 3, 150 and *n* 2.

Ṣiffīn, a celebrated battle between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah, 157 *n* 2.

Sihām, arrows used in the game of *maisir*, 369 and *n* 1.

Sihrind, town of, 330, 331 and *n* 3, 378, 380, 382, 383 *n* 11, 406, 437, 438, 486, 498, 548. See also under Sirhind.

Siḥru-l-Ḥalāl, *lawful magic*, 151 *n* 6.

Siḥūn (Jaxartes), the, 15*v* *n*.

Sihwān, in the Karāchi district of Sind, 560 *n* 8.

Sijdah, a prostration in prayer, 612 *n* 3.

Sijistān, province of, 15 *n*, 34 *n* 4, 70 *n* 2

Sijz, a village in the province of Sijistān, 70 *n* 2

Sikandar, a general of Mirzā Kāmrān's army, 463.

Sikandar, called Ẕu-l-Qarnain, Alexander the Great, 254, 255, 268, 331, 425, 436, 441, 485.

Sikandar, Rampart of, 191 and *n* 2

Sikandar-i-S̤āni, title of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Kh̲iljī, 254 and *n* 6.

Sikandar Kh̲ān Osbak, one of the Amirs of Humāyūn, 593 and *n* 1, 594, 595.

Sikandar Kh̲ān, son of Sh̲āh Muḥam-

mad Farmali, one of the Amirs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 588, 589.

Sikandar Khān, Malik Ya'qūb, one of the Amirs of Firoz Shāh Tughlaq, 337, 338.

Sikandar Lodī, Sulṭān, son of Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 411, 412, n 2, 413 and n 13, 416, 417, 418, 423 n 11, 424 and n 4, 425, 426, 427, 429, 431 and n 1, 432, 435, 444, 445, 466, 470, 476.

Sikandar Maliku-sh-Sharq, governor of Lāhor, contemporary of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 389, 390.

Sikandar, son of Shamsu-d-Dīn, Sulṭān of Lakhnautī, contemporary of Sulṭan Fīroz Shāh, 328 and n 6, 329.

Sikandar Sūr, one of the cousins of Shīr Shāh, assumes the title of Sulṭān, 542, 543, 544, 546, 547, 550, 559, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597

Sikandar, son of Tāju-l-Mulk Nahv one of the Maliks of Khizr Khān, the first of the Saiyyids, 380

Sikandar Tuḥfa, Malik, one of the Amirs of the Saiyyid dynasty, 383. See the above.

Sikandarnāma, one of the poetical works of Mīr Khusrū of Dihlī, 269 n 5.

Sikandarnāma, one of the poetical works of the celebrated poet Niẓāmī, 174 n 3, 298 n 4, 467.

Sikkah, currency stamped with name of sovereign, 8 n 8, 15 and n 3.

Sikkākī, Sirāju-d-Dīn Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf, author of the *Miftāḥu-l-'Ulūm*, 428 n 2.

Sīkri, another name of the town of Fatḥpūr, 386, 445 and n 2, 487, 488.

Sil Hako bridge, over the Brahmaputra, 84 n 1.

Silsilatu-z-Zahab, one of the works of Maulānā Jāmī, 272 n 1.

Simak, the fourteenth of the houses of the moon, 152 and n 2

Simaku-l-A'zal, Spica Virginis, 152 n 2.

Simāku-r-Rāmiḥ, Arcturus, 152 n 2.

Simurgh, a fabulous bird, 178 nn 2 and 4.

Sind, 11 n 3, 12, 13 n, 20, 29, 36 and n 10, 80, 88 n 1, 91, 124, 187, 297, 465, 559, 560 n 8, 615 n 6. Called also Sindh.

Sind, the,—the river Indus, 128 n 3, 422 n 3.

Sindh see under Sind

Sindhis, the, 130.

Sindhu, name of the Indus in Sanskrit, 23 n 3

Sindus,—the river Indus, 23 n 3.

Sinjār, town of, in Mesopotamia, 55 n 3, 167 n 3

Sinjar, Alp Khān, wife's brother of Sulṭān 'Alau-d Dīn Khiljī, 247.

Sinjar ibn Malik Shah Saljūqī, the last of the Saljuq dynasty in Khurāsān, 55 and nn 3 and 4, 56, 61 and n 5, 65, 167 and n 3, 170, 291, 602

Sinjūrī, Abū 'Alī,—contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 20.

Sintūr hills, the Kumaon hills, 185, 186 n 1, 334 and n 7.

Sipāhān, same as Ispahān or Iṣpahān, 34 and n 1, 35.

Sipand, rue, burned to avert the evil eye, 192 *n* 2, 617 and *n* 1.
Sipar, Rāi, Governor of Itāwa, contemporary of Khiẓr Khān of the dynasty of the Saiyyids, 380 and *n* 5, 381.
Siparak, a herb, 629 and *n* 2.
Sipra river, the,—in Mālwā, 95 *n* 4.
Siprak, a herb, 629 *n* 2.
Siqlāṭ, a silken stuff brocaded with gold, 548 *n* 3.
Sir, Rāi, ruler of Baitālī, contemporary of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 360 and *n* 3
Sirāj 'Afif. the Historian See under Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif.
Sirāju-d-Dīn Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf bin Abī Muḥammad ibn 'Alī as-Sikkākī, author of the *Miftāḥu-l 'Ulūm*, 428 *n* 2
Sirāṭ, bridge across the fire of Hell, 113 *n* 1 See also the next.
Sirāt-i-Mustaqīm, the hair-like bridge over Hell, 372 and *n* 2 See also the above.
Sirhind, town of, 331 *n* 3, 401, 520 592 and *n* 6, 594. See also under Sihrind.
Sirhindi, Yahyā ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abdu llah, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, 10 *n* 2, 67 *n* 2.
Sīrī, one of the three cities of Dihlī, 247, 269 *n* 1, 295 *n* 10, 311 *n* 5, 351, 361 *n* 1, 366 and *n* 1, 396.
Sirinor, mountains of, in the Himalayas, 307 *n* 4
Sir Mur,—or
Sirmūr, hilly country of, 120 and *nn* 1 and 3, 131, 251, 324, 337, 338, 341
Sirmūr, town of, 326 *n* 2
Sirmūr Bardār, hills of, 120 *n* 1.
Sissoo tree, the, *Dalbergia sissoo*, 129 *n* 2.
Sīstān, province of, 569. See also under Seistān, Sīwistān and Sijistān.
Siwālik hill-range, to the north of Hindūstān, 70, 98, 132 *n* 4, 358 and *n* 6, 438, 595.
Siwī Siyūpūr, province of, 425 and *n* 2.
Siwi o Siūpur, province of, 425 *n* 2.
Siwistān, province of, 91, 249 *n* 7, 323 See under Sīstān.
Siyāhwān, fortress in the Karāchi district of Sind, 560 and *n* 8.
Siyaru-l-'Ārifīn of Shaikh Jamālī Kanbawī of Dihlī, 430
Siyūpūr, province of, 425 *n* 2
Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, 159 *n* 2, 244 *n* 6, 298 *n* 5, 548 *n* 3.
Slane, De, *Ibn Khallikān* or *Prolégomènes d' Ibn Khaldūn*, 6 *n* 3, 12 *n* 1, 30 *n* 1, 35 *n* 1, 38 *n* 3, 42 *nn* 1 and 3, 44 *n* 5, 51 *n* 2, 55 *n* 3, 59 *n* 1, 74 *n* 2, 149 *n*, 151 *nn* 4 and 6, 152 *n* 2, 157 *n* 1, 167 *n* 3, 181 *n* 2, 198 *n* 2, 244 *n* 6, 287 *nn* 1 and 2, 352 *n* 1, 481 *n* 6
Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 19 *n*, 29 *n* 5, 76 *n*, 367 *n* 3
Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, 46 *n* 5, 332 *n*.
Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, 23 *n* 1, 30 *n* 1, 35 *n* 2, 394 *n* 5.
Soane, the,—or the Son, a tributary of the Ganges, 82 *n* 1.

Sobha Nath, *or Lord of Beauty*, name of the idol of Somnāt, 28.
Soghdi, the, name of an ancient people of Central Asia, 23 *n* 1.
Sohrāb, son of Rustam, the famous hero of ancient Īrān, 499.
Solimān (Solomon), 148 *n* 1.
Solomon, King of Israel, 106, 112, 136, 148 and *n* 1, 205 and *n* 3, 206 *n*, 485, 505 *n* 6
Solomon, ring of, possessed of magical properties, 205 *n* 3, 505 *n* 6, 559 and *n* 2.
Soma name of the moon in Sanskrit, 79 *n* 2
Somagraha, lucky things, 79 *n* 2.
Somanāth,—or
Somanātha, south-west of the Peninsula of Gujarāt on the sea-shore, 17 *n* 4, 27 *n* 4. See also the next
Somnāt,—or
Somnāth, in Gujarāt on the coast, 17 and *n* 4, 27 and *n* 4, 28 and *n* 4, 256 See Somanāth
Son, the,—or the Soane, a tributary of the Ganges, 82 *n* 1.
Sonhār, town of, 407 and *n* 6.
Sonīpat Bangar, district of Hindūstān, 122 *n* 1. [and *n* 6.
Sonnergong, same as Sunārgānw, 186
Sonpat,—or
Sonpath, a city with a fortress north of Dihlī, 21 *n* 4, 37 and *n* 3.
Sontheimer's *Ibn Baiṭār*, 146 *n* 6, 172 *n* 2, 173 *n* and *nn* 2 and 3, 182 *nn* 1 and 4, 484 *n* 1, 550 *n* 1.
Sorath, country of, 264 and *n* 6, 454 *n* 7, 455
Soreth, peninsula of, 454 *n* 7. Same as Sorath
Sortes Virgilianæ, 412 *n* 1.
Sortilege, different methods of, 412 *n* 1.
Sot river, the, in Rohilkund, 464 *n* 4.
Southern India, 265 *n* 2.
Spider, story of a, 149 *n*.
Sprenger's *Life of Muḥammad*, 46 *n* 5.
Srāvana, a Hindū month, 27 *n* 4.
Stag, notes on the, 171 *n* 2.
Stambhatīrth, the pool of Mahādeva under the form of the pillar God, 256 *n* 4, 454 *n* 6.
Stateira, wife of Alexander the Great, 332 *n*.
Statistical Account of Bengal, Hunter's 125 *n* 3, 299 *n* 2.
Stein, Dr., 384 *n* 1.
Steingass, *Persian Dictionary*, 142 *n* 3, 159 *n* 2, 312 *n* 7, 321 *n* 2, 466 *n* 7. 629 *n* 2.
Sthāneswara, the modern Thānesar, 293 *n* 5.
Sthānu, a name of Mahādeva, 293 *n* 5.
Strabo, the Greek geographer, 23 *nn* 1 and 3.
Ṣubah of Agra, 410 *n* 4.
Subhān-Allah, to express surprise or astonishment, 515 *n* 7.
Subhatu-l-Abrār, one of the poetical works of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Jāmi, 272 *n* 1.
Ṣubḥ-i-Kāẕib, the false dawn, 115 *n* 3.
Subuktigin, Nāṣiru-d-Din, ruler of Kābul and Ghaznin, 13 and *n* 1, 14 and *nn* 1 and 2, 15, 16 and *n* 1.
Suclāt, a silken stuff brocaded with gold, 543 *n* 3.
Sudr Khān, Governor of Agra, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodi, 419 *n* 1

Suez, Gulf of, 169 n 1.
Suez, town of, 169 n 1.
Ṣūfī Khān Yūsuf Aslbacha, one of the courtiers of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khilji, 291 and n 6, 293.
Ṣūfī Wali Sulṭān Kadāmū, one of the Amirs of the Qizilbāsh, 575 n 3.
Ṣūfis, the, 58 n 5, 191 n 4, 374 n 5, 508, 512.
Sūghma or Sūqmā, a Turki word meaning a pole, 497 n 1
Suhā, a small obscure star in the Lesser Bear, 182 and n 2, 371 and n 5.
Ṣuḥuf, a collection of pages, 615 n 5.
Sūī Sūbar, province of, 425 n 2.
Sūkhpāl Nabsa,—or
Sūkhpāl Nabs, Rājā of Sind, contemporary of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawi, 20 and n 4 See the next.
Sūkhpāl-Nawāsa Shāh, grandson of Jaipāl, 20 n 4. Same as the above (q v.).
Suleimān (Solomon), 186, 559, 595.
Suleimān Badakhshī, Mirzā, ruler of Badakhshān, contemporary of Humāyūn, 574, 580, 581, 585.
Suleimān, son of Hasan Sūr, and brother of Shīr Shāh, 468.
Suleimān Khān Karrānī, one of the Amirs of Islem Shāh Sūr, 525, 540, 541, 554.
Suleimān Khān, son of Khān-i-Khānān Farmalī, one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 418 and n 11, 424 and n 2
Suleimān, adopted son of Malik Marwān-i-Daulat, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 335, 352, 376.
Suleimān Shāh Akat Khān, brother's son to Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khilji, 260 n 5.
Suleimān Shāh Lodī, Malik, one of the Amirs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 389.
Sulindrine, the town of Jālandhar in Ptolemy, 383 and n 4.
Sulphur, notes on, 340 n 3.
Sulṭān, title, first assumed by Maḥmūd Ghaznawi, 16 n 2.
Sulṭān of Rūm, the Sulṭān of Turkey, 480.
Sulṭān 'Ālam, son of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 451, 454
Sulṭān Bahādur, ruler of Gujrāt, contemporary of Humāyūn, 452, 453, 454 and n 4, 455, 456, 458, 635.
Sulṭān Begam, wife of Mirzā 'Askari, 569.
Sulṭān Begam, sister of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia, 570 and n 11.
Sulṭān Hoshang, Alp Khān, the ruler of Mālwā, 363 n 2, 384 n 5, 385 n 3.
Sulṭān Junaid Mirzā Birlās, one of the Amirs of Bābar, 439 446, 468, 469
Sulṭān Kot, fortress of, in the country of Bhasiyāna, 80 and nn 5 and 6.
Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī. See under Maḥmūd of Ghaznin
Sulṭān Muḥammad Mirzā, ruler of Khurāsān, elder son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia, 569.
Sulṭānpūr, town of, formerly called Arankal, 299.
Sulṭānpūr, on the river of Lāhor, 465, 472, 503, 506, 513, 534
Sulṭān Saiyyid Muḥammad, same as Muḥammad Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty 10 n 3.

Sulṭān Shāh Khushdil, the Amīr of Sāmāna, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 343.

Sulṭān Shāh Lodī, called Islām Khān, Governor of Sihrind under Khiẓr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty, 380 and *n* 3.

Sulṭān Sharf or Sharq, Governor of Baiāna, 414 and *nn* 6 and 8. See the next.

Sulṭān Sharq, son of Sulṭān Aḥmad Jilwānī the First, 414 and *nn* 6, 11 and 12. See the above.

Sulṭānam, sister of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia, 570 *n* 11.

Sulṭānu-l-Mashāikh Niẓāmu-l-Auliyā, 266, 301. See under Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Auliyā.

Sulṭānu-sh-Sharq, ruler of Baiāna contemporary of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, 414 *n* 8

Sulṭānu-sh-Sharq Khwāja-i-Jahān, one of the Maliks of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty, 348 and *n* 9.

Sulṭānu-sh Sharq Mubārak Shāh Qaranqal, ruler of Jaunpūr, 360.

Sumbul, the spikenard of the ancients, 146 *n* 6, 373 and *n* 4.

Sumbul-i-Hindī, the perfumed sumbul, 146 *n* 6.

Sumbul-i-Rūmī, called also Nārdīn, 146 *n* 6.

Sūmrā Rājpūts, the rulers of Sind, 13 *n*.

Sunārgām,—or

Sunārgānw, on a branch of the Brahmaputra S E. of Dacca, 186 and *n* 6, 299, 308, 309.

Sūndhī Rāi, the Hindū General of Sulṭān Muḥammad, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 34 and *n* 2

Sunnah, the practice of the Prophet, 483 *n*. 7, 519 and n 4, 569, 626 and n 1.

Sunnatun mu'akkadatun, an authenticated traditional practice, 626 *n* 2.

Sunnis, the, 3 *n* 6, 57 and *n* 1, 59 n 4, 156 *n* 1, 200 *n*, 320 *n* 4, 420 *n* 8, 576 *n* 5, 604 *n* 5, 625 *n* 3, 626 *nn* 1, 2 and 6.

Sūpar, town of, 426.

Supārī, the nut of *Areca catechu*, 303 *n* 6.

Sūqmā or *Sūghmā*, a Turqī word meaning *a pole*, 497 *n* 1.

Sūr Afghāns, the, 538.

Surayyā, the Pleiades, 630 *n* 4

Surate, town of, 454 *n* 7. See Sorath.

Sūratu-l-Ikhlāṣ, one of the chapters of the Qur'ān, 2 *nn* 3 and 4

Sūratu-l-Kahf, one of the chapters of the Qur'ān, 207 *n* 1.

Sūratu r-Raḥmān, one of the chapters of the Qur'ān, 218 *n* 2.

Surgha, probably for *Sūghma* a Turkī word meaning *a pole*, 497 *n* 1.

Sūrī, a flower, 142 and *n* 3.

Surkhāb of Tabrīz, called 'the Sepulchre of the Poets,' 339 *n* 4, 584 *n*.

Surkh bud, *or Red idol*, one of two enormous images in Bāmiān, 46 *n* 1.

Surkh Kulāh, *or Red-caps*, name of the Turkomāns of the district of Garm Sīr, 48 and *n* 7

Surra-man-ra'ā, or Sāmarrā, a town of 'Irāq on the eastern bank of the Tigris, 59 *n* 1, 571 and *n* 2.

Sursati, a fortress in the hills of Kashmīr, called also Sarsati and Sarsutī, 36 *n* 1.

Sūrtaq, Īlāq, name of a place, 669 *n* 8
Surūr, town of, 326 *n*.
Surusty, for the country of Sarsuti (*q v*), 80 *n* 1.
Sūrya Siddhānta, Burgess, 163 *n* 2.
Susa, a town of Persia, 332 *n*.
Sūsan, the lily, notes on, 101 *n* 1.
Sūsan-i āzād, the white variety of the lily, 101 *n* 1.
Sūsāni, the syriac origin of the word *Sūsan* or lily, 101 *n* 1.
Sutlej, the. See under the Satlaj
Sū-ul-qinya, description of the disease so called, 30 *n* 2, 31 *n*.
Suyūṭī, As-, author of the *Tārīkhu-l Khulafā*, 12 *n* 2, 15 *n* 4, 17 *n* 2, 1[illegible] *n* 1.
Sword of Moses, Gaster's, 141 *n* 4.
Sydenham Society, the, 30 *n* 1.
Syria, 279 *n*, 585 *n* 7.
Suyūrghāl, a Turki word meaning gifts of land, 424 *n* 3

T

Ta'abbaṭa-sharran, surname of Ṣābit-bin Jābir al-Fahmī, the famous Arab athlete and warrior, 527 and *n* 3
Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbar Shāhī, 9 *n* 2, 62 *n* 1, 61 *n* 4 See the *Tabaqāt i-Akbari*.
Ṭabaqāt i Akbari, popular name of the *Tārīkh-i Niẓāmī* of Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad, 9 *n* 2, 10 *n* 3, 29 *n*, 45 *n* 1, 62 *n* 4, 82 *n* 4, 83 *n* 1, 121 *n* 7, 399 *nn* 1 and 7, 569 *n* 4, 570 *nn* 2 and 11, 572 *n* 7, 574 *nn* 1 and 9, 575 *n* 3, 579 *n* 7, 582 *nn* 5 and 7, 586 *n* 5, 592 *n* 6, 593 *nn* 8 and 9, 594 *n* 6
Ṭabaqāt-i-Maḥmūd Shāhī of Shihābu-d-Dīn Ḥakīm Kirmānī Jaunpūrī, 230 and *n* 3
Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī, Raverty, 13 *n* 1, 14 *nn* 1 and 2, 16 *nn* 1 and 2, 17 *n* 3, 19 *n* 2, 20 *n* 2, 23 *n* 1, 29 *n* 1, 31 *n* 1, 32 *n*, 33 *n* 2, 35 *n* 1, 38 *n* 3, 49 *n* 4, 50 *n* 1, 51 *n* 1, 52 *n* 4, 55 *nn* 2 and 4, 56 *n* 1, 60 *nn* 1 and 2, 63 *n* 1, 65 *nn* 1 and 2, 66 *nn* 1, 2 and 6, 69 *nn* 1, 2, 3 and 4, 70 *n* 3, 71 *nn* 5, 6 and 7, 72 *nn* 1, 3 and 4, 73 *n* 2, 74 *n* 1, 78 *n* 3, 79 *n* 3, 80 *nn* 3, 4, [illegible] and 6, 81 *nn* 2 and 3, 82 *nn* 3 and 5, 83 *nn* 1, 4 and 5, 84 *n* and *n* 1, 8[illegible] *n* 1, 86 *n* 1, 87 *n* 5, 89 *n* 5, 90 *n* 2, 91 *n* 4, 93 *n* 1, 94 and *n* 3, 95 *nn* [illegible] and 2, 98 *n* 2, 120 *nn* 1, 2 and 8, 121 *nn* 1, 2 and 5, 122 *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 123 *nn* 2 and 3, 124 *n* 1, 125 *n* 2, 12[illegible] *nn* 1, 2 and 3, 127 and *nn* 1 and 2, 128 *n* 1, 129 *nn* [illegible], 3 and 4, 13[illegible] *n* 2, 131 *nn* 1 and 4, 132 *nn* [illegible] 4 and 5, 134 *n* 1, 135 *n* 1, 59[illegible] *n* 4
Ṭabaqāt-i-Shāh Jahānī, 95 *n* 6.
Tabarhindah, fortress of, in Rājpūtānā, 19 and *n* 2, 69 and *n* 2, 8[illegible] and *n* 3, 121 and *n* 5, 130, 131, 229, 233, 388 and *n* 2, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393
Ṭabarī, the celebrated Arab Historian, 36 *n* 2, 74 *n* 2.
Ṭabaristān, a province of Persia, 3[illegible] and *nn* 2 and 3, 47, 73 *n* 1.

Ṭabariya, Sea of,—the Dead Sea, 158 *n* 1.

Tabarrā, or enmity, a technical term in use among the Shi'ahs, 576 and *n* 5, 577 *n*.

Tabarrāī, accursed, 577 *n*. See under *Tabarrā*

Ṭabl-i-'ulā nawākhtan, meaning of the expression, 498 *n* 4.

Tabriz, town of, in Persia, 72 *n* 4, 578, 584 *n*

Tafā'ul, taking a *fa'l* or omen from the words of a book, 412 *n* 1

Tafsir-i-Madārik, a work on the sources of law ordinances, 428, 429 and *n* 1.

Tafsiru-l-Baiẓāwi, a celebrated commentary on the Qur'ān by Qāẓī Baiẓāwī, 6 *nn* 1 and 4. See under the *Anwāru-t-Tanzīl*.

Taftāzānī, At-, author of the *Mutawwal*, a commentary on the *Talkhīṣu-l-Miftāḥ*, 428 *n* 3.

Taghāna, a falchion, 215 and *n* 4.

Taghī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muhammad Taghlaq Shāh, 314, 319, 320 324

Taghī Tāghī, 324 See the above

Taginābād, one of the chief cities of Garmsir, 65 and *n* 1 See also under Takīnābād

Tāhir, Khwāja, Wazir of Sultān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 47

Ṭāhir, Shaikh, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty, 418.

Ṭāhir Junaidī, the poet, 624 *n* 6 Same as the following.

Ṭāhir Khondī,—or

Tāhir Khwāndī Dakkanī, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 624 and *n* 6, 625 and *n* 3, 626, 632, 635, 636.

Ṭahmāsp, Shāh, the King of Persia, contemporary of Humāyūn, 453, 455, 456, 466, 469, 470, 624.

Tā'if, a town in Ḥijāz, 12 *n* 1.

Tāj or red caps of the Qizilbāsh, 627 *n* 7.

Tāj Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 470.

Tāj Khān Karrānī, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh, 525, 539, 540, 541.

Tāj-i-Khurūs, a red flower without odour, 629 *n* 1.

Tājiks, the descendants of Arabs in Persia, 66 *n* 1.

Tāju-d-Dīn, Malik, Secretary of State of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 94, 97.

Tāju-d-Dīn, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty, 334

Tāju-d Dīn, Malik, feudatory of Badāon, one of the Amīrs of the Shamsīyah Sulṭāns, 125.

Tāju-d-Dīn Bakhtyār, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 353 and *n* 8.

Tāju-d-Dīn Naḥv, Malik, 378 *n* 6. See Tāju-l-Mulk Naḥv.

Tāju-d-Dīn Ṭālaqānī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 298.

Tāju-d-Dīn Yaldkuz,—or

Tāju-d-Dīn Yaldūz, one of the Mu'izzī Sulṭāns of Ghaznīn, 77 *n* 1, 78, 79, 80, 89, 90, 91.

Tāju-l-'Arūs, a celebrated Arabic Dictionary, 620 *n* 1.

Tāju-l Ma'āṣir, name of an historical work, 73 *n* 2, 80 *n* 3

Tāju-l-Mulk Malik Ḥusain, uncle of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 231.

Tāju-l-Mulk Naḥv,—or

Tāju-l-Mulk Tuḥfa, one of the Maliks of Masnad-i-'Ālī Khiẓr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty, 376 and n 2, 377, 378 and n 6, 379, 380.

Taḥallus, poetical name, 683 and n 5.

Takhmār, a dart having no point, 315 n 6.

Takinābād or Tagīnābād, one of the chief cities of Garmsīr, 84 and n 5, 48, 66 and n 1.

Taklā, a Turkī word, meaning of, 569 and n 6.

Talanbha, a fortress at the junction of the Jhelam and the Chenāb, 355 n 1. See under Ṭulumba.

Talaundi town of, 352, 362, 382 and n 2, 392.

Talbagha Nāgor, Malik, 295 and n 2. See under Talbigha Nāgorī.

Talbagha Yaghda, Malik, 286 n 5 See under Talbigha Yaghda.

Talbigha Nāgorī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 286, 295 and n 2.

Talbigha Yaghda, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 286 and n 5.

Talhar, a town in the Kashmīr hill tracts, 383 and n 2, 384 n 1.

Ta'līmiah, a sect of Muslim heretics, called also the Bāṭiniah, 22 n 3.

Talkhīṣu-l-Miftāḥ, at-Taftāzānī's abridgment of the *Miftāḥu-l-'Ulūm*, 428 n 3.

Talpath, town of, 295

Taltib, name of a place, 258 n 4

Talwāra hills of, 394 and n 1. See the next.

Talwāra, a village on the right bank of the Chināb, opposite Riāsī, 394 n 1.

Tamāchī, brother of Bānhbana R..., governor of Thatha under Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 323 n 4.

Ṭamghāch, Amīr, one of the slaves of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Aibak, 89 and n 2.

Tamīm, a tribe of the Arabs, 2... n 1.

Tamīm Anṣārī, one of the companions of Muḥammad, 13 n.

Tammat,—or

Tammatu-l-Kitāb, answering to the word *Finis* at the end of books, 428 and n 4.

Tammūz, a god of the Phœnicians, 104 n 2.

Tamūz, the fourth month of the Jewish year, 104 and n 2.

Ṭanbūr, a kind of mandolin, 195 n ...

Taneshar, 22 n 1 Same as the town of Thānesar (q v.).

Tangah, 92 and n 3. See under *Tanqah* and *Tanka*.

Tang-chashm, or close-eyed, a name of the Turks, 627 n 7

Tang-shakar, a sugar jar having very narrow mouth, 174 n 2.

Tanka,—or.

Tanqah, a copper, silver or gold coin, 87 n 1, 92 and n 3, 306 and n 3, 30...

and n.

Tannūra i-Musaddas, the world, 14... n 2

Taqiu-d-Dīn Wāiẓ Rabbānī, Makhdūm Shaikh, 383

Tarāwarī, later name of the town of Tarāyan (q.v.), 69, 79.

Tarāyan, on the banks of the Sarsutī, 69 and n 4, 79, 90, 93. See under Tarāwarī.

Tarāzū-i-charkh,—or

Tarāzū-i-falak, a name of the constellation Libra, 142 n 2.

Tardī Beg,—or

Tardī Beg Khān, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 455, 564 and n 6, 566, 568, 591.

Targhī Mughal, invades Hindūstān in the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 250, 251.

Tārīkh, chronogram, 605 and n 10.

Tārīkh-i-'Alāī of Mīr Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 247 n, 251 n, 252 n 1. Called also the *Tārīkh-i-Khazāinu-l-Futūḥ* (q v.)

Tārīkh-i Alfī, 28 n 4, 80 n 4.

Tārīkh-i-Badāonī, another name of the *Muntakhabu-t-Tawārīkh* of Badāonī, 11 n 1

Tārīkh-i-Firishta, 205 n 2. See under Firishta.

Tārīkh i-Fīrūz Shāhī of Shams i-Sirāj 'Afīf, 315 n 7

Tārīkh i-Fīrūz Shāhī of Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Barnī, 184 n 1, 185 n 2, 186 nn 5 and 6, 220 n 2, 249, 261 n 5, 264 n 1, 269 n 1, 274 n 1, 295 n 10, 301, 315 and n 7.

Tārīkh-i-Guzīda, 32 n 1.

Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr, 8 and n 3, 500 and n 7.

Tārīkh-i-Khazāinu-l-Futūḥ of Mīr Khusrū, known also as the *Tārīkh-i-'Alāī* (q. v.), 252 and n 1, 266.

Tārīkh-i-Mas'ūdī, the history of Sulṭān Mas'ūd Ghaznawī, 47 n 2.

Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī of Yaḥyā ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abdu llah Sirhindī, 10 and n 2, 67 and n 2, 222 and n 2, 228 and nn 3 and 4, 307, 315 and n 7, 316, 366 and nn 4 and 5, 396 n 1, 400 n.

Tārīkh-i-Niẓāmī of Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-Dīn Aḥmad, called also the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 9 and n 2, 62 and n 4, 63 n, 64 and n 1, 67, 504

Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī, Elias and Ross, 69 n 5, 103 n 3, 145 n 2, 232 n 5, 236 n 1, 305 n 3, 353 n 1, 464 n 8, 572 n 8, 574 n 6, 575 n 1.

Tārīkh i-Shīr Shāhī, 457 n 6

Tārīkh i-Subuktigīn, 36 n 6.

Tārīkhu l-Khulafā of as-Suyūṭī, 12 n 2. See under the *History of the Caliphs*.

Ṭarīqu-t-Taḥqīq, one of the works of Ḥakīm Sanāī 56 n 2

Tarji band, a kind of poem, 62 and n 1, 196 n 3

Tarkhān, town of 40 n 1

Tarkīb-band, a kind of poetical composition, 196 n 3, 198 n 2

Tārkila, town of, 186.

Tarma Shīrīn, contemporary of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 316

Tartary, Chinese, 145 n 2.

Taryāq or Turtāq the Mughal, of the royal house of Khurāsān, 251 n, 252 n 2.

Tashhīr kardan, to expose to public ridicule, 22 n 4.

Tashīf, technical meaning of the expression, 615 n 5.

Tasūj, one twenty-fourth part of a *Gaz*, 390 *n* 8.

Tātār, country of, 161, 171.

Tātār Khān, Governor of Sambal, contemporary of Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqi and Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 406 and *n* 8.

Tātār Khān, son of Arslān Khān, Governor of Lakhnautī under Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 185.

Tātār Khān, adopted son of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 299, 323 *n* 3, 328.

Tātār Khān Kālpi,—or

Tātār Khān Kāsi, one of the Amīrs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty of Dihlī, 542 and *n* 7, 592, 593.

Tātār Khān Lodī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Bahādur of Gujrāt, 453

Tātār Khān, son of Sārang Khān, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 364.

Tātār Khān Sārang Khānī, one of the Amīrs of the Lodī dynasty, 443, 445

Tātār Khān, son of Ẓafar Khān, one of the Amīrs of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 352, 354 and *n* 8, 361.

Tātār Khurd, Malik, Governor of Lāhor under Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 309

Tātārs, the, 191, 192, 221, 252

Tatta, town of, 67 and n 1, 187, 320 and *n* 5, 322, 332 and *n* 6, 333 and *n* 4, 381 and *n* 6, 408 and *n* 7, 464, 559, 560, 562, 566 Called also Tatthah and Thathah

Tatthah. See under the town of Tatta.

Tau'am, name of the second arrow in the game of *maisir*, 369 *n* 1.

Tauba (Repentance), formula of, used on occasions of sudden alarm and peril, 551 and *n* 2.

Tauḥid (Declaration of Unity), formula of, used on occasions of peril, 551 and *n* 2.

Taurāt, the Mosaic law, 4 *n* 1 —The Book of the Law, 206 *n*.

Taurus, the constellation, 367 *nn* 3 and 4.

Taushīḥ, an acrostic, 606 and *n* 2

Tānsin, Miyān, the famous Hindū musician, 557 and *n* 1

Tawallā, affection (as opposed to *Tabarrā* *q.v.*), 576 *n* 5

Ta'wīz, an amulet, 115 *n* 4.

Tayammum, ablutional ceremony performed with sand, 201 and *n* 2

Tazkira (*Book of Memoirs*) of Shaikh Jamālī Kanbawī of Dihlī, 430.

Tazkira of Muḥammad 'Ūfī of Merv, 33 and *n* 1. See also under *Tazkiratu-sh-Shu'arā*.

Tazkiratu l-Mulūk, an historical work, 33 *n* 2, 90 *n* 2.

Tazkiratu-sh-Shu'arā of Muḥammad 'Aufi of Merv, 33 and *n* 1, 221.

Tedjer, name of the river Tigris in the Zend, 394 *n* 5.

Teesta river, the, 84 *n* 1.

Teheran, capital of modern Persia, 30 *n* 1.

Telinga,—or

Telingāna, Kingdom of, 265 *nn* 2 and 4, 286.

Ten Thousand, Xenophon's account of the retreat of the—, 586 *n*.

Thākur of the Hindūs, 484 *n* 1

Thales, the celebrated Greek astronomer, 367 *nn* 3 and 4

Thāna of Bhīm, a name of the fortress of Bhīmnagar, 21.

Thānesar, town of, 21 and n 4, 22 n 1, 69 and n 4, 293 and n 5, 326 n, 593.

Thanessor, 21 n 4 See Thānesar.

Thaneswar, modern name of Thānesar, 21 n 4

Thangīr, fortress of, 80 n 4. See under Thankīr.

Thankar, or properly Bhankar, fort of, 71 n 2, 425 and n 3. See under Thankīr.

Thankīr, fortress of, in the territory of Bhiāna, 80 nn 4 and 5. Called also Thangīr and Thankar (*q v*).

Thar Yāl, nephew of Hīmūn Baqqāl the Hindū General of 'Adlī, 553 and nn 5 and 6.

Thatha. See under the town of Tatta

Theon's commentary on the Almagest, 76 n.

Thesaurus, Gesenius', 394 n 5

Thessalians, Epistle to the, 278 n 4.

Thomas, *Coins of the Kings of Ghazni*, 16 n 2, 47 n 2.

Thomas, *Pathān Kings of Dehli*, 64 n 3, 77 n 2, 83 n 3, 87 nn 1 and 6, 88 nn 1 and 3, 89 nn 1 and 4, 91 nn 1 and 5, 120 n 1, 126 n 3, 129 n 4, 135 n 1, 254 n 6, 269 nn 1 and 2, 307 n, 310 n 2, 311 n 4, 325 n 1, 326 n, 327 n 6, 337 n 4, 344 n 7, 345 n 4, 346 n 5, 347 n 3, 351 nn 4, 9 and 11, 352 n 2, 359 n 4, 366 nn 1 and 4, 399 n 7, 400 n 1, 556 n 5, 618 n 1.

Thornton's *Gazetteer of the countries on the North-West of India*, 567 nn 1 and 9

Tibat,—or

Tibbat, country of, 84 n, 135. See also under Tibet.

Tiberhind,—or

Tiberhindah, fortress of, 69 n 2. See under Tabarhindah.

Tibet, 83 and n 4, 84 and n. See under Tibbat.

Tieffenthaler's *Description of India*, 19 n 2, 20 n 5, 21 n 4, 22 n 5, 23 n 2, 24 nn 3 and 6, 25 n 5, 28 nn 2 and 4, 36 n 10, 37 nn 2 and 3, 66 nn 3 and 7, 67 n 1, 69 nn 2 and 4, 70 nn 3 and 4, 71 nn 2 and 3, 80 nn 1 and 5, 82 n 1, 95 n 4, 121 n 6, 128 n 3, 129 nn 1 and 2 130 n 1, 147 n 1, 186 n 6, 218 n 3, 223 n, 256 n 4, 257 nn 1 and 2, 265 n 4, 313 n 5, 325 n 3, 327 n 3, 355 n 1, 356 n 1, 357 n 4, 364 nn 4 and 5, 366 n, 380 n 2, 383 n 2, 417 n 7, 420 n 5, 422 n 3, 425 n 4, 454 nn 6 and 7, 486 n 6, 530 n 3, 559 n 5, 560 n 8, 590 n 5

Tigin, Malik, one of the Amirs of Sulṭān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 298.

Tigrā, name of the river Tigris in old Persian, 394 n 5.

Tigris, the, 59 n 1, 394 n 5, 624 n 8.

Ṭihārat, purifications enjoined by Muḥammadan law, 603 and n 2

Tihārū, one of the Mountain tribes between Lakhnautī and Tibat, 84 n.

Tijāra, town in the province of Mīwāt, 366 n.

Tilāī, town of, 334 nn 4 and 5.

Tilak, the Hindū,—a General of Sulṭān Mas'ūd, son of Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 36 n 9.

Tilang, called also Telingā or Telingāna, country of, 261 n 5, 265 and n 2, 297, 299, 309, 329.
Tilaundī, or Talaundī, town of, 352, 362, 382 and n 2, 392.
Tilok Chand, Rāi, Governor of Khatra (? Katehr), contemporary of Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī of Jaunpūr, 408 n 4.
Tilok, the son of Jye Sein, 36 n 9. For Tūlak ibn Ḥusain (*q v*).
Tilūk Chand, Rāi,—Governor of Baksar, contemporary of Sulṭān Ḥusain Sharqī and Buhlūl Lodī, 408 and n 4.
Timour. See under Timūr.
Timūr the Great, 353 and *n* 1, 355 and *nn* 1 and 3, 356 and *nn* 1 and 5, 357, 358 and *nn* 4 and 6, 360 *n* 3, 361, 366 *n* 1, 443, 454, 584 *n* 3, 605 *n* 1.
Timūr Khān, the Mughal, one of the Generals of Chingiz Khān, 188 *n* 1.
Timūr Khān Qarā Beg, known also as Malik Qirān, one of the Shamsīyah Maliks, 125 and *n* 4
Tippera District, 186 *n* 6.
Tir, a kind of cambric or lawn and also an arrow, 192 *n* 1.
Tirhut, 86, 349, 416.
Tirpauliya mosque of Aḥmadābād, 635 and *n* 6.
Tiyarah, a bad omen, 412 *n* 1.
Tora o tusak, Turki words implying the acknowledging one as rightful king with due formalities, 259 *n* 1.
Torābānd, Malik, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Firuz Shāh Tughlaq, 328 *n* 1.
Tradition, six books of, 626 *n* 1
Traditions of the Prophet, 356 *n* 4, 515.
Trajan, canal of, 169 *n* 1.
Transoxiana, 14 *n* 1, 15 n 5, 20 *n* 3, 27 *n* 2, 38, 59 *n* 1, 357, 358. See Māwarā-an-Nahr.
Travels of Ibn Baṭūṭah, 67 *n* 1.
Tribes of the North-West, Elliott's, 312 *n* 7. See Elliott's *Races of the N.-W. Provinces of India*.
Trübner, the London Publisher, 76 *n*.
Tschān, a town near Rantanbhor, 257 *n* 1
Tūbra, for *Tūra* (*q v*), 440 *n*.
Tūda Bahādur Khān, the Governor of Sunār Gānw under Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 299
Tufak, a pea-shooter, 159 and *n* 2.
Tughā Khān Malik 'Izzu-d-Dīn of Lakhnautī, one of the Maliks of the Shamsīyah Sulṭāns, 125
Tūghān, a falcon in Turkī, 215 *n* 5.
Tūghān the Ra'īs, one of the Turkbachas, raises an insurrection in the reign of Khizr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty, 379, 380.
Tūghānak, a kind of bird in Turkī, 215 *n* 5
Tughdī Beg, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 36, 37 *n* 7, 38, 43
Tughlaq Khān, son of Fatḥ Khān, son of Sulṭan Fīroz Shāh, 338. See under Tughlaq Shāh
Tughlaq Khān Ghāzī-i-Mulk, *afterwards* Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 249, 250, 251, 252. See under Ghāzī Malik
Tughlaq Shāh See under Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh.

Tughlaq Shāh, son of Fath Khān, son of Sultān Fīroz Shāh, of the Tughlaq Shāhī dynasty of Dihlī, 324, 338 and n 1, **341**, 342.

Tughlaqābād, fortress of, 296, 297, **299**, 300, 307

Tughlaq-Nāma, one of the poetical works of Mīr Khusrū of Dihlī, 301

Tughral, Governor of Bengal under Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban, 135 n 1, **136**, 216.

Tughral Beg Abū Tālib Muhammad ibn Mikā'īl ibn Saljūq, founder of the Saljūqī dynasty, 42 and n 3, 43, 51 n 2, 61 n 5 See also under Tughril Beg.

Tughral Hājib, an Amīr of the Ghaznavide dynasty, 47, 48, 50.

Tughral, the Turkomān, 42. See Tughral Beg, founder of the Saljūqī dynasty

Tughril ibn Arslān the Saljūq, of the Saljūqī dynasty of Khurāsān, 298 n 4.

Tughril Beg, founder of the Saljūqī dynasty, 35 n 8 See under Tughral Beg

Tuhfa, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Khizr Khān of the Saiyyid dynasty, 376 and n 2

Tuhfa-i-Isna-ashariyah of Shāh 'Abdu-l-'Azīz of Dihlī, 577 n

Tuhfatu-l-Ahrar, one of the poetical works of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Rahman Jāmī, 272 n 1.

Tuhfatu-l-'Irayain of the celebrated poet Khāqānī, 583 n 4

Tūlak ibn Husain, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Mas'ūd ibn Mahmūd Ghaznawī, 36 n 9

Tulūm or Talloom, a village on the north bank of the Sutlej, 382 n 2.

Tulambha, town of, at the junction of the Jhelam and the Chenāb, 355 and n 1, 389 and n 2, 390, 392, 427

Tulūmdī,—or

Tulūndī, the village of Tulūm q. v., probable origin of the town of Talaundī, 383 n 2.

Talloom, a place on the north bank of the Sutlej, 382 n 2.

Tunis, the province in North Africa, 167 n 4.

Tūr, one of the sons of Farīdūn, King of ancient Persia, 435 and n 2.

Tūra, palisades or abattis in Turkī, 440 n.

Tūrān, name given to the collection of countries situated beyond the Oxus, 15 n 5, 86.

Turk Allāh,—or

Turk-i-Khudā, *God's champion*, a title of Mīr Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 270 and n 5.

Turkān Khātūn, called also Shāh Turkān, mother of Sultān Ruknu-d-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh ibn Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 98 and n 1

Turkbacha Sultānī, ruler of Sāmānā, 360, 362 See under Bahrām Khān Turkbacha

Turkbachas, the, 378, 388

Turkestān See under Turkistān.

Turki Dictionary See De Courteille *Dictionnaire Turk-Oriental.*

Turkis, the, 20, 572 n 8 See the Turks

Turkish Dictionary, Redhouse's, 575 n 1

Turkish-Persian Dictionary of Faẓlu-llah Khān, 482 *n* 2, 575 *n* 1. See under Faẓlu-llah Khān.
Turkistān or Turkestan, 30, 71, 83, 89, 132, 135 *n*, 158 *n* 6, 159 *n*, 191, 296 *n* 6, 468 *n* 2, 584 *n* 3.
Turkomāns, the, 30, 35, 36 and *n* 3, 37, 38, 42, 43, 47, 48, 77 *n* 1, 590, 621 *n* 4.
Turks, the, 61 *n* 5, 85, 88, 121, 123 *n* 3, 192, 209, 590, 627 *n* 7. See the Turkīs.
Turmaẕī *Kotwāl*, a kotwāl of Dihlī in the time of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 260.
Turner Macan's edition of the *Shāh-Nāma*, 88 *n* 2, 103 *n* 2, 116 *n* 5, 178 *n* 2, 207 *n* 7, 435 *n* 2.
Turquoise, notes on the gem, 630 and *n* 8, 631 *n*.
Turrār, a city of Turkestān, 159 *n*.
Turtāq the Mughul, of the royal house of Khurāsān, invades Hindūstān in the reign of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 250 and *n* 10, 252 and *n* 2.
Ṭūs, a district and city of Khurāsān, 32 *n* 1, 42 and *n* 1, 61 *n* 5, 71, 75 *n*.
Tūzak, a Turkī word meaning 'right' or 'authority,' 259 *n* 1.
Tūzak-i-Bāburī, called also *Wāqi'āt-i-Bāburī*, 438 *n* 7, 448 *n* 4. See also *Memoirs of Bābar*.
Typho-Malarial fever, 320 *n*.
Tyrrhenian, Pisæus the, inventor of the *rostrum*, 29 *n* 5.

U.

'Ubaid Rākātī, the poet, one of the contemporaries of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 298 and *n* 2.
'Ubaidu-llah Khān, the Ozbak King, 582 *n* 5.
Uchh, the city of, 66 and *nn* 3 and 5, 79 *n* 3, 80 and *n* 1, 90, 126, 130, 132, 292, 298, 353.
'Ūd, a musical instrument of the Arabs, 146 *n* 1.
Udhāfar, the town of Oodypūr, 13 *n*.
Uditnagar, fortress of, 422 *n* 2.
Ūfī, author of a *Taẕkira*, 78 *n* 2. See under Muḥammad Ūfī of Merv.
Ujain,—or
Ujjain, on the Sipra, 95 and *n* 4, 257 *n* 1, 294, 384 *n* 5, 495
Ujjainiah Rājas of Bhojpūr, 185 *n* 1.
Ūlāgh or *Ūlāq*, post-horses in Turkī, 292 *n* 3.
'Ulamā, application of the term, 303 *n* 4.
Ūlāq, post-horses, 292 *n* 3. See under *Ūlāgh*.
Ulug Beg, the royal astronomer, 152 *n* 3, 198 *n* 2.
Ulugh Beg, Mīrzā, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 578. See also under Ulugh Mīrzā.
Ulugh Khān Balban, 132 See under Ulugh Khān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban.
Ulugh Khān Fakhru-d-Dīn Jūnā, son of Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 297, 298, 299, 300 and *n* 3, 301.

See under Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh.

Ulugh Khān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, who eventually ascends the throne of Dihlī under the title of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn, 124 and n 4, 127, 128, 129, 131, 132, 134 nn 1 and 2, 183, 184.

Ulugh Khān Ilmās Beg, brother of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 247, 248 and n 2, 249, 250, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 261 and n 5. See also under Ilmās Beg.

Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, Malik Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Balban, 131, 134 n 1. See Ulugh Khān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn.

Ulugh Khānī canal, leading from the Sutlej, 325 n 3, 326 n

Ulugh Mīrzā, son of Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 452, 458, 574. See also under Ulugh Beg.

Ulūs, a Turkish word signifying 'a large tribe,' 575 n 1

Ulūsbegī, or chief of the tribe,—a title, 575 n 1.

Ulūs-i-Chaghtā, 575 n 1 See also under the Chaghatai tribe.

Ulwar, district and town of, 134 n 1, 365 n 8, 366 n. See also under Alwar.

Ulwar See Ulwar

Umam, plural of *ummatun*, the followers of a prophet or a people of one religion, 373 and n 3.

'Umar, the second Khalifah, called al-Fārūq, 3 n 6, 59 n 3, 106, 303 n 4, 604 n 5, 625 n 3

'Umar Khān, nephew of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 259.

'Umar Khān Shihābu-d-Dīn, son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 278 n 4. See under Shihābu-d-Dīn 'Umar.

'Umar Khān Shirwānī, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Bahlūl Lodī, 412 n 2.

'Umar Khān, son of Sikandar Khān Sūr, 431 n 4.

'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā, second son of Tīmūr and the father of Bābar, 605 and n 1.

Umayyah, Dynasty of, the Khalīfahs of Damascus, 13 n 1, 481 n 8.

Umballa District, 362 n 1.

'Umdatu-l-Mulk, or Privy Councillor, 401.

Umm Hānī, daughter of Abū Ṭālib and sister of 'Alī, 105 and n 2, 150.

Ummahānī. See the above.

Ummahāt, a scientific term, 176 n 2.

Ummu Ghailān, a thorny tree, 550 n 1

Ummu Kulsūm, daughter of Muḥammad and wife of 'Uṣmān, the third Khalīfah, 59 n 4

'Umr Khān Shīrwānī, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Bahlūl Lodī, 412 n 2.

'Umr Khān, son of Sikandar Khān Sūr, 431 n 4

'Umrah, the lesser pilgrimage, 175, 176 n

Unāo, town of, 408 n 5

Unar, Rāi, the ruler of Thathah, contemporary of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 332 n 6.

United States of America, 586 n.

'Unnāb, a tree and its fruit, 117 n 2.

Unṣurī, the famous Persian poet, 46 n 4.

Untgarh, fortress of, 422 and n 2, 424.

'Uqāb, an eagle or kite, 262 n 1.

'Uqāb, the constellation Eagle, 321 n 3.

'Uqdatu-l-Junūbiyah, an astronomical term, 162 n 4.

'Uqdatu-r-Ra's, an astronomical term, 162 n 4.

'Uqdatu-sh-Shimāliyah, an astronomical term, 162 n 4.

'Uqdatu-z-Zanab, an astronomical term, 162 n 4.

'Urūẓ or 'Arūẓ, the last foot of the first hemistich, a term of Prosody, 608 n 4

Useful Plants of India, Drury's, 173 n 2, 308 n, 550 n 1, 627 n 2.

Üshī, Khwāja Bahāu-d-Dīn, a famous preacher and learned divine, 78 and n 2.

Üshī, Khwāja Qutbu-d-Dīn. See under Qutbu-d-Dīn Üshī.

'Usmān, the third Khalīfah, called Zu-n-Nūrain, 3 n 6, 59 n 4, 106 n 4, 158 n, 625 n 3.

'Usmān, an Afghān of the time of Islem Shāh Sūr, 495.

Ustā 'Alī Qulī, the Artillerist of Bābar, 439 and n 6.

Ustād, the,—a title of Firdausī, the celebrated Poet, 461 and n 6

Ustād Abu-l-Faraj Rūnī, the Poet, contemporary of Sultān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī, 53 n, 54 and n 1.

Ustād 'Alī Qulī, the Artillerist of Bābar, 439 and n 6.

'Utārid, the planet Mercury, 630 and n 3

'Uzzā, an idol worshipped by the old Arabs, 110 n 3.

V.

Valley of the Ants, mentioned in the Qur'ān, 340 n 2

Vasudeva, one of the deities of the Hindus, 24 n 6

Venus, one of the two auspicious planets, 138 n 3, 630 n 2

Vihat, name of the Jhelam in Sanskrit, 23 n 3.

Vikramāditya, the Rājā of Ujjain, 95 n 4

Vikramājīt, Rāi, 95. Same as the above (q v.).

Vikramājīt, son of Manik Deo, the Rājā of Gwālhār, contemporary of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 419 and n 11.

Vikramājīt, Rāi, son of Rāi Mān Singh, Governor of Gwālhār, contemporary of Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 432

Vinea, a shelter under which to approach the walls of a fortress, 494 n 7.

Vipāsa, name of the Biāh in Sanskrit, 23 n 3.

Virgil, Georg., 75 n 2.

Virgin, the,—once the title of the fort of Hānsī, 37 n 2.

Vitastā, name of the Jhelam in Sanskrit, called also Vihat and Viyatta, 23 n 3.

Viyatta, the river Jhelam, 23 n 3. See the above.

Voyages d' Ibn Batúta, 67 n 1. See under Ibn Baṭūṭah.

Vrindāvana, town of, 24 n 6.

Vritras, the, slain by Indra with his thunderbolt, 294 n 4.

Vuller's *Persico-Latinum Lexicon*, 30 n 2, 109 n 4, 162 n 4, 173 nn 2 and 3, 192 n 3, 218 n 3.

W.

Wādī, a valley or desert, used in the sense of *art*, 557 and n 2

Wafā Malik, title of Malik Shāhīn, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 284

Wafā'ī, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 609.

Waghd, name of one of the blank arrows in the game of *maisir*, 369 n 1.

Wahhābis, the 188 n 2.

Waḥīdu-d-Dīn Quraishī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 285 and n 4, 286 n 1, 290.

Waihind, on the western bank of the Indus, 19 n 2, 20 n 1.

Wais Sirwānī, Khwāja, one of the Amīrs of Islem Shāh Sūr, 493 and n 7, 497.

Waisi, one of the poets of the time of Humāyūn, 584 and n 4, 585.

Wajihu-d-Dīn, Shaikh son of Kamālu-d-Dīn 'Alī Shāh Quraishī and father of Shaikh Bahāu-d-Dīn Zakariya, 133 n 2

Wajihu-d-Dīn Quraishī, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 285 n 4

Wālā Muḥammad Balban, 161. Same as Ghiyāsu-d-Dīn Balban (q v)

Walaj, fort of, called also Bajj, 34 and n 7.

Wālī, one who has attained to the knowledge of the Supreme Being, 52 and n 3.

Wālī of Bangālā, the contemporary of Shīr Shāh, 469.

Walī Qizil, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441.

Walīd ibn 'Abdu-l-Malik Marwānī, one of the Umaiyyad Khalīfahs of Damascus, 11 n 3, 12 and nn 1 and 2, 13 n.

Walīd ibnu-r-Raiyyān, one of the three chief lords of Shaddād ibn 'Ād (q v.), 262 n.

Walīd ibn Ṭarīf ash-Shaibānī, one of the Khawārij in the reign of Hārūnu-r-Rashīd, 74 n 2

Walīs, holy men, 627 n 3 See *Wālī*

Wāmiq, hero of a Turkish romance, 40 and n 1. See the next.

Wāmiq and 'Azra, a Turkish romance by Maḥmūd bin Aṣmān Lamāī, 40 n 1

Wāmiq and 'Azra, a Turkish romance by Mu'īd of Tarkhān, 40 n 1.

Waqi'āt-i Bābarī, called also *Tūzak-i-Bābarī*, 421 and n 3, 448 and n 4. See also under the *Memoirs of Bābar*

Warangal, ancient capital of Telingāna, 265 *n* 4.

Wardī, a kind of beverage, 31 *n*.

Wars, a herb used for dyeing clothes, 178 *n* 2.

Wāṣil, Malik, adopted son of Malik Mubārak Qaranqal of Jaunpūr, 360 *n* 1.

Wāsiṭ, a town of 'Irāq between Baṣra and Kūfah, 12 *n* 1.

Waṣṣāf, the Historian, 265 *n* 5.

Wazīr, at chess, 103 and *n* 1.

Wazīr Khān Malik Shāhik, one of the Amīrs of the Balbanī dynasty, 220.

Western Jamna Canal, the, 325 *n* 3.

Western Rohtās, 498.

Whinfield's *Omar Khayyām*, 144 *n* 1.

Wilāyat-i-Panna, 417 and *n* 6. See under Panna.

Wilson's *Sanskrit Dictionary*, 535 *n* 2.

Works of Sir William Jones, 76 *n*.

Wuẓū', ceremonial washings before prayer, 602 and n 7, 603 *n*.

X.

Xenophon's *Account of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, 586 *n*.

Y.

Yadava Kingdom of Deogiri in the Deccan, 271 *n* 6.

Yādavas of Hindū Mythology, 27 *n* 4

Yādgār Nāṣir Mirzā, one of the Amīrs of Humāyūn, 462, 463, 464, 465, 560, 561, 562, 574, 577 *n*, 578, 580.

Yāfiṡ, (Japhet), son of Nūḥ (Noah), 231. See under Japhet.

Yaghrash Khān, of the royal family of the Khiljis, 283

Yaghrash Khiljī, father of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 230.

Yahmūt, name of the fish upon which the world is said to rest, 148 *n* 2.

Yā huwā, an invocation to the Most High, 146 and *n* 2.

Yaḥyā ibn 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf Qazwīnī Dimishqī, author of the *Lubbu-t-Tawārīkh*, 34 *n* 9, 49 *n* 3, 64 and *n* 1, 624 and *n* 9.

Yaḥyā ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abdu-llah Sirhindī, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, 10 *n* 2, 67 *n* 2, 223 *n* 2, 315 *n* 7.

Yaḥyā ibn Bukayr, a traditionist, 18 *n* 1.

Yaḥyā ibn Isrā'īl, the head of the Chishtīs, father of Shaikh Sharafu-d-Dīn Munīrī, 416 *n* 13.

Yaḥyā Paran, Miyān, one of the Amīrs of Sikandar Sūr (*q. v.*), 547.

Yaḥyā Qazwīnī, Qāẓī, 64 and *n* 1. See under Yaḥyā ibn 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf.

Yaḥyā Tūran, Miyān, Governor of Sambhal, one of the Amīrs of the Afghān Sūr dynasty, 545, 546, 547.

Yak of Tibet, 543 *n* 1

Yaklakhī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn ibn 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 283, 284, 286 and *n* 1

Yaksar, for Baksar, on the left bank of the Ganges, 408 n 5.

Yākūt. See under Yāqūt, the Arab Geographer.

Yālāā, a standard or ensign in Turkī, 483 n 2.

Yamak, name of a city and country celebrated for the beauty of its people, 158, 159 n.

Yaman, country of,—in Arabia, 74 n 2, 262 n

Yamīn, Sulṭān Muḥammad, king of Khurāsān, 99 n 4, 138 n 1.

Yamīnah, wife of Solomon, 205 n 3.

Yamīn-i-Amīri-l-Mu'minin, title of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 88.

Yamīnu-d-Daulah Sulṭān Maḥmūd ibn Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Ghaznawī, 15, 16, 17. See Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn.

Yamīnu-d-Daulah Ruknu-d-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh, son of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyal-timish, 97.

Yamīnu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥasan, full name of Mīr Khusrū, the famous poet of Dihlī, 96 n 2.

Yamīnu-l-Khilāfat, title of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 254 n 6

Yamuna, the river Jumna which is also called Jamuna and Jaun, 23 n 3, 24 n 4.

Ya'qūb, Sikandar Khān, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 337

Ya'qūbu-l-Manjaniqī, an Arab writer, 149 n.

Yāqūt or ruby, Four kinds of, 25 n 2.

Yāqūt, the celebrated Arab Geographer, 11 n 3, 15 n 4, 22 n 2, 66 n 1, 159 n, 166 n 1, 263 n, 478 n 5, 570 n 7.

Yāqūt the Abyssinian, Chief Amīr under Sulṭān Raẓẓiyah *bint* Sulṭān Shamsu-d-Dīn Iyaltimish, 120, 121 and n 3.

Yarbāla, town, 583 n 3.

Yasūrī ibn Iyamghūr, the Dīwān of Ghaznīn under Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 47.

Yatmīyān of Bukhāra, father of the poet Jābī (*q. v.*), 618 n 5.

Yazdī, author of the *Ẓafarnāma*, 347 n 3, 358 n 6.

Yazīd ibn Mazyad, one of the Generals of Hārūnu-r-Rashīd, 74 n 2.

Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah, second Khalīfah of the house of Umaiyyah, 205 n 1, 481 and n 8.

Yemen, country of,—in Arabia, 74 n 2, 262 n.

Yezdezbab,—or

Yezdibah, the magian ancestor of Imām Bukhārī, 6 n 3.

Yār 'Alī, a common name among the Shī'ah, 604.

Yule and Burnett's *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases*, 495 n, 543 n 3.

Yulma, a Turkī word meaning 'that which has lost its hair,' 482 n 2.

Yūnas 'Alī, one of the Amīrs of Bābar, 441

Yūsuf, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq Shāh, 308

Yūsuf and Zulaikhā of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Jāmī, 32 n 2, 272 n 1, 588, 589.

Yūsuf and Zuleikha, Griffith's, 272 n 1

Yūsuf 'Aṣdu-d-Daulah, son of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznawī, 29, 45 *n* 2.

Yūsuf Khān Auḥadī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Saiyyid dynasty, 395.

Yūsuf Sarūr, Malik,—or

Yūsuf Surūru-l-Mulk, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Mubārak Shāh of the Saiyyid dynasty, 388 and *n* 3, 391, 393. See also the next.

Yūsuf, son of Sarwaru-l-Mulk, Malik, 396. See the above.

Yūsuf Qadr Khān, king of Turkistān, 27.

Yūsuf Ṣafī Aslbacha, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 291 and *n* 5.

Yūsbāghī, an Amīr of a hundred, 318 and *n* 3.

Z.

Zābul, a name for the town of Ghaznīn, 16 and *n* 3.

Zabūl, the second degree of the fever called *diqq*, 319 *n* 4, 320 *n*.

Zābul, grandfather of Rustam, the famous hero of ancient Īrān, 14 *n* 3.

Zābulī, a name of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, 17.

Zābulistān, 14 *n* 3, 51.

Ẓafar Khān, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh, 337 *n* 2

Ẓafar Khān, Governor of Gujrāt under Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 333 and *n* 11, 334.

Ẓafar Khān 'Alāī, 311. See Ẓafar Khān Badru-d-Dīn

Ẓafar Khān Badru-d-Dīn, called Ẓafar Khān 'Alāī, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 247 and *n* 2, 250 and *n* 5, 254, 258, 261, 311.

Ẓafar Khān Malik Dīnār Ḥaramī, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 283, 284, 285.

Ẓafar Khān Fārsī, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 336 *n* 5.

Ẓafar Khān, son of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣu-d-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh, 297

Ẓafar Khān Ḥisāmu-d-Dīn, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 247 *n* 2.

Ẓafar Khān Khiljī, brother of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 239.

Ẓafar Khān ibn Wajīhu-l-Mulk, Governor of Gujrāt, one of the Maliks of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 346, 354 *n* 8, 361, 364.

Ẓafarābād, town of, 299, 312, 328.

Ẓafar-Nāma of Yazdī, an historical work, 347 *n* 3, 358 *n* 6.

Zaffur Khān Farsy. See Ẓafar Khān Fārsī.

Zahāb, water oozing from the ground, 459 *n* 5

Ẓaḥḥāk ibn 'Ulwān, one of the three chief lords of Shaddād ibn 'Ād (*q. v.*), 262 *n*.

Ẓahīr, *nom-de-plume* of Ẓahīru-d-Dīn Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad the Poet, 339 and *n* 4.

Ẓahīr Dihlavī, Qāẓī, one of the poets of the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of the Fīrūz Shāhī dynasty, 367 and *n* 2, 375.

Ẓahīru-d-Dīn Bābar Pādishāh, 435, 436. See under Bābar.

ẓahīru-d-Dīn Lāhorī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 338.

ẓahīru-d-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh Bābar, 436, 443. See under Bābar.

ẓahīru-d-Dīn Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad Fāryābī, a celebrated poet, contemporary of Khāqānī, 339 and n 4.

ẓahiru-l-Juyūsh, Inspector of the forces, 302.

ẓaid ibn 'Alī, one of the Imāms of the Shī'ah, 604 n 5.

ẓain Khāfī, Shaikh, a learned man of the time of Bābar and Humāyūn, 448 and n 3, 609 and n 5, 610, 617, 618.

ẓain Khān Niyāzī, one of the Amīrs of Shīr Shāh Sūr, 491.

ẓain Khānī, Shaikh, a learned man of the time of Bābar, 448 and n 3. See Zain Khāfī

ẓainu-d-Dīn, author of a commentary on the *Mubaiyyin*, 430 and n 8.

ẓainu-d-Dīn Khāfī, Khwāja, a famous saint, 609 n 5.

ẓainu-d-Dīn Khāfī, Shaikh, one of the learned men and poets of the time of Bābar and Humāyūn, 609 and n 5, 610, 617, 618.

ẓainu-d-Dīn Maḥmūd Kamāngar, Maulānā, one of the Naqshbandī Shaikhs, contemporary of Humāyūn, 588 and n 4.

ẓainu-l-'Ābidīn bin Najīm, author of *al-Ashbāh wa-n-Naẓāir*, 5 n 4.

ẓirgah, sortilege by, 412 n 1.

ẓakāt or almsgiving, one of the five foundations of practical religion, 175 n 4

Zakhīratu-l-Qawānīn, an historical work, 9 n 2.

Zakhma, the plectrum with which the *chang* was played, 146 n 1.

Zāl, father of Rustam, one of the heroes of the *Shāh-Nāma*, 178 n 2.

Zāl, the son of Afrāsyāb, king of Tūrān, 410.

Zamakhsharī, the celebrated author of the *Kashshāf*, a commentary on the Qur'ān, 28 n 1.

Zamīndāwar, country of, 591.

Zandkhān, a fortified town near Sarakhs, 43 n 3.

Zang, a cluster of globular bells carried by dāk-runners, 621 n 2.

Zang-bastan, to acquire importance, 621 n 2.

Zangbār, Shāh of,—the Moon, 621.

Zangī, Abū Manṣūr, brother of Abu-l-Faẓl of Bust, contemporary of Sulṭān Maudūd Ghaznawī, 47 and n 7

Zangī, Sulṭān Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muḥammad Sām Ghūrī, 65 n 2.

Zanzibār,—the Night, 621.

Zanzibār, Sulṭān of, adopts *Saiyyid* as his regal title, 303 n 4.

Zaradrus, the river Sutlej, 23 n 3.

Zarb, in Prosody, the last foot of the second hemistich, 606 n 4.

Zard choba, turmeric, 173 n 2.

Ẓarīf, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan of Iṣfahān, the Poet, 582 n.

Zarīr, a herb used in dyeing clothes, 173 and n 2.

Zebā, mother of Sulṭān Sikandar ibn Sulṭān Buhlūl Lodī, 412 n 2.

Zend, of the Zoroastrians, 394 n 5

Ẓiā Barnī. See under Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Barnī.

Ẓiā-l-Barnī. See under Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Barnī.

Ẓiāī, the Persian poet, contemporary and panegyrist of Sulṭān Malik Shāh Saljūqī, 38 and n 4.

Ẓiāu-d-Dīn, a court-servant of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 239.

Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Baranī,—or

Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Barnī, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, 184 n 1, 186 n 3, 188 nn 1, 4 and 5, 219 n 3, 220 n 2, 221 n 1, 227 n 7, 230 n 1, 247 n and nn 2 and 4, 248 nn 2, 6 and 8, 310 n 1, 311 n 5, 312 n 7, 314 n 2, 315 n 7, 316 n 6, 320 n 5.

Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Khajandī al-Fārsī, the Poet Ẓiāī, 38 n 4. See under Ẓiāī.

Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Qāẓī Khān, one of the Amīrs of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khiljī, 288, 289, 290.

Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Tukilī,—or

Ẓiāu-d-Dīn Tūlakī, Malik, one of the Amīrs of the Ghorī dynasty, 69 and n 3.

Ẓiāu-l-Mulk Shamsu-d-Dīn Abū Rijā, one of the Maliks of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh Tughlaq, 329 and n 13, 331.

Ẕikr, a religious ceremony, 510 and n 4.

Zinjānī, Shaikh Ḥasan, a famous saint of Lāhor, 383 and n 6.

Zīrak, a name of 'Uṭārid (the planet Mercury), 690 and n 3.

Zīrak Khān, the Amīr of Sāmāna, one of the Maliks of the Saiyyid dynasty, 378, 379, 383, 384, 391, 396.

Zirqān, name of a place in Khurāsān 43 and n 3.

Zodiac, signs of the, 75 n 2, 76.

Zorāwar Singh, Rāo, also known as Rāpar Sen, founder of the old city of Rāparī, 377 n 5.

Ẕū-baḥrain, in prosody a line of two metres, 245 n 2.

Zubaidah Khātūn, wife of Hārūnu-r Rashīd, 286, 287.

Zuhrah, the planet Venus, 188 n 3.

Ẕu-l-Faqār,—or

Ẕu-l-Fiqār, famous sword of 'Alī ibn-Abī Ṭālib, 74 and n 2, 75 n, 106 n 5.

Ẕu-l-Fiqār Shirwānī, Mīr Saiyyid, a famous poet of Persia, 605.

Zunnār, the belt or girdle worn by Christians or Magians, also the Brahmanical thread, 509 and n 5.

Ẕu-n-Nūrain, title of 'Usmān the third Khalifah, 59 and n 4.